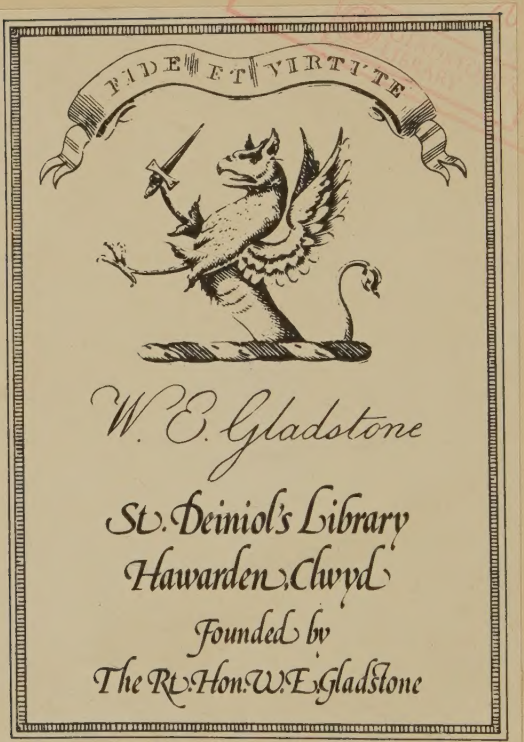
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BEING

The Archæological and Historical Inter-relations between Egypt and Canaan

From the Earliest Times to the
Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70

BY

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TO MY WIFE

WHOSE UNFAILING ENCOURAGEMENT HAS STIMULATED ME TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF A LONG TASK

AND TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

REV. GEORGE H. KNIGHT

WHO FIRST INSPIRED IN ME THE LOVE OF SACRED LEARNING

Published with the assistance of a generous grant from the Carnegie Trustees for the Universities of Scotland

PREFACE

No one possessed with any reverence for antiquity can stand on the summit of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, and allow his eyes to wander over the vast prospect at his feet, without having his imagination powerfully stirred. The sight of the Nile threading its way from the far recesses of the mysterious South, fertilizing the desert sands, and disclosing its presence by the belt of emerald green on either bank, throws the mind back into the long pre-Christian centuries with their imperishable associations. What masterpieces of civilization, what renowned exploits, what celebrated cities, what world-famous names are linked to that river flowing at one's feet from the heart of Equatorial Africa!

Then if one turns eastward, the eye ranges across the level expanse of the Delta to where the horizon melts into nothingness. But the observer knows that yonder towards the sunrising lie the land of Goshen, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Wilderness of the Wandering. Beyond these he remembers that further to the north is Canaan, which to the imagination of the toiling Hebrews was "the land flowing with milk and honey." And thus he associates the two countries, Egypt in her royal magnificence, Palestine in her sweet rural beauty.

The object of this book is to trace the various links which united these two contiguous territories, from the earliest times till the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It is a long story, covering at least seven millenniums, and crowded with detail. The mere collecting of the facts, scattered over more than 1,700 volumes and journals, has entailed many years of research, in the scanty leisure available to one with constant professional duties as a minister in a city charge. It is more than likely that many important aspects of the inter-relations between Egypt and Canaan have inadvertently been overlooked, and that books and articles which should have been consulted have been unwittingly neglected. But the volume is a serious attempt to fill a gap in the literature of the two countries which as yet has not been occupied. Further excavations in both lands will unquestionably greatly extend our knowledge.

My obligations to the great masters in Egyptology are evidenced on every page. Perhaps no country in the world has had such a magnificent succession of skilled explorers and scholars as Egypt can show. It has been an international theatre for the exhibition of the keenest archæological enterprise, and the ripest and most patient and wonderful scholarship. The names of Brugsch, Birch, Lepsius, Lenormant, Chabas, Mariette, Sharpe, Dümichen, Erman, Daressy, Meyer, Wiedemann, de Morgan, Maspero, Lieblein, Naville, Flinders Petrie, Wallis Budge, Griffith, Garstang, Newberry, Sayce, Breasted, Reisner, Crum, W. Max Müller, A. H. Gardiner, Grenfell, Hunt, Mahaffy, Quibell, de Garies Davies, H. R. Hall, Golénischeff, and many others indicated through the book, show how strong a fascination Egypt possesses in drawing to its exploration some of the finest minds

of the past and the present centuries. I have laid under contribution the many monographs issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Egypt Research Account, the Bulletins of the various French Missions, the exhaustive Reports of several German, Austrian and American Expeditions, and the volumes for which the Palestine Exploration Fund are responsible. A full bibliography will be found in Appendix II. But where there are so many divergent views represented on every point of detail, I have felt compelled to follow no single authority, but to strike out an independent course along the paths which seemed to me most consonant with the truth.

To one point in particular I have devoted some special discussion. The Bible Chronology has by many scholars been described as unreliable, largely owing to the fact that it cannot be made to square with the identification of the Pharaoh of the Oppression with Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty, and of the Pharaoh of the Exodus with Merenptah. But what if the identifications are wholly wrong? They have the effect on the one hand of vastly extending the period assigned in Scripture as that subsisting between Abraham and the Exodus, and on the other hand of greatly curtailing the period allotted in the Bible to the era of the Judges. I have therefore brought forward a mass of evidence showing how all recent research—especially since the discovery of the Merenptah-Israel stele—has been in the direction of relegating the Exodus to the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty during the reign of Amenhotep II. Facts in support of this theory will be found in the Chapters dealing with the reigns of Hatshepset, Thothmes III, Amenhotep II, Thothmes IV, Amenhotep IV, and Merenptah. The scheme of Biblical Chronology, and its wonderful correspondence with the true date of the Exodus (B.C. 1445), will be found in Appendix I.

Two Chapters (XIV and XXVIII) deal with special side issues which deserve fresh consideration. In the light of so constant and dominating an influence exerted on the Hebrew mind by Egypt, I have deemed it not inappropriate to embody the facts of the case in the Chapters on "Traces of Egyptian Influence in the Wilderness Narrative," and "The Egyptian Origin of the Book of Job." The evidence thus marshalled demands a new scrutiny at the hands of scholars.

With great cordiality I acknowledge my heavy indebtedness to various libraries, and to friends who have helped me with their advice and encouragement. In particular, I wish to thank the Keeper and the Assistant Librarians in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; the Staff of the Signet Library; the Librarian of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; Dr. James Kennedy, the Librarian of the New College; and Dr. Hew Morrison of the Edinburgh Public Library. But my principal obligation is to the Library of Glasgow University, my Alma Mater, whose remarkably complete Egyptological treasures are but too imperfectly known, and where every facility for research is most readily and courteously provided by the Staff.

My warm thanks are due to Rev. W. M. Christie, late of Safed, and of Aleppo, and now of Glasgow, for kindly correcting the proofs, and for making many valuable suggestions.

I have, further, to express my thanks to the Egypt Exploration Society for kindly permitting me to use their excellent maps of the Nile Valley.

I also desire to thank the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for their generous grant towards the publication of this work.

G. A. FRANK KNIGHT

5, GRANBY TERRACE,

HILLHEAD, GLASGOW

October, 1920.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.Z.=Zeitschrift f. ægyptische Sprache.
B.J.=Josephus's "Bellum Judaicum."
C.I.S.=Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
D.B.=Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible."
D.C.G.=Hastings' "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels."
E.E.F.M.=Egypt. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
E.R.E.=Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.
Exp.=Expositor.
E.T.=Expository Times.
F.H.G.=Müller's "Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum."
H.G.H.L.=Smith's "Historical Geography of the Holy Land."
H.J.P.=Schürer's "Hist. of the Jewish People."
H.N.=Pliny's "Historia Naturalis."
M.V.G.=Mittheil. d. vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
O.L.Z.=Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
O.T.J.C.=W. Rob. Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church."
P.E.F.Q.=Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
P.S.B.A.=Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
R.P.=Records of the Past.
T.S.B.A.=Trans. of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
Z.A.T.W.=Zeitschrift f. die alttest. Wissenschaft.
Z.D.P.V.=Zeitschrift d. deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

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Nile and Jordan

CHAPTER I

Introductory

1. *The Physical Connection between Egypt and Canaan*

By an arbitrary geographical terminology the world has agreed to regard Egypt and Canaan as belonging to separate Continents. Egypt is an integral part of Africa, and Canaan as unquestionably belongs to Asia. It is therefore difficult for us to banish from our minds the subtle pervasiveness of this disparate conception, to take in the fact that the line separating these two continents is a purely conventional one, and to realize that the Nile Valley and that of the Jordan have always been, and still are, most closely associated in history, politics, literature, art, and social customs.

It is not unlikely that comparatively few readers of Scripture have any vivid, or adequate, conception of how close and intimate this interrelation between the two countries was. Most are content with knowing that Abraham visited Egypt, that Joseph met with sundry adventures there, that Jacob and the patriarchs entered that land, and died there. They may recall the facts of the Oppression, the Ten Plagues, and the Exodus, but they imagine that thereafter Israel and the old land of bondage had seen the last of each other till the time of the Prophets. Some may remember passing invasions of Palestine by Egyptian monarchs such as Shishak, Zerah, Tirhakah, or Pharaoh-Necho, but the belief is widely current that, once Israel had quitted Egypt, they had, so to speak, "cut the painter," and that their connection with the lands of the Nile was for ever past and gone.

In this book I desire to show how misleading such a conception is, and to point out how during the Palæolithic and Neolithic eras, through the Early, Middle, and Later Egyptian Empires, under native kings, or while subject to Nubian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, or Roman conquerors, Egypt has ever been closely linked to Canaan, and that the influence the two countries mutually exercised upon each other was profound and lasting. Separated from each other by merely a short strip of easily traversable desert, the art and civilization, the customs and religious practices, the political ideals and domestic institutions, the literature and the politics of the one region reacted with no small force upon the other, and modern archæological discovery is every day only emphasizing how powerful this interaction was.

The interest of this connection between Egypt and Canaan extends

even into the vast geological ages lying far behind the few thousand years of human activity. Recent scientific investigation has revealed an interrelation between Africa and Asia of a remarkably fascinating nature. By a comparative study of the respective faunas of the Sea of Galilee and of Lake Tanganyika, it has been established that the Jordan Valley, with its two fresh-water lakes—the Waters of Merom and the Sea of Galilee—and its salt Dead Sea, was once connected with the great inland waters of Central Africa. The researches of Ferussac, Ehrenberg, Olivier, Boissier, Bourguinat, Roth,[1] Lortet, and especially of Locard[2] and of Tristram[3] have shown that many of the shells which inhabit the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan with its feeders are more closely akin to the molluscs of the great lakes and rivers of Central Africa than to those of any other locality.[4] It is the same with the fishes. Tristram asserts that an analysis of the 38 species of fishes found in the Lake of Tiberias and the Jordanic basin points at once, not to any affinity with the fauna of the Orontes or of the Euphrates, but to that of Tanganyika and the other great African lakes.[5]

When this affinity between Galilee and Nyasaland, with their curious marine-like fauna, was first discovered, so great was the interest aroused that the Royal Society despatched two successive Tanganyika Expeditions, under Mr. J. E. S. Moore, to investigate the peculiarities of the fauna of these African seas.[6] Though many of Moore's hypotheses have not been accepted by other scientists, it seems now to be demonstrated that the peculiar character of the fauna of Lake Tanganyika and of the Sea of Galilee is due to the fact that formerly these lakes formed part of an immense system, which stretched from the Transvaal to beyond Damascus along the huge fracture represented to-day by Lakes Shirwa, Nyasa, Tanganyika, Kivu, Albert Edward Nyanza, and Albert Nyanza. The trough was continued down the Upper Nile Valley, across the desert to, and up, the Red Sea, the Gulf of Akaba, the Dead Sea, the Jordan Valley, and Cœle-Syria. The extraordinary series of molluscs, crabs, prawns, sponges, and fishes found in Lake Tanganyika, all distinctly marine in type, and the correspondingly metamorphosed forms of aquatic life discovered in the Jordan basin, seem thus to have had a common origin;[7] and in this way we are afforded a fascinating glimpse into a remote period when Africa and Asia were one, and when Galilee was united to Livingstonia.

The connection between Egypt and Canaan is thus an exceedingly ancient one, and the geological history of the two countries merely reveals the simultaneous working of those forces which have produced the present physical characteristics. As science unfolds the gradual evolution of the Nile Valley and of the adjoining territory of Palestine,[8] one realizes how

[1] Roth, *Spicilegium Molluscorum*, 1855. [2] *Malacologie des lacs de Tibériade, d'Antioche, et d'Homs en Syrie*, Lyons, 1883, etc. [3] *Fauna of Western Palestine*, 1884, pp. xii., 178. [4] There are 16 species of *Unio* that are found exclusively in the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan system: these and the representatives of the genus *Melanopsis* are remarkably similar to those at present inhabiting Lake Tanganyika. [5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, p. 105. [6] In 1896 and 1899. The results were summarized by Boulenger, *Trans. Zool. Soc.* xv. (1898): xvi. (1901): Cunnington, *Proc. Zool. Soc.* 1899: and especially by Moore, *The Tanganyika Problem*, 1903. [7] On the transformation of marine into lacustrine forms, as exemplified in these Tanganyika species, see Sollas, *The Age of the Earth*, p. 208 f. [8] See Fraas, *Geologische Beobachtungen*: Schweinfurth in *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Geolog. Gesellsch. Jahrg.*, 1883: Milne in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, xxxi. (1875), p. i.: Huddleston, *Proc. Geologists Assoc.*, Nov., 1882: *Nature*, April 30, 1885: Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*, 1889: *The Physical Geology of Arabia Petræa and Palestine*, 1889: Dawson, *Geol. Magazine*, Nos. 241–244 (N.S.) 1883–4: *Egypt and Syria, their physical features in relation to Bible History*, 1892: J. W. Gregory, *The Great Rift Valley*, 1896, p. 248 f.

these neighbouring lands were subjected to very similar geological vicissitudes, and passed in common through the same telluric processes of alternate submergence and elevation, as if from remotest times they had been predestined to be linked together in a like destiny. Even Josephus in ancient days noted the physical connection between the Nile and the Jordan. He pointed out the similarity between the fishes in the fountain at Capernaum and those in Egypt. "Some," he writes, "have thought this fountain to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces a fish similar to that produced by the lake near Alexandria." [1]

Passing from these physical connections between Egypt and Canaan to the inter-associations of the peoples that inhabited these contiguous countries, we find that as the history of Palestine presents no such orderly, progressive, and systematic framework as that furnished by the successive Dynasties of Egypt, it is best to base the story of the mutual relationship of the two territories on the fuller and better-known projection of Egyptian history. The connections between the two countries will be studied chronologically, following the scheme of Dynasties bequeathed to us by Manetho, which has been of incalculable service to archæology.

II. *The Authorities*

The sources of our information regarding ancient Egypt are many. There are: (1) the *classical writers*, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, and others, whose testimony, though of interest as being largely that of eye-witnesses, is not infrequently unreliable owing to their inveterate tendency to accept legend for history. Their works, therefore, though of great value, must always be read with caution. (2) The *native sources*, which are by far the most reliable. Countless monuments scattered up and down the country for a thousand miles in the form of temples, obelisks, stelæ, statues, sphinxes, tombs, and other antiquities afford a vast number of inscriptions from which the history of Egypt may be pieced together in a tolerably adequate fashion. Tablets, vases, scarabs, pottery, domestic utensils, graves, cemeteries of cats and crocodiles, and papyrus rubbish heaps have contributed their quota to the sum of knowledge, and the labours of a devoted band of enthusiasts toiling year after year have given us a wonderfully complete idea of the internal and external condition of Egypt during four or five millenniums.

From this mass of general contributions to knowledge, there stand out several particular sources of information which have conspicuously helped to systematize our information regarding the various kings and the Dynasties to which they belonged. These are (α) the "*Stele of Palermo*," a fragmentary but exceedingly valuable tablet of black granite, now in the Museum of Palermo, containing annals of Egyptian Kings up to the time of the Vth Dynasty, when it was compiled. It is very regrettable that it is merely a torso, for its accuracy seems of a high standard.[2]

(β) The "*Tablet of Karnak*," showing Thothmes III adoring 61 of his ancestors whose names are given, but in a very haphazard and inaccurate sequence.

[1] Jos. *Wars*, iii. 10, 8. On the identification of this fish, the *Coracinus*, see Gill in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, p. 317, and Masterman, "The Fisheries of Galilee," *ibid.*, 1908, p. 49.

[2] The inscriptions are published and translated by Schäfer in *Abhandl. d. K. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1902. See also Naville's Lecture on it delivered to the Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, 1902, in *Rec. de Trav.*, 1903, p. 64 f.; Gauthier in *Le Musée Egyptien*, iii. 2nd fasc. (1915), pp. 29–63: and Seymour de Ricci in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscript.*, 1917, pp. 107–115.

(γ) The "*Tablet of Sakkara*," of the time of Rameses II, containing 47 Royal cartouches.

(δ) The "*Tablet of Abydos*," discovered in 1864 in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, where Seti I and Rameses II are shown speaking to 75 of their predecessors. (γ) and (δ) are of distinct value, being remarkable for their accuracy.

(ε) The Αἰγυπτιακά *of Manetho*.[1] In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus this celebrated priest of Sebennytos was commissioned by the King to draw up a general history of Egypt from native sources, and to translate his annals into Greek. From information which he obtained from priestly registers and ancient documents, Manetho compiled his history, dividing the long tale of his country's fortunes into thirty Dynasties, grouped as follows:—[2]

(1) The Old Empire:	Dynasties	I—X
(2) The Middle Empire:	„	XI—XVI
(3) The New Empire:	„	XVII—XXI
(4) The Foreign Dominion:	„	XXII—XXV
(5) The Restoration:	Dynasty	XXVI
(6) The Persian Supremacy:	Dynasties	XXVII—XXX

Manetho's labours, however, suffered much at the hands of later ignorant copyists. Four chief recensions of his "King-List" have come down to us, and are preserved in the *Chronography*[3] of George the Monk, the Syncellus of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 790). The versions are (1) that of Julius Africanus (*c.* A.D. 170–240): (2) that contained in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Cæsarea (A.D. 264–340): (3) the *Old Chronicle*:[4] and (4) the *Book of the Sothis*.[5] Of these, the version of Julius Africanus is by far the most accurate and reliable, inasmuch as it tallies closely with the evidence of the monuments. Egyptologists will never cease to regret (until a duplicate has been discovered) the destruction of the *Royal Papyrus of Turin* (compiled in the time of the XIXth Dynasty) which seems to have contained a fairly complete chronological list of the Dynasties and their Kings, written in the hieratic character. The papyrus, declined for purchase by the French Government in 1818, was bought by the King of Sardinia, and arrived in a tin box in practically a fragmentary condition.[6] Champollion le Jeune discovered its value, but was unable to restore it; and the so-called "restoration" of Seyffarth was of such a nature that its absurdities and reckless transpositions fully deserved the scathing criticism and condemnatory verdict of scholars like Rosellini,[7] Birch,[8] De Rougé,[9] and others.

III. *Chronology*

Into the hotly contested field of Egyptian chronology it is impossible to enter here in detail. The rival adherents of a "long" and of a "short" chronology have fiercely debated the problem. Some important dates have been fixed for us by their synchronisms with the accurately registered

[1] Full lists of Manetho's Kings will be found in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, 1832, and in Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 130 f. [2] See Fruin, *Manethonis Sebennytæ Reliquiæ*, Lyons, 1847. [3] Greek texts in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, i. Appendix: Lepsius, *Der Königsbuch der Alten Ægypter*, 1858: Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. (ed. Didot): Brugsch-Bouriant, *Le Livre des Rois*, 1887. [4] Müller, *op. cit.*, ii. 534. [5] Müller, ii. 607. [6] Champollion-Figeac in *Revue Archéol.*, vii. (1850), p. 398. [7] *Monumenti Storici.*, i. 147. [8] *Trans. Royal Soc. of Literature*, i. 204 (2nd Ser.), 1843. [9] *Revue Archéol.*, vii. 560.

Assyrian eponyms. The latter are so precise that if we can establish a correspondence between any Egyptian event and the year of a certain Assyrian *limmu* (the official from whom the year was named), we have at once a sure guide to enable us to date the Egyptian incident with almost infallible accuracy.[1] In this way, for example, the date of Amenhotep III is verified, inasmuch as he was a contemporary of Burnaburiash, King of Babylonia, whose era we know; and that of Amenhotep IV is similarly discovered, for his letters to Ashur-uballit of Assyria have been unearthed. These dates having been ascertained, the dates of other monarchs up and down can easily be counted, and the results checked by collateral evidence on the monuments. By these synchronisms the reigns of the Kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties can be dated with a large degree of certainty.

But it is otherwise with the Dynasties prior to the XVIIIth. The great gap in the monumental evidence occurs between the close of the XIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XVIIth, and the crux of the whole problem of Egyptian chronology lies in the question of how many or how few years must be allowed to embrace these five intermediate Dynasties.[2] An attempt has been made to solve the problem by a study of the heliacal rising of the Star Sothis or Sirius.[3] Sirius rises "heliacally" (*i.e.*, contemporaneously with the sun, or as nearly contemporaneously as is consistent with visibility) about the season of the beginning of the annual Nile inundation, and the period was therefore regarded from the earliest times as a convenient one from which to reckon the beginning of the year. Owing, however, to the want of a leap year in the Egyptian calendar, the New Year suffered a cyclical change; and after passing through all the months, when 1,461 years had elapsed, the heliacal rising of Sirius once more fell on the first day of the first month.[4]

Now, Borchardt[5] has proved, from a heliacal rising of Sirius recorded on a papyrus from Kahun which took place on the 17th of Pharmouthi (21st July) in the 7th year of Senusert III, that this event must have occurred in either B.C. 1874 or B.C. 3335, that is, 1,461 years earlier. Which date is the more likely for this great monarch of the XIIth Dynasty? Which era fits in best with the other Dynasties? Which allows adequate time for all the events of the XIIIth, XIVth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth Dynasties, the abounding details of which Egyptological research is continually bringing to light? Are 250 years sufficient into which to crowd all the reigns represented by the decline of the first Theban Empire, the Hyksos period, and the rise of the second Theban Empire?[6] Borchardt himself answers in the affirmative, and in this he is followed by others of the so-called "Berlin school," such as Professor Breasted[7] and Professor Lewis Paton.[8] Professor Flinders Petrie,[9] on the contrary, unhesitatingly

[1] See Lepsius, *Über den Chronologischen Werth der Assyrischen Eponymen und einige Berührungspunkte mit der Ægyptischen Chronologie*, Berlin, 1869: Oppert, *Memoire sur les Rapports de l'Egypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1869: George Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, 1876. [2] For an elaborate discussion on the intricacies of Manetho's chronology, see Unger, *Chronologie des Manetho*, Berlin, 1867; and especially Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Egypte* (2nd livraison), who gives a very complete collection of royal names and titles. [3] On this see Ginzel, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie* (1906), i. 181, and Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 95 (1910), art. CALENDAR (EGYPTIAN). [4] See Lieblein, "Le Lever heliaque de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti," in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxii. (1900), p. 352. [5] *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxvii. 99–101. [6] Manetho's copyists allow 453 years for the XIIIth Dynasty alone, and 510 years for the Hyksos Kings, making in all 963 years for the period. [7] *Hist. of Egypt.* [8] *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (1902), p. xii. [9] *Researches in Sinai* (1906), pp. 163–185: *Historical Studies*, p. 10 f. (1911).

gives his vote for the longer period, urging that it is impossible to cram into 250 years the mighty series of events just alluded to. So cogent is his reasoning, and so strong are his arguments, that on this point I feel I have no option but to adopt in the main the validity of his plea for the "longer" chronology.[1]

While, therefore, Professor Ed. Meyer's[2] date for the commencement of the Ist Dynasty is B.C. 3315, and that suggested by Hall[3] is about B.C. 3600, Petrie[4] boldly dates the Pyramid period from B.C. 4000–5000; that of the Heliopolitan Sun-worshippers from B.C. 5000–7000; the era of the Western Osiris worshippers from B.C. 7000–8000; and the primitive animal worshippers, perhaps Palæolithic, from before B.C. 8000. Without committing myself to this daring excursion into a very dim and remote era, I append Petrie's former date for the Ist Dynasty, and his dates for the succeeding Dynasties:—[5]

Dynasty	I	began	B.C.	5510	Dynasty	XVII	began	B.C. 1731
,,	II	,,	,,	5247	,,	XVIII	,,	,, 1580
,,	III	,,	,,	4945	,,	XIX	,,	,, 1322
,,	IV	,,	,,	4731	,,	XX	,,	,, 1202
,,	V	,,	,,	4454	,,	XXI	,,	,, 1102
,,	VI	,,	,,	4206	,,	XXII	,,	,, 952
,,	VII	,,	,,	4003	,,	XXIII	,,	,, 755
,,	VIII	,,	,,	3933	,,	XXIV	,,	,, 721
,,	IX	,,	,,	3787	,,	XXV	,,	,, 715
,,	X	,,	,,	3687	,,	XXVI	,,	,, 664
,,	XI	,,	,,	3502	,,	XXVII	,,	,, 525
,,	XII	,,	,,	3459	,,	XXVIII	,,	,, 405
,,	XIII	,,	,,	3246	,,	XXIX	,,	,, 399
,,	XIV	,,	,,	2793	,,	XXX	,,	,, 378
,,	XV	,,	,,	2533	,,	XXXI	,,	,, 342
,,	XVI	,,	,,	2249				

[1] Yet it is well to bear in mind the formidable difficulties attaching to this view in connection with the corresponding Cretan periods known as "Middle Minoan II" and "Late Minoan II": see Hall, *P.S.B.A.* (1909), pp. 135–148. [2] *Geschichte der Altertums* (2nd ed., 1909). [3] *The Ancient Hist. of the Near East*, p. 27 (1913). [4] In his Drew Lectures (1914), see *Ancient Egypt* (1914), p. 16. [5] To show how these dates synchronize with those of Biblical history, I have prepared a chronological table on page 515.

CHAPTER II

Palæolithic Man in Egypt and Canaan

The mention of Manetho's thirty Dynasties must not lead us to suppose that they mark the extreme limits of human occupation of the Nile Valley. Behind these historical Dynasties, modern discovery has revealed a vast hinterland of Neolithic and even Palæolithic man. We must picture the Egypt of Palæolithic times as being confined almost entirely to the plateaux which hem in the river on either side, for it was on these arid wastes that primitive man seems to have lived and died, while, down below, the dense jungles and swamps of the Nile were the haunt of ferocious crocodiles, and the lair of great herds of hippopotami. Here on the bare slopes, Palæolithic man eked out a miserable existence, supporting himself on the desert gazelles and lizards, and continually exposed to attacks from cobras, snakes, and scorpions that lurked behind every stone.

The evidence for the existence of Palæolithic man in Egypt has, however, not been accepted by all as adequately attested. Forbes [1] strenuously maintains the negative nature of the testimony adduced: Sir J. W. Dawson [2] arrives at an equally unfavourable view: Beadnell [3] sums up his investigations rather adversely to the theory; while Blanckenhorn,[4] who has minutely studied the configuration of the Nile Valley of the Tertiary and Quaternary periods, states his conviction that much more work by geologists and anthropologists is needed before the existence of Palæolithic man in Egypt may be considered an established fact. It must also be frankly acknowledged that the greatest caution is necessary in arguing from the presence of so-called "Eoliths" in Egyptian gravels, for Boulé [5] has published photographs of chipped "Eoliths" artificially produced from flints freshly dug from the chalk by the washing mills of cement works, the action in these being closely analogous to that of a torrent stream. Similar results from various accidental causes have been noticed by other observers.[6]

But on the other hand, quite a number of skilled and competent scientists have arrived at the conclusion that the evidences for the existence of Palæolithic man on the bare wind-swept plateaux that border the Nile are indisputable. General Pitt-Rivers [7] in 1881 discovered numerous Palæolithic flint implements in these localities, and his reasonings were adopted and amplified by de Morgan [8] and Sir John Evans.[9] Schwein-

[1] "On a Collection of Stone Implements in the Mayer Museum" in *Bullet. Liverpool Museum*, ii., Jan., 1900. [2] *Egypt and Syria, their Physical Features in relation to Bible History*, p. 141 f. [3] *Geolog. Mag.*, Ser. iv. x. 53. [4] *Zeitsch. d. Gesch. für Erdkunde*, 1902, pp. 694, 753. [5] "L'Origine des Éolithes" in *l'Anthropologie*, xvi. 257. [6] See *Anthrop. Journ.*, xxxv. 337, and *Man*, 1905–06. [7] *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.* xi. (1882), 382. [8] *L'Age de la Pierre et les Metaux*, 1896, p. 101. [9] *The Antiquity of Man*, p. 13, an address delivered in Birmingham, Oct., 1899.

furth's [1] investigations have also been fruitful in revealing abundant fresh evidence. On the desert slopes above Thebes there may be picked up innumerable flint implements and perfect weapons, burnt black and patinated by ages of sunlight. In the sandstone regions at Assuan, Palæolithic implements of quartz and other hard rocks have been discovered.[2] Seton-Karr has found numerous specimens at the Wady-esh-Shêkh on the right bank of the Nile opposite Maghagha. Ayrton and Hall discovered examples of the typical Chellean and Acheulian forms in similar localities,[3] while Findlay[4] made a collection of worked flints from Gebel el Gheir near Luxor. Specimens of unworked flints, finely worked knives, saws, javelin heads, etc., mostly from Helwan, are preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.[5] Petrie [6] mentions the finding of similar flints in abundance at Helwan,[7] Gizeh, and at the back of Birket Qurun [8]; at Medinet Mahdi in the Fayum [9]; at Tell-el-Amarna on the top of the desert plateau; at Abydos [10]; at Qurneh [11]; at the south of Medinet Abu, and at El Kab.[9] Palæolithic flint implements have also been found in different parts of Egypt by Sir Richard Burton, Jukes Brown, Greg, Haynes, Sterns [12] and others, while collections of flint arrowheads have been made from Libya,[13] and from the Egyptian Sahara.[14]

The question whether the climate of the Nile Valley was in any way different from what it is to-day has been much debated. There are those like Professor Breasted who maintain that "plenteous rains, now no longer known there, rendered it a fertile and productive region," but "geological changes have since made the country almost rainless, denuded it of vegetation and soil, and made it for the most part uninhabitable."[15] On the other hand, observers such as King and Hall,[16] urge that there has been no alteration in the climate, that the lateral wadies, which present an appearance to-day of deserted river channels that were once clothed with primeval forests, were really excavated by abnormal rainstorms acting through an unknown number of centuries, and that these debouching valleys and their adjacent plateaux were never covered with fresh vegetation. The problem is still undecided.

It must always be remembered, in dealing with the date of these primitive flint implements, that the use of stone weapons of a rude type survived into comparatively late epochs of Egyptian history, being found in use even during the XIIth Dynasty.[17] Stone knives were for long *de rigueur* in connection with the art of embalming, the only legitimate way of opening the body for this purpose being to employ a flint lancet.[18] A dagger-like instrument of flint from Egypt, still mounted in its original wooden handle, is in the British Museum.[19] Another knife of cherty flint

[1] *Petermann's Geog. Mitteil.* 1903, Heft 11: *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, 1903, p. 798. [2] Schweinfurth, *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, 1909, p. 735. [3] King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the light of recent discoveries*, p. 9. [4] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1894, p. 226. [5] *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.*, iv. 215–222: vii. 323, 396–412: viii. 290–318: x. 424–428: xi. 382–400, and *l'Anthropologie*, iii. 405–425. [6] *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 7. [7] See H. S. Cowper in *Man* 1911, No. 5, for minute flint implements from the sandy plain just west of Helwan. [8] *Kahun*, p. 21. [9] *Berlin Anthrop. Gesell.* Nov. 16, 1889. [10] *Ibid.* [11] *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.* iv. 215. [12] F. H. Sterns in *Harvard African Studies*, i. (1917), pp. 48–82. [13] *Congrès Internat. Préhist. Arch.*, Stockholm, i. 76–79. [14] *Rev. Archéol.*, xlii. (1881), 1–18. [15] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt* (1906), p. 25. [16] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1–14. [17] For a description of the exquisitely formed flint knives in use till even the XIIth Dynasty, see Griffith, *Beni-Hasan*, Pt. iii. (1896), p. 33 f.: Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. xvi.: Petrie, *Illahun*, Pl. vii., xiii., and the chapter by Spurrell in the last-named memoir, p. 51 f. [18] See Herod. ii. 86: Diod. Sic., i. 91. [19] Figured in Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 8.

from Egypt, 8¼ inches in length, 2⅜ inches in breadth, is remarkably similar to one discovered in the river gravels of France.[1]

From this brief survey of the evidences of the existence of Palæolithic man in Egypt from Thebes to the Delta, we turn to look at the tract of land which unites Egypt to Canaan, namely the peninsula of Sinai. This region was, practically from the earliest to the latest times, an integral portion of the Egyptian Kingdom, and its connection with the government in the Nile Valley was intimate and enduring. It is of interest therefore to note that in Sinai as in Egypt traces of the presence of Palæolithic man are to be discovered. As far back as 1862, unworked flakes and tanged spear-head-like implements of chert were found in a cave at Wady Maghara.[2] In 1905, Currelly discovered many Palæolithic flints in the same region, and on the great Tîh road between Suez and Akaba he found the plateaux strewn with thousands of flakes and implements of the standard pattern.[3] While the majority were of poor workmanship, some were of the regular celt shape, the rest being small scrapers. The significance of the discovery of these flints lies in the fact that this highway has always been one of the main arteries of communication between Egypt and Canaan. Palæolithic man may thus with the greatest ease have passed from the Nile to the Jordan and *vice versa*, and the innumerable flint remains found along the ancient highway are evidences of his wandering propensities.[4]

On entering Palestine, numerous traces of the same Palæolithic civilization meet us. At Lachish (Tell-el-Hesy), Bliss found long Palæolithic flint implements, "some of which for length and thinness were marvels, the regularity of thickness, the length without a curve, and the cleanness of the edge, making their likeness to ribbons not unreasonable."[5] In the neighbourhood of Gezer,[6] Macalister came across flint implements in great profusion.[7] In the fields between Gezer and Ramleh they were in such numbers as to attest the fact that this must have been a centre of Palæolithic population.[8] Specimens of the characteristic axehead have been picked up on the Maritime Plain, in yet greater numbers on the plateaux south of Jerusalem, and in considerable quantities in the region to the south of Ammam, east of the Jordan. Some also have been discovered far to the south in the neighbourhood of Petra. It is significant that none are as yet reported from the lower reaches of the Jordan Valley, the explanation no doubt being that in the Chellean period these were still covered by the Dead Sea, then much more extensive than in its present shrunken dimensions.[9] In the Museum of the Monastery of Notre Dame de France at Jerusalem there is a collection of Palæolithic implements, over 5,000 in number, principally obtained by Père Germer-Durand from the plain of the Biqa'a and neighbourhood, and from the

[1] See Cartailhac, *L'Age de Pierre dans les Souvenirs et Superstitions Populaires*, p. 65: *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'homme* (1874), ix. 24: *La France Préhistorique*, p. 7: and for an exhaustive summary of the case as it stands to-day, see Petrie, "The Stone Age in Egypt" in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, Pt. ii. 59: iii. 122. [2] *Journal Anthrop. Instit.*, i. 338, 344; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vi. 253. [3] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 227, 267, and Plate 163. [4] On the other hand, Woolley and Laurence (*Pal. Explor. Fund Annual*, 1914–15, p. 19) assert that these flints are modern, and not of prehistoric date. [5] Bliss, *A Mound of many Cities*, p. 193. [6] Not, however, on the hill on which Gezer was afterwards built. [7] "In the fields around, especially to the N.W. and N., stone axes of the Chellean type, the most frequently represented among the Palæolithic remains of Palestine, are to be found, especially after the soil has been turned up by the plough"—Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, i. 6: ii. 121 (1912). [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 324: 1904, p. 108. [9] Macalister, *A Hist. of Civilization in Palestine*, p. 9.

district round El-Bîreh.[1] At the back of Olivet, Professor Clermont-Ganneau reports having discovered " a prodigious quantity of flint chips." [2] The village of Siloam has furnished other examples of the presence of Palæolithic man, and both the east and west hills inside Jerusalem must once have been tenanted by these primitive folk.[3] Similar Palæolithic specimens have been found at Bethsaour,[4] the plain of Rephaim,[5] and at Bethlehem ; [6] by Conder in Galilee, and in the great caverns of Moab with their stalagmitic floors ; [7] by Macalister and Currelly [8] round the foot of Tell Kâmon, between Haifa and Tell Mutasellim, along the plain called Merj el-Gharak, especially south of the village of Sanûr, and at other spots.[9] Greville Chester discovered at Beirut the site of a Palæolithic flint factory, consisting of eight little mounds where the primitive workers must have sat chipping their implements into shape, while in the rubbish heaps, some beautiful leaf-shaped lance heads, saws, and other tools were unearthed.[10] Dawson also records the discovery in Lebanon of the traces of primeval man associated with a fauna now extinct.[11]

From these facts it is evident that we can trace the presence of Palæolithic man from the far north of Canaan, southwards into the region about Jerusalem, onwards into the Negeb and the rocky fastnesses of Sinai, from there into the Delta of the Nile, and along the plateaux that line both banks of the river as far up as Thebes. Further investigation would doubtless still more amply corroborate these conclusions. How extensive were the migrations of these primitive peoples, how many centuries they remained in their primeval savagery, to what stage of development of tribal organization and social laws they attained, are questions of great interest which unfortunately it is beyond our power to answer. Yet the homogeneity of the types of implements bequeathed by these early dwellers in Egypt and Canaan suggests a close inter-relation between the two countries, an association which was prophetic of the still more intimate correspondences of subsequent times.

Keenly would we like to know the nature of the religious views held by these primitive inhabitants of Palestine and Egypt. Canon MacCulloch[12] has, with considerable success and much ingenuity, collected evidence which shows us that Palæolithic dwellers in other lands, and reasonably therefore in the Eastern countries of which we are treating, were by no means destitute of religious sentiments.[13] Indeed his researches and arguments suggest rather that the men of Quaternary times possessed a comparatively rich religious heritage. They had " high gods," whose aid they invoked by means of a " bull-roarer " ;[14] they represented their

[1] *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 439. [2] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæolog. Researches*, i. 273 : see also G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 285, and for other localities, see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907), ch. vi., pp. 375 f. [3] Guthe in *Zeitsch. Deutsch. Paläst. Verein*, v. : Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.* i. 291. [4] Black in *Proc. Soc. Antiq., Scot.* (1892), ii. 398 (3rd Ser.) : and *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.*, i. 337–344. [5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 83 : 1913, p. 184. [6] Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 47. [7] *Ibid.* [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 17. [9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 82. [10] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1875, p. 227. [11] Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands* (1888), ch. iii. [12] " The Religion of Palæolithic Man " in *Expos. Times*, xvii. (1906), p. 487 f. [13] Professor Alex. Macalister has also stated (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1908, p. 190) in connection with his son's excavations at Gezer, " On the wall of the cave were found extremely graphic linear pictures scored on the surface by the old cave-dwellers. · . . these are the earliest examples of Palestinian art that have come down to us. And as these compare with and resemble those found in many caves in the South of France, they show that the dwellers in Palestine, in the Stone Age, had a great deal in common with those who lived in the South of France. They are mostly rude outlines of animals, generally cows, and comparable with those found in the caves of Cannstadt, Perigord, and Laugerie Basse." [14] *Cf.* Andrew Lang's article on BULL-ROARER in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, ii. 889.

divinities in artistic shape, mainly as goddesses of the Aphrodite-Ishtar type: they prayed to them, for rude wall-paintings reveal certain human figures wearing animal masks, while the arms and hands are raised in front of the face as if in supplication. They worshipped the dead, stripped the flesh from the bones, and either ate it or otherwise disposed of it, in order that the strength of the deceased might pass into themselves. They believed in a future life, for they painted the bones with red ochre to make them presentable to the gods to whom the departed one had now returned, and decorated the corpse with shells. They believed in ghosts and were probably animists. They wore amulets, and therefore believed in magic. They worshipped certain animals as totems, and in particular they venerated the serpent, and regarded trees as objects of reverence. They adored the sun, and in that early age they had already evolved a certain number of quasi-religious symbols.

Some of Canon MacCulloch's conclusions may require modification, but in any case there is every reason to believe that Palæolithic men, both in Egypt and in Canaan, were theists in some dim and fragmentary sense, and that in their mutual pathetic strivings after religious certainty, they *sought God, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him.*[1]

[1] Acts 17.[27]

CHAPTER III

Neolithic Man in Canaan and Egypt

If the remains of Palæolithic man in Canaan and Egypt are tantalizingly baffling as we endeavour to extract from them answers to the many questions which we would fain have resolved, when we turn next to deal with Neolithic man, the very wealth of material at our disposal raises other problems equally embarrassing and difficult.[1]

1. *Neolithic Man in Canaan*

During his excavations at Gezer, Macalister[2] came upon many traces of Neolithic man. Celts of polished basalt, and flint implements of many patterns, were numerous. That the users of these tools were not Semites is proved by the fact that they habitually sacrificed pigs. It has even been conjectured that the Semitic abhorrence of the pig as an article of diet, or as an object of oblation, may be based on the fact that the animal was associated in the Semitic mind with the unclean Neolithic race which they had superseded. The soft limestone rock of which Gezer is composed yields a profusion of caves, some of large dimensions, and the convenience of a ready-made shelter induced many of these early Neolithic peoples to become troglodytes.[3] They practised cremation of their dead, as is testified by the half-burnt remains of human bones; and in some cases they were addicted to cannibalism, for the half-eaten body of a girl was discovered in one of the Gezer caverns. From the circumstance that one of the chamber floors was found to be covered with cup marks, we learn that the floor was looked on as a gigantic table for the reception of offerings either to the dim divinities whom they feared, or to the *manes* of their deceased friends.[4] And when we find that similar gifts in similar Neolithic sanctuaries have been discovered by Schumacher at Megiddo,[5] and by Sellin at Taanach,[6] we recognize in these Palestinian funeral customs a practice closely analogous to that current in Egypt, whereby food supplies and other offerings were placed in mastabas for the benefit of the dead. Thus, in these far-off prehistoric days we light upon a link connecting Canaan with the religious conceptions of the Nile Valley.[7]

It is a matter of profound interest to trace the future of these early Stone Age inhabitants of Palestine. These troglodyte Neolithic peoples may, with some probability, be identified with the *Horites* or

[1] For Neolithic remains round Jerusalem, see Kellner, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1913, p. 184. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, pp. 324, 367: 1903, p. 196: 1904, pp. 108-114. [3] Full details in Vincent, *op. cit.* [4] Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, i. 139. [5] *Mitth. und Nachrichten d. Deutsch. Paläst. Verein*, 1906, Fig. 16. [6] *Eine Nachlese*, etc. p. 20 f. [7] See Vincent, *op. cit.* p. 252.

Horim, who were the predecessors in Palestine of the later Semitic races.[1] The name "Horite" has been explained as meaning "cave-dweller."[2] If that be so, we discover interesting reminiscences of how widespread were their early dwelling-places in the fact that the aboriginal tribes which inhabited the rocky cañons and caverns of Mount Seir are described as bearing the same name.[3] Centuries later, Chedorlaomer *smote the Horites in their Mount Seir.*[4] After the territory was allotted to Esau, there seems to have taken place a mingling of the two races—the primitive cave-dwellers and the invading Semites. Although the latter possessed the land, the ancient inhabitants for a time at least preserved their national identity, for we have genealogies of Horite dignitaries even after the Semitic wave had broken over their ancestral seats. *These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land . . . these are the dukes that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom.*[5] But gradually the Neolithic race dwindled away. *The Horites dwelt in Seir aforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them, and destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead.*[6]

The question whether these Neolithic Horites are to be regarded as akin to the other primitive races of Canaan—the Rephaim, Anakim, Avvim, and Zuzim—is not easy to determine. The troglodytes were of small stature, and were seemingly not one with the race of gigantic aborigines. The latter, however, though their ancestry cannot be accurately traced, seem to have formed part of the prehistoric inhabitants of Canaan, and belonged to the same Neolithic civilization, individuals of which survived till a comparatively late period. Their once wide dominion, their terrifying aspect, and their enormous brute strength contribute to form one of those "romances of lost empires," on which archæology is to-day casting fresh light. It may be well, therefore, briefly to indicate the later history and final disappearance of these wild Neolithic peoples of Palestine before we pass on to speak of their contemporaries in Egypt.

The most general term for these early giant races of Canaan is the *Rephaim.* They inhabited both sides of the Jordan Valley, but were specially prevalent in later ages in the region to the north-east of Gilead. *Chedorlaomer smote the Rephaim in Ashtaroth-Karnaim*: [7] *Bashan is called the land of the Rephaim.*[8] Jehovah promised Abram that his seed would possess *the land of the Rephaim.*[9] But their extinction progressed apace. By the time of Moses, the Neolithic giants had almost disappeared: *Only Og, King of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the Rephaim.*[10] The name lingered on into later periods in association with certain localities where the gigantic race had once been predominant. In Judah, there was a township known as *Beth-rapha.*[11] To the south of Jerusalem was the well-known *Valley of the Rephaim.*[12] A few of the ancient stock survived into the historic period, such as *Ishbi-benob, who was of the sons of Raphah, the weight of whose spear was* 300 *shekels of bronze*; [13] *Saph, who was of the sons of*

[1] For a further discussion, see Isid. Lévy, "Les Horites, Edom, et Jacob dans les monuments égyptiens" in *Rev. des Études juiv*, li. (1906), pp. 32–51. [2] See Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 38. This meaning, "cave-dweller," has been disputed. Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 264) identifies the Horim with the Egyptian *Khar, i.e.*, dwellers in the land of Khar (or Gari), or Southern Palestine, but more especially Edom. See also Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 37, though with some hesitation. [3] It is of interest to note that the Horites of Petra and the ancient Neolithic inhabitants of Upper Egypt hollowed out caverns from the same rock formation—the Nubian Sandstone. [4] Gen. 14.[6] [5] Gen. 36.[20 21 29 30] [6] Dt. 2.[12 22]. [7] Gen. 14.[5] [8] Dt. 3.[13] [9] Gen. 15.[20] [10] Dt. 3,[11] Jos. 12,[4] 13.[12] [11] 1 Chron. 4.[12] [12] Jos. 15,[8] 18,[16] 2 Sam. 5,[18 22] 23,[13] Isa. 17.[5] [13] 2 Sam. 21.[16].

Raphah;[1] and *the man at Gath of great stature, who also was born to the Raphah, that had on each hand six fingers, and on each foot six toes.*[2] Presumably also, *Goliath of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span,*[3] though politically a Philistine, was ethnologically of the stock of the Rephaim. Later, when this mammoth race had become practically extinct, their name became a synonym for the ghostly dwellers in the underworld of shades into which the once all-powerful giants had descended. *The Rephaim tremble beneath the waters.*[4] *Wilt Thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the Rephaim arise and praise Thee?*[5] *Her house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the Rephaim.*[6] *He knoweth not that the Rephaim are there, that her guests are in the depths of Sheol.*[7] *The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall rest in the congregation of the Rephaim.*[8] *Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming, it stirreth up the Rephaim for thee.*[9] *They are the Rephaim, they shall not rise.*[10] *The earth shall cast forth the Rephaim.*[11] Surely it is one of the most extraordinary instances of the utter and overwhelming downfall of a once proud race which trusted in its brute strength, that after centuries of gradual but systematic extinction, nothing should survive of its past fame except its name, now associated with the underworld of the dead!

Another branch of this primitive Neolithic stock which continued into the historic period was that of the *Anakim*, also of giant size. Their principal seat was in the south of Canaan at Hebron, where *Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were.*[12] Their gigantic stature induced the Hebrew spies to describe them as *Nephilim,*[13] the legendary demigods of primeval tradition.[14] Moses is represented as saying at a later day: "*Thou art to go in to possess cities great and fenced up to heaven, a people great and tall, the sons of the Anakim, of whom thou hast heard say, 'Who can stand before the sons of Anak?'*"[15] Under Joshua this giant race was exterminated. *Joshua cut off the Anakim from the hill country: there was none of the Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel, only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, did some remain.*[16]

In the mountainous backbone of Canaan, as well as near Gaza, there was a third group of primitive people known as *Avvim*, who also were gradually exterminated by foreign invasion. *The Caphtorim, which came out of Caphtor, destroyed the Avvim which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, and dwelt in their stead.*[17] The process of extinction was slow, for even in the time of Joshua the land of *the Avvim, on the south,*[18] had not been subdued, while one of the cities allotted to Benjamin was still known as *Avvim.*[19] They represented probably a branch of the Neolithic stock which survived into historic times, though in greatly reduced numbers.

On the east of Jordan we come across traces of the survival of still a fourth branch of the same Neolithic race. The *Zuzim*[20] *in Ham*[21] occupied the region south of the Bashanite Rephaim, in the territory occupied later by the Ammonites. They were smitten by Chedorlaomer at the same time as the Rephaim and the Horites. They are to be identified with

[1] 2 Sam. 21[18] = 1 Chr. 20.[4] [2] 2 Sam. 21[20] = 1 Chr. 20.[6] [3] 1 Sam. 17[4]. [4] Job 26.[5] [5] Ps. 88.[10] [6] Prov. 2[18] [7] Prov. 9.[18] [8] Prov. 21.[16] [9] Isa. 14.[9] [10] Isa. 26[14] [11] Isa. 26.[19] [12] Num. 13.[22 28] [13] v.[33] [14] Gen. 6.[4] [15] Dt. 9.[1 2] [16] Jos. 11.[21 22]; *cf.* Jos. 14,[12 15], 15,[13 14] 21,[11] Judg. 1.[20] [17] Dt. 3.[23] [18] Jos. 13.[4] [19] Jos. 18.[28] [20] Gen. 14.[5] [21] As regards this *Ham*, whether it is a locality (= Ammon?), or to be translated בְּהֵם, or as in the LXX ἅμα αὐτοῖς = "with them," see Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 289.

the *Zamzummim*,[1] regarding whom we possess the interesting archæological note: *That also is accounted a land of Rephaim: Rephaim dwelt therein aforetime: but the Ammonites call them Zamzummim, a people great, and many, and tall as the Anakim; but the Lord destroyed them before them and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead.*[2]

The last branch of these Neolithic Canaanite races was seemingly the *Emim*. Their name—the "terrible" or "formidable" ones—suggests the dread with which they inspired the other inhabitants of the land. They, too, were attacked by Chedorlaomer *in Shaveh-Kiriathaim*.[3] But like the other prehistoric races they were doomed to extinction, and soon they left merely a name behind them. *The Emim dwelt therein aforetime, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim: these also are accounted Rephaim, as the Anakim: but the Moabites call them Emim.*[4]

It is probable that it is to this prehistoric Neolithic stock that we owe the vast megalithic monuments found in such profusion in Canaan, mainly on the east of Jordan.[5] While many of these belong to a comparatively late period, the majority must be ascribed to the Stone Age. They consist of gigantic *menhirs*, solitary, upright blocks, the prototype of the Egyptian obelisk; *cromlechs*, or circles both of stone and of earth; *dolmens*, or stone tables formed by placing one flat slab on two uprights; *cairns* of all sizes; and *barrows* or subterranean earthworks and tunnels. In the solid, rectangular shape of the great dolmenic tomb of Rujm-el-Melfuf, and in the Kabur ben Israim near Jerusalem, which belong to the advanced period of megalithic civilization, it is fascinating to trace clear analogies to the pyramids of Egypt. The Syrian type never advanced beyond the rude massive structure, the Nilotic type developed by insensible degrees into the magnificence of the true Egyptian pyramid. Their respective builders belonged originally to the same stock, and their community of ideas found vent in fundamentally similar structures.[6] These Neolithic megalithic structures have been traced through North Africa, Spain, France,[7] England, Ireland to the Scottish Hebrides, and their similarity and homogeneity of type suggest the question whether those who erected them may not all have belonged to a single blond race of European origin, the so-called Kelto-Libyan stock, which once occupied the entire coast of the Mediterranean. If this supposition be correct, the Palestinian Neolithic peoples may not have been autochthonous, but themselves immigrants from Europe into Canaan.[8]

[1] For the variation of the names *Zuzim* and *Zamzummim*, as derived from the transliteration of a cuneiform original, see Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 160: and *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 463. The word *Zamzummim* has been conjectured to be akin to the Arabic *zamzammah*, a "distant and confused noise," and it may refer to the spirits of the giants which were supposed to haunt the hills and ruins of Eastern Palestine, and to whisper and murmur at nightfall. See Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 64 f.: and *Z.A.T.W.* (1898), p. 132 f.: Robertson Smith in Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 40. [2] Dt. $2^{20\,21}$. [3] Gen. 14^{5}. [4] Dt. $2^{10\,11}$. [5] For full information regarding these huge structures, and illustrations of them, see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 375 f.: Père Lagrange in *Rev. Biblique*, x., Pt. 2, 1901: Conder, *Heth and Moab*, ch. vii. pp. 196–275: *Syrian Stone Lore*, pp. 42, 43, 70: *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, p. 75 f.: Schumacher, *The Jaulan*, p. 123 f.: and *Across the Jordan*, pp. 62, 149 f. [6] Mackenzie, *Megalithic Monuments of Rabbath Ammon at Amman* (P.E.F. Annual, 1911), p. 12. [7] Capitan and Arnaud d'Agnel ("Rapports de l'Égypte et de la Gaule à l'epoque néolithique" in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad.*, 1905, p. 423 f.) have shown that as far back as the Neolithic period, France was repeatedly visited by Egyptian navigators, who have left traces of their presence. [8] This view that the megalithic monuments of Asia, North Africa and Europe are the work of one race, and that their wide extent is to be explained by the migrations of that race is strongly urged by T. Eric Peet, *Ann. of Archæol. and Anthrop.*, v. (1913), 112–128.

II. *Neolithic Man in Egypt*

When we pass from the consideration of Neolithic man in Canaan to the contemporary Neolithic civilization in the Nile Valley, we find remains of the race in question in such abundance that their graves may be counted by the thousand. When these graves were first explored, Professor Petrie was led into supposing that they were relics of a "New Race," who had imposed themselves on Egypt some time after the IVth Dynasty and before the XIIth.[1] At the other extreme, Amelineau,[2] who in 1895–98 excavated at Abydos, carried away with enthusiasm over his discovery of the alleged tomb of the mythical Osiris,[3] relegated these graves to the most ancient periods of the semi-divine age with which legend has filled up the vast stretch of centuries prior to the establishment of the dynastic Egyptians. For this period, during which gods and demi-gods ruled in Egypt, Manetho has allowed an era of 12,843 years!

The dispute was finally set at rest by de Morgan,[4] who, by thorough examination of the graves, proved that Petrie's "New Race" were really the Neolithic aborigines, or at least, the peoples inhabiting the Nile Valley before the dynastic Egyptians became paramount. The error in diagnosis was immediately admitted by Quibell,[5] the joint explorer with Petrie of these ancient graves at Nagada and Ballas, and Petrie also retracted what he had too hastily advanced.[6]

The distinguishing features of this Neolithic civilization are the shallow, oval graves in which their dead were buried, sometimes only a few inches below the surface. The corpses are frequently placed in a rough casing of pottery, often without even a mat to cover them, laid always on the left side, the knees drawn up to the chin. Their cemeteries were placed at the entrance to wadies which debouch on the main Nile Valley, where they would be exposed to winds that sometimes swept the bodies bare, and left them exposed to the ravages of jackals and of human beings. In the graves were deposited flint weapons; various stone tools; pots of red and black, or buff and red, coloration; slate palettes, upon which they ground green malachite, with beautifully carved representations of animals on them, and other objects. The remains were never embalmed, nor were there any mummies.[7]

By the pottery found in enormous abundance in these ancient graves, their chronological sequence may be roughly ascertained. The black and red ware represents the more primitive type, the buff and red designs the later forms of pre-dynastic art. According to Petrie, these types were introduced to Egypt by an immigration from Palestine 2,000 years before the Ist Dynasty.[8] Petrie has been able to draw up a table of sequence-dates (from 30 to 80), which has been adopted by Randall MacIver and other explorers.[9] The gradual evolution of the primitive desert grave

[1] The theory was developed in Petrie and Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, 1896, p. 59 f. [2] Amelineau, *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1896. [3] *Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, p. 91 (Paris, 1899). The alleged tomb has since been found to be only a copy. For an explanation of the blunder of Seti I, and his royal scribes, in identifying this tomb (really that of King Khent or Zer) with that of Khent-Amenti-Osiris, lord of Abydos, and of the underworld, see King and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 87. [4] *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte* (1898), vol. ii. [5] *El-Kab* (1897), p. 11. [6] *Diospolis Parva* (1901), p. 2. [7] An excellent series of photographs of pre-dynastic graves and their contents is given by Ayrton and Loat, *The Pre-dynastic Cemetery of El-Mahasna*, 1911. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 222: Welch (*Ib.* 1900, p. 342) states that this pre-dynastic pottery is in many ways similar to that used in early Canaan by the "Amorite" population. [9] Petrie, *El Amra and Abydos*, 1902.

to the most elaborate tomb has also been traced. By their excavations at El Amra, MacIver and Wilkin have been able to show a progressive development from the simplest pot interment to the small brick chamber, the prototype of the mastabas of the Ist Dynasty.[1] Professor Garstang has explored similar prehistoric cemeteries at Ragagna, north of Abydos, and the same phenomena have presented themselves at Naga-ed-Dêr opposite Girga, and at el-Ahaiwa, excavated by Reisner, Mace, and Lythgoe.[2]

According to Petrie, the present limits of Neolithic culture are in the districts of Abydos [3] and Thebes, from El-Kawamil in the north to El-Kab in the south,[4] but numbers of Neolithic flint weapons are to be found in the desert on the borders of the Fayum,[5] and at Helwan, south of Cairo. The Neolithic type of contracted burial is found existing side by side with mummified bodies in the necropolis of Medum in the IVth Dynasty; at Dashasha in the Vth Dynasty; and amongst the poorer classes under the VIth Dynasty. From being universal in the palmy days of Neolithic culture, it became restricted among the early dynastic Kings to persons of lower rank, until finally, under the advance of new ideas as to the disposal of the dead, the custom was altogether laid aside, though in some remote districts it lingered on, possibly even to the XIIth Dynasty.[6]

Questions relating to these Neolithic Nile races have given rise to much discussion. What was the ancestral home of these pre-dynastic peoples? With what stock or stocks are we to identify them? In what relationship do they stand to the dynastic Egyptians? Were they the ancestors of the nation who built the pyramids, mummified their dead, and figured so largely on the pages of history? Or were the dynastic Egyptians immigrants from some other locality?

To these questions it may be said, in the first place, that there are some scholars, like Professor Sergi,[7] who can find no difference of race on anthropological or craniological grounds between the aboriginal peoples and the dynastic Egyptians; and who assert that both alike belong to the "Mediterranean" stock, and are of African origin; and who, like Newberry and Garstang,[8] declare it is impossible to separate the prehistoric from close affinity with the historic Egyptians.

But there are others who discover a cleavage between the races. Some have pointed out that there is evidence to show that the Neolithic population was of Hamitic, that is, native African stock, while the dynastic Egyptians reveal distinct Semitic affinities.[9] Certainly as one studies the gradual development of Egyptian religion, one is conscious that, down all the centuries, there are interwoven two originally distinct strands.

[1] Hall (*Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 84) remarks: "In nothing is the continuity of the archaic culture with the Neolithic of Upper Egypt shown more clearly than in the development of the graves, which progress uniformly from the oldest shallow oval pit to the characteristic chambers of the Ist Dynasty, through the staircased graves of the IIIrd to the Vth, and to the deep pits with chambers of the VIth and the XIIth." [2] *Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr.* [3] The latest account of Abydos is by Naville in *The Journal of Egypt. Archæology*, i. p. 1. (1914). [4] But Seligmann has discovered a Neolithic site near a permanent water-hole at the foot of a rocky hill projecting out of the plains of the Gezira, south of Khartoum. (*Journ. of Roy. Anthropol. Instit.*, xl. 209.) [5] See also Seton-Karr's report of Neolithic flint implements found by him in the desert north of the Fayum. (*Annales du Service des Antiq.*, vi. (1905) 185.) [6] Such as at Kostammeh, a few miles to the north of Dakkah (Garstang and Jones in *Arch. Rep. Egypt Explor. Fund*, 1905–06, p. 20. [7] *The Mediterranean Race*, p. 112. [8] *A Short Hist. of Ancient Egypt*, 1904, p. 10. [9] Naville (*Journ. Anthrop. Instit.*, xxxvii. (1907)) maintains that the pre-dynastic Egyptians were native African hunters and fishers untouched by Asia: the dynastic Egyptians were improved by immigration from Arabia through Nubia.

The one is as thoroughly "African" as the other is Semitic: and although, in process of time, the two types seem to coalesce, and become almost indistinguishable, it is still possible by careful scrutiny to dissever afresh these anciently distinct, and once antagonistic, forms of belief. The predominant element in the religion of the Neolithic Hamites seems to have been an animistic veneration for sacred animals. It was their fertile imagination which peopled the lower world with those grotesque and elaborate animal forms which we are accustomed to associate with the Egyptian religion. Their animistic conceptions lingered on through all the succeeding centuries, and by captivating the minds of the dynastic Egyptians, led them to that extravagant and degrading worship of cows, crocodiles, snakes, cats and other animals, which lasted into Roman times, and excited the amazement of tourists and historians. So powerful indeed was the pervasive influence of their religious beliefs that Budge contends that the origin of Egyptian religion, and especially its central figure, Osiris, with his ritual of death and resurrection, is to be found in Africa. "Egyptian religion," he affirms, "in its cruelty, its cannibalism, its blood-thirstiness, its brutal customs, its eschatology, its general negroid colouring, is African through and through." [1]

On the other hand, however, inwoven with this savage Neolithic element, we can discern traces of a higher and purer faith. This was associated with the worship of the Sun, and of sacred stones dedicated to the Sun. This was distinctly a Semitic, and even a Canaanite, type of religion, for the *mazzeboth*, so frequently referred to in Scripture,[2] were peculiarly Palestinian. The Sun-worship was principally associated with On, or Heliopolis, in the Delta, where Semites predominated. Even the Egyptian name for the Sun-god—*Ra*—is probably connected with the Semitic "*or*," "light." [3] The great *Ptah*, worshipped mainly in the North of Egypt, means the "opener," the name being akin to the Hebrew word *pathach*.[4] He was always represented as a little bow-legged hydrocephalous dwarf, whose appearance suggested affinity with the Phœnician Κάβειροι. So that even the god from whom Egypt took its name was originally non-Egyptian, but a Semitic importation from Canaan.[5] Seeing then that Hamitic Africans and Semitic Asiatics are discoverable side by side in the Nile Valley, we ask, did the Hamite displace the Semite, or did the Semite conquer the Hamite?

There is much to be said for the latter view, namely, that the Neolithic population was overrun by a Semitic invasion which imposed a new civilization, with fresh ideals, and a different culture. It has been maintained by a number of scholars that after the Neolithic tribes had come down the Nile from their aboriginal seats in Abyssinia, and had settled in Middle and Lower Egypt,[6] they were themselves overwhelmed by

[1] Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1912. [2] Ex. 23,[24] 34,[13] Dt. 7,[5] 16,[22] 1 Ki. 14,[23] 2 Ki. 3,[2] 10,[26] 17,[10] 18,[4] 23,[14] Jer. 43,[13] Hos. 3,[4] 10,[1 2] etc. [3] אוֹר. Though this is denied (Breasted, *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.* 1914 (xxx), p. 127). [4] פְּתַח [5] See Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 85).

[6] It may be taken as certain that the Neolithic races came down the Nile from the South, for in their characteristic physiognomy, their pottery and flint implements, their religious conceptions and their burial customs, they reveal close resemblances to the modern Gallas and Somalis. Indeed, Hall points out (*op. cit.*, p. 95) that "certain Nubian tribes remained in a state of culture closely resembling that of the Neolithic men of Upper Egypt, and clearly of the same origin, even as late as the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty: nay, even to this day, pottery of the Neolithic Egyptian type is made in Nubia. The conclusion is that the Nubians were the descendants (in later times much mixed with negroes) of those Southern tribes which remained in Nubia after the greater part of the race had passed into Egypt, where, by contact

an incursion of Semites, who swarmed across the Red Sea from Arabia, subdued the old Hamitic population, and in due time emerged to the view of history as the dynastic Egyptians. There have also been evidences adduced to show that these Semites brought with them the primitive culture of Babylon, a culture which was really the product of the still earlier non-Semitic Akkadian civilization which the dynastic Babylonians dethroned, and later adopted for themselves. The proofs of an actual connection between Egypt and Babylon are so remarkable that I may be allowed to marshal them as follows :—

(1) What has just been said about the two strands in Egyptian religion goes to suggest an early correspondence between the Nile and Euphrates. The Hamitic strand, brutish, degrading, consisting largely in the worship of revolting animal forms, and built up on magic, existed alongside of a higher type of religion wherein the sun, the blue sky, the stars of heaven, were adored. This nobler and purer faith was closely akin to that cultivated in Babylonia.

(2) The Neolithic Hamites buried their dead in a cramped position. The dynastic Egyptians and the dynastic Babylonians employed the horizontal posture. Similarly, while the Neolithic Nilotes never embalmed their dead, the dynastic Egyptians systematically practised mummification. The Babylonians also had knowledge of embalming, and for that purpose they used salt, "kingly oil," and honey. Further, the tombs of the first two Egyptian dynasties show the Babylonian custom of partially burning their contents after interment.

(3) The cylinder seals, in use in Babylonia from the earliest to the latest eras, are discovered as a feature of Egyptian life as far down as the XVIIIth Dynasty. The royal mace-heads of Sargon I of Agade are almost identical with those excavated in Egypt from pre-dynastic graves, and from some of the Ist and IInd Dynasties, suggesting an early affinity between the two countries, and the ideas associated with monarchical emblems.

(4) On some of the early Egyptian palettes, for example that of Narmer, there is depicted a castle or fortress, whose crenelated outline suggests that of a Babylonian palace at Warka, Telloh, or Muquayyar.[1]

(5) There is a remarkable similarity, if not identity, in the meanings of the names of the oldest cities in both Babylonia and Egypt. Eridu, the oldest home of culture in South Babylonia, means in Akkadian "the city of the good (god)" : while Memphis, in ancient Egyptian meant the same thing—*Men-nofer*, "the good abode."[2]

(6) There is a significant resemblance between the cosmological conceptions current in Babylonia and in Egypt. According to the Akkadian theory, the universe was presided over by Anum, the god of the sky, by En-lilla, and by Ea, the god of the primeval waters. This trinity is

with the proto-Semitic Northerners, they developed Egyptian civilization, leaving Nubia as a backwater of barbarism." So also Petrie (*Anc. Egypt*, i. 115) points out that the numerous similarities in the burial practices of Egypt, and those of various African tribes, undoubtedly indicates descent from a common source.

[1] These first four arguments are elaborated by King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 35 f.

[2] It was shortened in common parlance to *Mennefe* or *Menfe*, which in Assyrian became *Mempi*, and with the Greek and Romans *Memphis* (W. Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 338). Once in the Hebrew text of the O.T., it is spelled *Moph* מֹף Hos. 9.[6] Elsewhere it is rendered erroneously *Noph* נֹף, Isa. 19,[13] Jer. 2,[16] 44,[1] 46,[14] [19] Ezek. 30.[13] [16] But Johns (*Ibid.*, iii. 559) suggests that *Noph* is not a corruption, but a Hebrew transformation of the final syllable of *Men-nefe* or *Men-nufe*.

paralleled by the Egyptian triad of Nun, Shu, and Seb, whose signification is identical with that held in the Euphrates Valley. Again, the Babylonian Merodach finds his counterpart in the Egyptian Osiris, their respective ideograms alike signifying "house + eye." The Babylon "Enzu" is reproduced in the Egyptian "Khonsu," and the Semitic "Ishtar" in "Hathor." The Sun-boat and the eight attendants of the Sun are very similar in the Babylonian and Egyptian cosmogonies.[1] The signs of the Zodiac, the names of several of the constellations, the number of "decans," are all identical in the two civilizations.[2]

(7) The Egyptian language shows undoubted, though remote, Semito-Babylonian affinities.[3] Sethe[4] has published a treatise on the Egyptian verb, in which he shows that in the earlier texts the vast majority of the roots of verbs are triliteral, that all were originally so, and became biliteral, as they appear in the later texts, through the loss of a consonant. This confirms Benfey's contention that the Egyptian language was originally Semitic, and further strengthens the views of Erman[5] and of Maspero[6] in their advocacy of the theory that the Egyptians originally came from Babylonia.

Arguments (5), (6) and (7) were adduced by Hommel in a paper on "The Babylonian origin of Egyptian Culture," read in 1892 at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. Hommel has now gone the length of declaring that "the Chinese, like the Egyptians, derive their earliest culture from Babylonia,[7] and that "as Egyptologists have long since agreed that the Egyptian language is derived from Asia, we may venture to affirm that Northern Babylonia was the region whence a band of enterprising colonists marched out to carry the primitive forms of culture and civilization to the banks of the Nile."[8]

(8) Another link has been suggested by Sayce,[9] who points out that in the case of the first King of the IInd Dynasty, the idea of divinity was denoted, as in Babylonia, by a *star*, not as in later days of Egyptian history by an *axe*.

(9) From a story of casts of the sculptured Egyptian plaques in the British Museum, the Louvre, and from Hierakonpolis, Heuzey[10] has determined that the *motifs* of the two long-necked "lions" are exactly reproduced on a cylinder from Mesopotamia, now in the Louvre.[11] On the cylinder the design is accompanied by a purely Chaldæan lion-headed eagle. Heuzey therefore holds that this affords another proof of the close relation that once subsisted between primitive Egypt and primitive Babylonia.[12]

(10) Some of the words in commonest use in the two regions in question seem fundamentally to be the same, as if the primitive terms employed to denote the simplest things had been the property of both races before they separated from each other. Thus, Hrozný[13] has pointed out that one of the names of the primitive "emmer-corn" in Babylonia was *bututtu*, which is akin to the Egyptian *bôti*; that the Chaldæan word for "beer,"

[1] Hommel in *Memnon*, i. 80. [2] See further on this point in Chapter XXV., p. 399. [3] See Erman, *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.*, xlvi. 1 (1892), pp. 93–129, and especially W. F. Albright in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, xxxiv. (1918) 81–98: 215–255. [4] See *Arch. Rep. Egypt Explor. Fund*, 1899–1900. [5] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 30. [6] *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 45. [7] *Civilization of the East*, p. 1 (1900). [8] *Ibid.*, p. 37. [9] *Expos. Times.*, ix. 58. See also Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Chap. IV., where he argues that much of the early Egyptian civilization owes its origin to Babylonia. [10] *Rev. Arch.*, xxxiv. 291. [11] See also Weigall, *Annales du Service*, xi. 170. [12] For further marshalling of the evidence for this Chaldæo-Egyptian connection, see Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 38 f. [13] *Sitzber. Akad. Wien*, 1910, p. 172.

henqi, becomes *ḫîqu* in Egyptian ; [1] that the Babylonian name for a hoe, *marru*, is *mr* in Egyptian : and that the vase for mixing beer, *namzîtu*, corresponds to the Egyptian *nmś-t*. It is not as if these articles were foreign luxuries which when introduced into Egypt had their foreign names attached to them : they were things which were common to all nations, and the similarity in nomenclature strongly suggests a remote but decisive connection between Babylonia and Egypt.

(11) The name of Egypt's great river, the Nile, has been thought by some to have been derived from Babylonia, where, even to this day, the so-called canal, the Shatt-en-Nil, preserves a reminiscence of an ancient title, carried by the primitive emigrants from Chaldæa to the land of their adoption in the West.[2]

(12) In regard to the remote ancestral connection between cuneiform and hieroglyphic, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch and Leonard King have stated : " During the last twenty years excavations have been carried on in Southern Babylonia which have brought to light thousands of Sumerian inscriptions dating from the period between B.C. 4500 and 2500. A careful examination of them proves that the Babylonian system of writing was in reality very similar to that in use among the Egyptians : each had a pictorial origin."[3] The same conclusion has been arrived at by Professor W. Max Müller,[4] who adduces strong reasons for believing that the Egyptians at an early period were acquainted with Babylonian cuneiform, and that through this knowledge there arose the so-called syllabic method of writing in Egypt.[5]

(13) From a wonderfully carved ivory handle of a flint knife found at Gebel el-Arak, Petrie has deduced that the source of the pre-dynastic culture of Egypt is to be traced to Elam, where civilization advanced more rapidly than in the Nile Valley : that these Elamites transmitted their high-prowed boats, entwined serpents, compound mace-heads, etc., to the West : that they fought with long-haired Syrians : that they were close-cropped like the Sumerians, and were of dark hue, and that they were the ancestors of the makers of slate palettes, and of the founders of dynastic art.[6]

It has been held by many that the actual route of this Semitic invasion of Egypt may be identified. The Asiatics seemingly crossed from Arabia by the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and proceeded northwards up the Red Sea coast to Kosseir, where the Wady Hammâmât gave them an easy passage over the desert range into the fertile Nile Valley at Coptos.[7] At Coptos, Petrie found three colossal statues of Min, of rude workmanship, and ornamented with figures of Red Sea shells (*Pteroceras*) sawfish, ostrich, and elephant, the former of which point to an invasion from the direction

[1] Wiedemann, however, disputes this (*Sphinx.*, xv. 130), and holds that the Egyptian name for beer is not derived from Babylonia, but is purely native="that which overcomes." [2] See Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradeis*, p. 71. [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 182. [4] *Mittheil d. Deutsch. Palästl. Ver.*, xvii. (1912), pp. 237–326. [5] These strong arguments in favour of an early connection between the Nile and the Euphrates Valleys have not, however, convinced all Egyptologists. Prof. Naville says (*The Old Egyptian Faith*, p. 50), " I cannot believe that Egypt was Babylon's daughter. We may admit that both came from the same region, namely Arabia : from it they diverged, and it is this common point of departure that explains the analogies that exist between them." Von Bissing similarly estimates the signs of Egyptian indebtedness to Babylonia as very trivial, and believes that the Egyptian civilization grew up in the Valley of the Nile out of the earlier Neolithic culture (*L'Anthropologie*, ix. 408). [6] *Anc. Egypt*, 1917, p. 36. [7] A slight modification of this theory is that of Naville (*Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1905), who holds that " the Semitic invaders came into Egypt from Arabia through Massowah and Ethiopia, and with their native energy, as a ruling caste, developed the primitive African civilization which they found there into what we know as Egyptian culture."

of the sea.[1] Certainly at Coptos are found the earliest tombs; and the historical traditions of the dynastic Egyptians associate this part of the river with the beginnings of their Empire. Manetho, indeed, places the seat of the first two Dynasties at This, in this very region.

This invasion has ingeniously been brought in to explain the legendary fight of the god Horus along with his followers, the *Shemsu-Hor*, or *Mesniu*, the "Smiths" or "Users of Metal," against the "Anu," who, as worshippers of Set, the rival of Horus, represented the original Neolithic population.[2] According to this theory, the Semitic invaders were the "followers of Horus," who after pouring into Coptos from the Red Sea littoral, turned down the Nile, followed it to its mouth, subdued all the Delta, and gradually unified Egypt by establishing the Ist Dynasty. The legend is thus held to commemorate poetically the fact of the overthrow of the early "stone-users" by the new and more advanced "metal-users," the Neolithic peoples of the Nile Valley being subjugated by a race which possessed a knowledge of copper.

This theory, however, plausible and fascinating though it be, has had to be discarded through the onward march of archæological discovery. The view which at present holds the field is mainly as follows. The remote ancestral connection between Babylonia and Egypt is allowed. The early emigrants from Chaldæa carried with them the elements of Mesopotamian civilization in the form of a few domestic customs, some primitive names for common objects, and a similarity of incipient religious beliefs. In the course of ages, there was a steady infiltration into Egypt from Arabia of this Semito-Babylonian stock, who entered the Delta across the Isthmus of Suez, while other Semites streamed into Egypt from Canaan.[3] Simultaneously with this peaceful invasion from the east, there was going on an immigration into the Delta from the west. A branch of the Libyan stock, fair-skinned and tall, akin to the modern Berbers,[4] settled in the Lower Nile Valley, and mixing with the Asiatics,[5] produced a race of Semito-Libyans. It was they who brought with them sun-worship, and who introduced the "higher" elements in Egyptian religion. But when they entered the Delta, they found there already a third race, large-skulled, round-faced, short-nosed.[6] Almost European in feature, this race belonged to the "Mediterranean" stock from which, it is possible, the early "Ægeans" also sprang, and from which, accordingly, Cretan civilization took its origin.[7] Swamped at the outset by the incursion

[1] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 13. [2] See Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. 12–19: Maspero, "Les Forgerons d'Horus" in *Études de Mythologie*, ii. 313 f.: King and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 40 f.: Budge, *op. cit.*, i. 45. Later, in 1910, Naville identified the "Anu" not only with the pre-dynastic population of Egypt, but with the aborigines of N.E. Africa, including the residents in Sinai and Libya (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxxii. 52). [3] Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 90. [4] Elaborate attempts have been made to find the name "Berber" in the "Sinus Barbaricus" and "Barbaria" of Ptolemy, the Geographer (iv. 8, 4), and in the Greek and Latin words βαρβαροι, Barbari. See Gliddon, *Discourses on Egyptian Archæology* (1849), p. 145 f. [5] Maspero (*Hist. Ancienne*, 1895, p. 45) classes the pre-dynastic Nilotes with this white Libyan stock which made its way into Egypt from the West. If they found an earlier black race in possession of the upper waters of the Nile, he maintains that they exterminated them. (For further discussion, see Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archæology*, 1902, p. 337 f.) Quibell also (*El Kab*, 1897, p. 13) maintained that the earliest known inhabitants of Egypt were a tall, fair race, akin to the modern Kabyles, who buried their dead in primitive fashion, and who were overcome by another race, who brought with them the arts of writing, of mummification, and perhaps of using metals. [6] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 87. [7] So strong are the Creto-Egyptian connections that Wiedemann actually links the pre-dynastic Egyptians with the pre-dynastic civilization of Crete, *i.e.*, the so-called "island civilization," which is pre-Mykenæan.

of the Semito-Libyans, the "Mediterranean" stock in time asserted its inherently higher endowments. More and more it became the dominant power, and spread its culture and its art far up the Nile Valley to the south. In this way the remarkable resemblances between the Egyptian and the Cretan civilizations may be explained.

Upon these peaceful inhabitants of Lower Egypt there now burst the storm of invasion on the part of the Neolithic peoples of the South.[1] Essentially Hamitic and probably indigenous to Africa, these races had taken possession of the primitive seats of Palæolithic man, and in the course of ages had made considerable advance in the knowledge of technical arts. Gradually their association with the neighbouring Semito-Libyan civilization taught them to discard the use of stone weapons, and to adopt that of metals. But no sooner had this knowledge been assimilated, than they employed their freshly-acquired powers to attack the peaceful population of the North. It was they who swarmed down the Nile as the "followers of Horus," engaged in a tremendous struggle for the conquest of the Delta, and under the leadership of the pre-dynastic Hierakonpolite kings, achieved their object. Ever after, a festival was observed in commemoration of the "Year of the Smiting of the Anu," the Semitic worshippers of the Canaanite god, Set.[2]

This view thus completely reverses that formerly advocated. It was the Neolithic South which conquered the Semito-Libyan North, not *vice versa*. Nevertheless, though Egypt remained fundamentally "African," "Nubian," "Nilotic," what we know as "Egyptian" civilization was really the fruit of the Semiticizing of the conquerors by those whom they had subjugated.[3] Just as Rome, when she had subdued Greece, succumbed to the influence of the culture of the nation she had crushed, so the Neolithic Upper Nilotes, of Hamitic but not negroid blood, after overwhelming the Semito-Libyan settlers of the Delta, became more or less Semiticized by the superior culture and intelligence of the latter. Throughout all the subsequent centuries, the Egyptian people inherited a vague tradition that their mother country was in Punt or Somaliland,[4] and it is therefore to that region that we must look for the original seat of the Neolithic pre-dynastic race, which by its conquest of all the lower Nile Valley as far as the Mediterranean, constituted the Kingdom of the Pharaohs, and established the Ist Dynasty.

Recent craniological investigation tends to confirm this newer theory of the history of early Egypt. From a study of 137 mummy heads and skulls from Thebes, Dr. Stahr leans to the belief that the "Egyptians," as we know them, were a mixed African and Asiatic race, the latter element being the most characteristic.[5] Dr. Eliot Smith, as the result of similar studies, considers that in prehistoric times there were well differentiated races in Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, and that the fusion of the two was the cause of a marked change in the population of Upper Egypt

[1] Hall, *ibid.*, pp. 90, 95. [2] The older interpretation of the legend, viz., that the Semites were the "followers of Horus," who exterminated the stone-using Neolithic population, was given by Hall and King, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 40 f.: the newer view, viz., that it was the Neolithic population who slaughtered the peaceful Semites, is now advocated by Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East* (1913), pp. 92–97, who has abandoned his former opinion. [3] King and Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 45) point out that the names of the Nomes suggest the early Neolithic inhabitants of Egypt rather than the dynastic Egyptians. They are nearly all represented by figures of the magic animals of the primitive faith, and by fetish emblems of the older deities. They represent primitive tribal demons. [4] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, iii. 11. [5] *Die Rassenfrage im Antiken Ægypten.*

at the beginning of the Dynastic period. Henceforward, the Neolithic type conformed more and more to that which was characteristic of Semitic Canaan.[1]

The names of a number of these pre-dynastic monarchs have been recovered from tombs, fragments of pottery, ornaments, and other sources.[2] The Palermo Stele [3] affords us the names of SEKA, TESAU, TAU, THESH, NEHEB, UATCH-NAR, and MEKHA as Kings of Lower Egypt, titles suggestively primitive in cast. The Neolithic sovereigns of Upper Egypt are equally nebulous to us, for regarding TCHESER, DE, RO, KA, and SMA,[4] we are even uncertain whether the names represent kings at all.[5] But in the dim and misty ages of pre-dynastic Egypt, we can see in existence two principalities, entirely distinct and independent, each with twin capitals. Semito-Libyans of the North looked on Buto [6] and Heliopolis as their metropoles, while the Neolithic peoples of the South regarded Edfu and Hierakonpolis as their capitals. When the long war between North and South ended in the victory of the South, Egypt became a homogeneous yet a double Kingdom. The original disparate condition of the Nile Valley was ever after commemorated in the titles borne by the kings of United Egypt—"King of the South and North"—the South being always mentioned first; while on their heads the two crowns were united, the white crown ("*Hatchet*") of Upper Egypt, and the red crown ("*Tashert*") of Lower Egypt. A favourite designation was "Lord of the Two Lands," that is, not the east and west banks of the Nile, but the two States of Upper and Lower Egypt.[7] The Biblical name for Egypt, *Mitzraim*, the "two Mazors" or "fortresses," by its dual form preserved to the latest ages a remembrance of the time when the Nile Valley was not one compact Kingdom, but divided into two mutually hostile territories.

[1] *Cairo Scientific Journal*, No. 30, vol. iii., March, 1909. [2] See an article by Peet on "The Art of the Pre-dynastic Period," in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, ii., Pt. ii., p. 88 (1915). [3] Pellegrini, *Archivio Storico Siciliano* (New Ser., 1896): Naville, "Les plus Anciens Monuments," in *Rec. de Travaux*, xxi. [4] As Sma means "The Uniter," was he the King who actually united the two Kingdoms? [5] These names were discovered by Petrie at Abydos: see *Royal Tombs*, Pt. ii., Pl. 13: Pt. i. 14: and *Abydos* (1902), i. 5; *cf.* also a discussion on Petrie's, Sethe's, and Naville's views of these early Kings, by Legge in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xxvi. (1904), 125. [6] The site of Buto is still uncertain. Edgar (*Ann. du Service*, xi. 87) places it at El Farain. [7] A very elaborate article on the names of Upper and Lower Egypt, and on the expressions for "North" and "South" is contributed by Sethe, *Ægypt. Zeit.*, xliv. 1.

CHAPTER IV

The First Three Dynasties

1. *The Ist Dynasty* (B.C. 5510–5247)

The traditional founder of the Ist Dynasty is Menes or Mena.[1] But his personality is so shrouded in obscurity that the modern tendency is to regard him as a composite figure.[2] He seems to combine within himself the legendary exploits of two monarchs of Upper Egypt, who were instrumental in overcoming the Semito-Libyans of the Delta, and thus founding the United Kingdom of Egypt. These two were the famous Narmer and Aha (the "fighter").

Narmer was the great Neolithic monarch, who, when his people had learned the use of metal weapons, led them down the Nile, and who, in a succession of battles, made 120,000 prisoners, and captured 1,420,000 small, and 400,000 large cattle.[3] His celebrated slate palette, found by Quibell[4] at Hierakonpolis, is believed to be a record of his conquest of the Harpoon-Nome, the last stronghold of the Northern Kingdom.[5] The final struggle took place at a port on the Mediterranean, near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, a spot destined to figure prominently more than 5,000 years later as the site of the great city of Alexandria.[6] The palette represents the King clubbing to death a prisoner with an Asiatic type of physiognomy.[7] Above is the figure of a hawk (symbolizing the Kingdom of Upper Egypt) which holds a rope passed through the Semite's nose. It is perhaps the earliest representation we possess of a Canaanite in the hands of an Egyptian, and it is significant and sadly prophetic of the future that this first encounter between members of these neighbouring races displays deadly warfare and not peaceful barter. We may also identify

[1] So Herodotus, ii. 4: Manetho (Cory, *Anc. Fragm.*, p. 94), and Diodorus, i. 45; ii. 89. [2] Hall (*Near East*, p. 106) calls him "a sort of Egyptian King Arthur," and though Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 36) states that "the figure of Menes, but a few years since as vague and elusive as those of the 'worshippers of Horus,' who preceded him, has now been clothed with unmistakable reality, and he at last steps forth into history to head the long line of Pharaohs," it is to be feared that his personality is not quite so emphatically distinct. Erman (*Historische Nachlese* in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxx. 46) calls him "semi-mythical." [3] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 47. [4] Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, i. 10, Pl. xxix. [5] For an investigation of the various Nomes of Egypt, see Dümichen, *Zur Geographie des alten Ægypten*, 1894, p. 37 f. [6] Newberry in *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, i. 21: King and Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 53. [7] On the question of the ethnic affinity of this and other proto-dynastic figures represented on palettes, etc.—whether they bespeak an Asian or a Central African type—see C. G. Seligmann in *Liverpool Ann. of Arch. and Anthrop.*, vii. (1914), 43.

Narmer with the "Scorpion-King"[1] of whom the inscriptions found at Hierakonpolis speak.

The second portion of Menes' composite personality is borrowed from AHA.[2] In 1897, de Morgan[3] excavated at Nagada the large tomb of a king whose Horus name[4] was Aha, but whose personal name—Men—may have given rise to the "Menes" legend. On the other hand, Newberry and Garstang believe that Aha was actually buried in Abydos, that holy spot where every pious Egyptian desired to be laid to rest,[5] and that the Nagada tomb belonged to Neit-hetep, a royal princess of Sais, who was possibly Narmer's daughter and Aha's wife.[6] By her alliance with Aha, she united the South and the North, and through her son produced a royal heir to the throne of United Egypt.[7]

In the Nagada tomb were found vases of obsidian, a most interesting discovery,[8] for the nearest spot whence obsidian could have been obtained was the volcanic island of Santorin in the Ægean. At this remote era, therefore, we have evidence that the Mediterranean was ploughed by the keels of vessels carrying various commodities from the shores of pre-Mykenæan Greece to those of the Delta.[9] A still more interesting

[1] Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, i. 84) is probably right in this identification, for though the name has been given to Tcha or Ateth of the Ist Dynasty, Junker (*Anzeiger* of Vienna Akad., 1st June, 1910) has found in an early cemetery at Tura a piece of a vase inscribed with the name of the "Scorpion King," who has the title of "King of Upper Egypt" only. It is, therefore, probable that the fragment is a reminiscence of Narmer before he united the two crowns. [2] His personality is so difficult to determine that Naville (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxiv. 109) has identified him with Besh, or Khasekhemui, the first King of the IIIrd Dynasty: Budge (*op. cit.*, i. 182) suggests his identity with Teta, the second (or third) King of the Ist Dynasty. [3] *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte* (1897), p. 160. [4] The Kings of Egypt bore many names, and much speculation has been devoted to the elucidation of the meanings of their respective titles. The royal names were (*a*) a *Ka* name, as the representative of Horus: (*b*) a name as representative of the god, Set, the divinity worshipped by the Semiticized Egyptians of Lower Egypt: (*c*) a name as the lord of the South and North (the bee): (*d*) a name as being the "Horus of Gold" (*cf.* Piehl., *Sphinx*, iv. 59, for discussion on the "Golden Hawk" title): (*e*) a name as the lord of the shrines of the vulture and uræus, : (*f*) a name as "Son of the Sun." (See Budge, i. 16.) Petrie (*Arch. Rep. Egypt Expl. Fund*, 1897–98, p. 8) makes the interesting suggestion that we may perhaps see in the variety of the royal titles, symbols of the gradual accumulation of sovereignties. Thus, the *Ka* name would be the royal title of the dynastic race: the *Ra* name ("Son of the Sun") the royal title of the Heliopolitan rule: the personal name in the cartouche would be the royal style of another conquered race, perhaps the Libyans: the Golden Hawk (or rather Falcon) name and the Vulture and Uræus names, would be the royal styles of other sovereignties, all the names being absorbed by the dynastic race, like the many titles united till lately in the ruler of Russia—"Autocrat of all the Russias, Grand-duke of Finland," etc. See also Petrie, *Royal Tombs* (1900), i. 36: Newberry (*P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. 295 (1904)) associates the Hawk in the Horus title with Hierakonpolis. He believes it was originally the totem of the tribe, then it became the emblem of the district, and finally the badge of the King who ultimately conquered all Egypt. [5] It seems now to be clearly established that many of the Kings had two tombs, one the actual spot where he was buried, the other a dummy. The reason was not to elude plunderers, but to give the *Ka*, or ghost, a locus in the sacred enclosure of Abydos or Sakkara, as the case might be. Thus, Aha had two tombs, and in this he was imitated by many of his successors down to the time of Rameses III. [6] Newberry, in a fascinating article (*P.S.B.A.*, xxviii. (1906), p. 68) has traced out the connection subsisting between the goddess, Neith, the patron divinity of Sais, and Pallas Athene of the Athenians. He shows how ancient were those intimate associations between Egypt and Greece, which we have been accustomed to regard as comparatively modern. [7] For full details, see Borchardt, *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xxxvi. 87. [8] Sayce in *Expos. Times*, ix. 59. [9] Another link between Egypt and the Ægean is pointed out by Newberry, who (*P.S.B.A.*, xxviii. 14) shows that in the early forms of Neith, the Northern goddess, whose name is seen in that of Aha's wife, and to whom Aha erected a temple, the shield is 8-shaped, like that of the Mykenæans, Hittites, and early Italians.

connection was revealed in 1911 by the discovery in Jerusalem on Mount Ophel of a grave of this period containing bowls, whose red and black markings are in closest correspondence with those found in the Nagada tombs. It shows that such ware was highly prized in Canaan, and that there was commercial intercourse between the Nile and the Jordan even at this remote era—a fact of exceptional importance for the understanding of the early history of the inter-relations of the two lands.[1]

Later tradition credited "Menes" with the transference of the seat of government from Upper to Lower Egypt. According to Manetho,[2] his first capital was This or Thinis,[3] near Abydos. But Herodotus[4] relates that Menes, desiring to found a new metropolis in the North, chose the spot where the Nile, emerging from its enclosing hills, throws itself out with seven streams across the great green plain of the Delta. His foresight has been justified by the verdict of history. From time to time, the seat of royal authority has moved elsewhere—to Heracleopolis, Thebes, Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Alexandria—but it has always come back to the spot chosen by the "first" Egyptian King in the sixth millennium before Christ. Modern Cairo, the capital, is close to ancient Memphis. Nevertheless, according to Manetho, the first two dynasties were Thinite, and it was not till the IIIrd Dynasty that the centre of gravity was actually transferred to Memphis.

Herodotus further states that Menes experienced some difficulty in securing a suitable site. The Nile ran at the base of the Libyan hills, on the wrong side of the valley. It was essential that the new capital should have the river between it and the open desert to the eastward, whence swarms of Asiatic invaders might pour in. Menes successfully undertook a gigantic engineering task. He reared a vast embankment across the Nile, 100 stadia (about 12 miles) south of Memphis, and in this way completely diverted the course of the river to the opposite side of the valley.[5] On the ground thus reclaimed, Menes reared his new capital.[6]

By building here a temple to Ptah, who we have seen was probably a Semitic god, he propitiated the Canaanite dwellers in the Delta, and made Memphis a great religious centre.[7] In 1892, de Morgan in excavating a temple at Memphis, discovered two magnificent statues of Ptah, and a colossal model in rose granite of the sacred boat of Ptah. This led him to conclude that the site was identical with the renowned structure attributed to Menes. In 1893, Sir Norman Lockyer and Captain Lyons determined the orientation of the temple, and ascertained that it was

[1] Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 28. [2] Cory, *Anc. Fragm.*, p. 94. [3] The exact site of This has not been ascertained. Brugsch proposed the village of Tineh (*Geog. Inschriften*. i. 207) and Dümichen (*Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 154) supports this. Others identify it with Girgeh or Birbeh (Sayce, "Gleanings from the land of Egypt" in *Rec. de Trav.*, xiii. 65; and Daressy, *ibid.*, xvi. 124. See also Weill, *ibid.*, 1907 (xxix), pp. 26–53, for an elaborate discussion of the whole Thinite period). [4] Herod., ii. 99. [5] Herodotus says that the Persians, when dominant in the Egypt of his day, yearly fortified and repaired the dam with fresh earth, to lessen the risk of an inundation of Memphis. Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 233 n.) states that "the dyke supposed to have been made by Menes is evidently that of Qosheîsh, which now protects the province of Gizeh, and regulates the inundation in its neighbourhood." Sethe (*Untersuchungen*, iii. 65) agrees that in this statement Herodotus was largely historical. [6] On the other hand, King and Hall (*Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 92), and Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 108) from the fact that the Sakkara Tablet of Kings commences with Merpeba, the sixth King of the Ist Dynasty, and not with Menes, argue that this fact enshrines a local and reliable tradition that it was not "Menes" (*i.e.*, Narmer + Aha) but Merpeba, who was the real founder of Memphis. [7] The sacred name of Memphis was *Ha(t)-ka-ptah*="the abode (or temple) of the *Ka* of the god Ptah": and from this the city seems to have given its name to the whole country, of which it was the capital, Αἰ-γυ-πτος—E-gy-pt.

the same as that of the obelisk in the Ptah temple at Heliopolis oriented to Capella in B.C. 5200. They concluded, therefore, that the Star Capella was personified by Ptah, and that the date of the temple must be about B.C. 5300.[1] As Petrie's date for the Ist Dynasty is B.C. 5510–5247, based on other considerations, the approximation of the two lines of calculation is interesting. A further indication of Semitic influence on Egypt, even at this early date, is afforded by the discovery by Möller,[2] in a Ist Dynasty cemetery at Abusir el Maleq, of a figure apparently that of a camel. This tends to show that this animal had been introduced to Egypt from Canaan even at this far-off period, although later it seems to have become either extinct, or very scarce.

As the dynasties rolled on, Memphis maintained its premier position, though for a period the glories of Thebes dimmed its magnificence. It had everything in its favour. Its site was splendid. Watered by an unfailing stream navigable to the Mediterranean, yet sufficiently far up the river to escape piratical attentions from bold sea corsairs, with the richest alluvial soil to yield abundant harvests of grain, with excellent quarries near at hand in the mountain, with a climate warm in winter yet comparatively cool in summer, with an almost perennial blue sky overhead, is it to be wondered at that this "White-Walled" city rose to be the famous, beloved, and populous capital of a great, proud race?

Later ages ascribed to Menes many accomplishments which are open to question. He was credited with gifting to his people written laws and formal institutions of divine worship.[3] If he be really a "combination" of Narmer and Aha, the fame of successful expeditions against the Libyans may be allowed him.[4] But the stories of his invention of the art of dining at table;[5] of his miraculous escape from his hounds across a lake on the back of a crocodile; of his grateful founding of the city of Crocodilopolis;[6] and of his death from an enraged hippopotamus,[7] are purely legendary. He was, in after centuries, worshipped alongside of Ptah in the city he had built.

His successor[8] in the Ist Dynasty was KHENT, or ZER,[9] or SHESTI, or TETA,[10] of whom memorials were discovered by Quibell[11] while excavating the ancient temple of Hierakonpolis. Manetho[12] credits him with "reigning 57 years, building palaces at Memphis, and leaving anatomical books, for he was a physician." Then came TCHA or ATETH or ATI, whose tomb at Abydos[13] was excavated by Amélineau, and later by Petrie;[14] ATA

[1] *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 317. [2] *Mitth. d. Deutsch. Orient. Ges.*, 1906, No. 30. [3] Diodorus, i. 94: Ælian, *Hist. Animal.*, xi. 10. [4] Manetho in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. 539 f. [5] Diodorus, i. 45. [6] *Ibid.*, ii. 89. [7] Manetho, *op. cit.* [8] It is only by comparing books written about the middle of last century with works appearing to-day that one can estimate the enormous progress made in Egyptology in recent years. The work of De Rougé, *Recherches sur les Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manethon*, Paris, 1866, was excellent for the time in which it appeared, but is now completely antiquated by the revelations of recent discoveries. [9] It has recently been ascertained by Newberry (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxvi. (1914) 35) from a broken Royal stele in Cairo that *Zer* is the proper reading of the name which formerly was read *Khent*. [10] Amelineau identified Khent with Teta; Petrie (*Royal Tombs*, p. 5) identified Teta with Zer: Budge identified Teta with Narmer. Naville (*Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xlvii. 65) reads the name as "Shesti" instead of Khent or Zer. [11] Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Pt. i., 1900. [12] In Cory, *Anc. Fragm.*, p. 96. [13] Regarding Abydos, the holy city of the ancient Egyptians, Garstang significantly says (*El Arabah*, p. 1), "Probably it can be claimed for no other site that not one Dynasty, from the first to the last, is unrepresented in its tombs. The deposits of this site, could an adequate series be brought together, would yield not merely a complete illustration of the changes through 4,000 years in the local artistic forms, but would provide also examples of the types prevailing elsewhere throughout Egypt contemporaneously at several different epochs." [14] *Royal Tombs* (1900), p. 8.

or ZET,[1] of whom Manetho says: "He reigned 23 years: he raised the pyramids near Cochome;[2] and DEN SEMTI or HESEPTI, whose tomb at Abydos, floored with granite blocks from Assuan, and walled with brick, was explored by Amélineau and afterwards by Petrie.[3] It is in Den's reign that we find the earliest mention of the famous *Sed*[4] festival, which Breasted[5] believes marked each King's thirtieth anniversary as legally appointed crown-prince and heir of the Kingdom, but which Hall,[6] with greater verisimilitude, understands had reference to the fact that, after a reign of thirty years, the early monarchs were either deposed or killed to avoid the inconvenience to the nation of having aged and decrepit sovereigns.[7] An ivory plaque of Den shows the King smiting a bearded enemy who seems to be an Asiatic. It may indicate the renewal of the age-long strife between Egypt and Canaan.[8]

The remaining Kings of this Dynasty were MERPEBA[9] or ATCHAB, whose burial place at Abydos was similarly investigated by Amélineau and Petrie;[10] then SEMERKHA, or HU, or NEKHT, in whose large, scented tomb at Abydos were found also the bones of dwarfs.[11] He seems to have been the first Egyptian King to visit the turquoise mines of Sinai, for Petrie discovered on the rocks of the Wady Maghara a representation of him, crowned with the double Egyptian crown, clubbing to death a Bedawy chief with a characteristic Semitic face.[12] Thus even in the time of the Ist Dynasty, the Egyptian Kings claimed the Sinai region for themselves, and the Semites of Lower Canaan stood in awe of the incipient might of the Pharaohs. Probably in this way we may account for the presence in Egypt of the camel during the Ist Dynasty, already referred to.[13]

Lastly there came SEN or KEBH or KA, whose name appears on a diorite stele[14] above his tomb at Abydos, and also on an ivory tablet[15] from the region of the Cataracts, showing a prisoner with a strongly Semitic cast of countenance. It would seem that the Semitic population of Lower Egypt was again in a spirit of revolt; that local rebellions were breaking out in various districts against the royal authority; and that possibly Semerkha's expedition to Sinai may have stirred up the Canaanite dwellers in the Negeb and the Tih to an attack on the Delta. If that be so, it is a striking influence how potent, even at this remote era, was the influence of Canaan on Egypt. In any case, the Ist Dynasty seems to have expired amid some convulsion of the established government,[16] and the rise of the IInd Dynasty was probably synchronous with a pacification of the Semito-Canaanite element in the population, and with a reassertion of the royal authority over the whole stretch of the Nile Valley, from the Delta to beyond the cataracts at Assuan.

[1] In 1912, Wainwright discovered at Senar a great mastaba of crude brick in splendid preservation, which on investigation turned out to belong to the reign of Zet (Petrie and Wainwright, *Tarkhan I. and Memphis V.*, 1913, p. 13). [2] "Cochome" is the Greek equivalent of the great cemetery of Memphis, situated in the desert of Sakkara, called by the Egyptians "Ka-qam" (Budge, *Hist.*, i. 193). [3] *Royal Tombs*, p. 11. [4] The word means "tail." [5] *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 39. [6] *Near East*, p. 108. [7] For many parallel examples of this in ancient and modern times, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 221–231, and *Early History of the Kingship*. [8] Eric Peet in *Journ. of Manchester Egypt. and Orient. Soc.* 1914–15, p. 32. [9] The elucidation of the identity of Den=Semti=Hesepti, and of Merpeba=Atchab, is due to Sethe: see *Æg. Zeit.*, xxxv., 1, and *Untersuchungen*, iii. [10] *Royal Tombs*, pp. 12, 17, 19 f. [11] *Ibid.*, Pl. 13. [12] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 41, figs. 45–47. [13] Two examples of the camel's head during this Dynasty have been discovered (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, p. 23, correcting an earlier error in *Hierakonpolis*, lxii., and *Abydos*, ii., x. 224, where the animal is misnamed a donkey. [14] Discovered by Amélineau. [15] Discovered by Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, i., Pl. xvii. 30. [16] Petrie (*Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, pp. 2–7) gives an account of other tombs of the period which he had excavated at Gizeh.

II. *The IInd Dynasty* (B.C. 5247–4945)

Our information regarding the IInd Dynasty is even more fragmentary than what we know of the Ist.[1] Like its predecessor, This is named by Manetho as its capital, though King and Hall maintain[2] that this is a pure conjecture on Manetho's part, and that the original seat of these two Dynasties must have been Hierakonpolis.[3] The names and the sequence of the Kings have been matters much discussed, but it now seems evident that Besh, who was formerly held to open the IInd, in reality began the IIIrd Dynasty.

Of HETEP-SEKHEMUI, we have mention on a fragment of a stone bowl found at Abydos. RANEB, the second King, reigned, according to Manetho, 39 years, and under him the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the goat of Mendes, were "appointed to be gods."[4] The expression may mean that the South was now formally thrusting its theriomorphic divinities upon the Semites and Libyans of the North, and forcing an amalgamation of the two divergent tendencies in religion. If so, it evidences a very interesting event in the history of the purer Semitic cults of the Delta. In the reign of NENETER Manetho says it was decreed that women could enjoy royal prerogatives, and receive royal honour.[5] While the Palermo Stele does not mention this fact, its references to religious festivals, to the observations of the annual height of the Nile inundation, and to the biennial census of the population, testify to the existence of a stage of civilization already highly developed even at this remote era. Egypt has always been the home of the census,[6] as of most of the other refinements of public life.

So strong were the Semitic influences in the land, notwithstanding all the suppression to which they were exposed, that the next monarch, SEKHEMAB, deemed it prudent to propitiate Semitic susceptibilities by adopting as his Set-name the title PERENMAAT,[7] while still retaining his Horus name. The shadowy ENNETER has left his name on some clay sealings of jars excavated by Quibell[8] at Sakkara in 1910: the records of UATCHNES are equally faint. PERABSEN bore only a Set-name, in this way placating his Semitic subjects, but he had a tomb created for himself in holy Abydos. The great palace fortress of this early monarch has been discovered[9] at Shunet-ez-Zebib. It reveals a large rectangular space enclosed with massive crenelated brick walls reminding us of a Babylonian royal palace. Here the sovereigns of the primitive Dynasties had their main residence. It was used, like our Windsor Castle, generation after generation, by the Royal Family of Egypt, but by the XIIth Dynasty it was abandoned as a place of abode and turned into a cemetery for mummified ibises. It still stands on the edge of the desert as one of the oldest ruins in the world, a melancholy dismantled palace over which the jackals now prowl.

[1] Weill, *Les Origines de l'Egypte Pharaonique*, 1909, has summarized in a monograph all our present information relative to the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties. [2] *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 60. [3] The early predominance of Hierakonpolis can be traced from end to end of Egyptian history. On the east bank of the Nile stood Nekhebet (called by the Greeks Eileithyia, now El Kab): opposite to it, and thus forming the other half of the twin city, lay Nekhen, or Hierakonpolis, the City of the Hawks, now Kom el Ahmar, or the Red Hill. [4] Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 98. [5] *Ibid.* [6] For the influence of Egypt in connection with the census at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, see Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* [7] Ayrton, *Abydos*, iii., Pl. ix. 3. [8] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1910–11, p. 23. [9] By Mr. E. R. Ayrton, *Abydos*, iii., p. 1 f.

Of SENT, the next King, we know that he and Perabsen were venerated and worshipped in later ages: of KARA we know nothing; but of NEFER-KA-RA we have definite remains. His tomb was discovered in 1906 by Barsanti, in the desert at Zauyet-el-Aryan. The workmanship is superb; the massiveness of the granite and limestone flooring with its subterranean chambers evokes a feeling of amazement at the stupendous nature of the undertaking.[1] Maspero thinks it is probably the foundation of a pyramid.[2] As yet, we have no information regarding NEFER-KA-SOKARI and HETCHEFA with whom the IInd Dynasty expired.[3]

Looking at the IInd Dynasty as a whole, it is evident that while Canaan does not bulk very largely in its recorded annals, its influence, nevertheless, was continuous and pervasive. It was through a political convulsion arising out of Semitic troubles that the Dynasty probably took its origin, and we have had reason to observe other slight indications pointing to the steady pressure exerted by the Semito-Canaanite population of the North on their conquerors from the South. The Semite had a personality which was not to be flouted with impunity.

III. *The IIIrd Dynasty* (B.C. 4945–4731)

It seems now established that the first King of the IIIrd Dynasty was KHASEKHEMUI, or TCHATCHAI, or BESH. He was a notable figure. A Southerner, he seems to have legitimized his seizure of the throne by marriage with Ne-maat-Hap,[4] the daughter of the last monarch of the previous Dynasty, which had been predominantly Northern in sympathy and had tried to win the affection of the disaffected Semitic element. But the new King's methods were forcible. Quibell's discoveries at Hierakonpolis show him claiming to have slaughtered 47,209 of his Northern enemies.[5] Arrogating to himself the name and the position of a second Narmer, he united together the Thebaid and the Delta under an iron sceptre, and proclaimed peace between Horus and Set, by formally shifting the seat of government from This to Memphis. The date was celebrated as "The Year of Fighting and Smiting the North," and the victory was commemorated in the temple of Horus at Hierakonpolis, wherein he dedicated a great alabaster vase, and two remarkable statues of himself, inscribed with the number of his captives. His vast tomb, discovered by Amélineau,[6] is 260 feet long, and contains 57 chambers. In it were stored all that his *ka*, or ghost, could require in the world of Shades—stacks of vases filled with wine or corn, corked and sealed; joints of oxen, copper pans, pottery dishes, ivory boxes, slabs for *kohl*, gold buttons, and numberless other objects which the dead monarch used while in life. But most pathetic of all are the numerous bodies of slaves in the side chambers leading off the royal tomb. They were slaughtered to accompany their master to the next world, for the King must have his servants, his body-guard, his harem, even his dwarf beside him, to wait on him, and to amuse him in the tomb, as they had done on earth.[7]

[1] Maspero, *Annales du Service*, vii. 257. [2] Neferkara's position is somewhat indefinite: it is possible he may belong really to the IIIrd Dynasty, after Sa-nekht (see Hall, *Near East*, p. 114). [3] Petrie in 1907 explored a number of tombs of the IInd and IIIrd Dynasties at Gizeh on which no names were found. They may be the tombs of some of these ancient Kings or their nobles (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, p. 7). [4] *I.e.*, "Possessing the Rights of Apis," the tutelary deity of Sakkara (Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 112). [5] Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. 44. [6] *Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1897, p. 44. [7] *Cf.* Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 41.

His son, TCHESER, or KHETNETER, was a powerful sovereign. He has left his name in the famous "Stele of the Famine," discovered in 1889 by Wilbour on the island of Sahal in the first Cataract.[1] Evidences of his wide dominion are to be seen in inscriptions on rocks in the Wady Maghara in Sinai where he worked the turquoise and copper mines.[2] But the most lasting memorial of his reign [3] is the celebrated Step-Pyramid of Sakkara. It is the oldest of those vast funerary structures which have resisted the ravages of more than sixty centuries. The Step-Pyramid has six gigantic steps, in height respectively 38, 36, 34½, 32, 31, and 29½ feet, while the width of each step is from 6 to 7 feet.[4] The length of the sides at the base are, north and south, 352 feet; east and west, 396 feet; the actual height is about 197 feet.[5] It is formed entirely of limestone from the neighbouring mountains. Inside is a perfect labyrinth of galleries, passages and chambers. The porch with its columns, and the various galleries all lead to a kind of enormous shaft, at the bottom of which the builder had secreted a hiding-place to contain the more precious of the funerary furniture.[6] But the discovery in 1901 by Garstang [7] of a huge mastaba [8] tomb of Tcheser at Bêt Khallâf, north of Abydos, 300 feet long, 150 feet broad, and 40 feet high, with an archway leading down to 18 underground chambers at a depth of 90 feet from the top of the mastaba, would lead us to the belief that, though the pyramid was erected to be the royal tomb, it was not used as such. It was merely a secondary or sham sepulchre, reared in the Necropolis of Memphis as a compliment to Sokar, the Northern god of the dead. The pyramid therefore stands as a memorial of the powerful influence exercised in the Delta by the primitive religion of the early Libyo-Semitic peoples. Sokar, whose name is perpetuated to-day in *Sakkara*, was associated with Ptah (a Semitic divinity),[9] and the fact that this vast monument was erected in his honour testifies to the degree of reverence in which the Memphite-Semite god was held. The pyramid with its massive proportions, its lonely, huge bulk out in the sands of the desert, its chambers lined with beautiful blue faïence tiles,[10] and its other remarkable peculiarities, reveals how wonderfully advanced, even in this archaic period, was the architectural, engineering,

[1] Brugsch, *Die biblischen Sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth nach dem Wortlaut einer ægyptischen Felseninschrift*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 1. Maspero, *Revue Critique* (1891), ii. 149. [2] Bénédite, *Rec. de Trav.*, xvi. 104; Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 37. [3] Another memorial is the fact that in his reign lived the wisest man of this remote millennium—Imhotep—the famous proverb-maker, physician, and architect. His proverbs were quoted through all the succeeding centuries, and he was even deified as a god of medicine, in whom the Greeks recognized their own Asklepios. A temple was erected to him in Memphis (Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 113). [4] Carefully measured by the Egyptian Exploration Fund. The Pyramid was first excavated in 1819 by the Prussian General, Minutoli (*Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon*, 1824, pp. 295–299). [5] The figures are Budge's (*Hist.*, i. 219), but Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 243) gives the height at 159 feet 9 inches. [6] Maspero, *ibid.*, p. 244. [7] Garstang, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallâf* (Egypt Res. Acc.), 1902. [8] It is interesting to observe that the Step-Pyramid is really a series of mastabas imposed one on top of the other [for a full account of mastabas, see Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archæology* (1902), p. 113]. A mastaba usually comprised a chapel above ground, a shaft, and some subterranean vaults: see Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, p. 17, and especially Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, i. 169–178: Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 139. The name "mastaba" is taken from the stone benches or platforms seen in modern Egyptian towns in front of each shop. See also "The Evolution of the Egyptian Mastaba from the Neolithic graves" by Dr. G. Elliot Smith in *Ridgeway Studies*, 1913, p. 500 f. [9] See page 30. [10] The glazed tiling decorations, however, are attributed by Stern ("Die Randbemerkungen zu den manethonischen Königscanon" in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, 1885, p. 90), and by Borchardt ("Die Thür aus der Stufenpyramide bei Sakkara" in *ibid.*, xxx. 83–87) to be restorations conducted under the XXVIth Dynasty. The point is undetermined.

and artistic skill of the Egyptians. Under the XIIth Dynasty, Tcheser was deified.

His brother, SA-NEKHT or HEN-NEKHT, seems to have been a veritable giant. He had a skull of extraordinary massiveness, a stature of seven feet, and a build of such strength that Professor Sayce, on seeing his bones in the Cairo Museum, was at once reminded of passages in Eratosthenes and Manetho in which they speak of one or two giant Kings of the period, named Sesochris, (who was five cubits in height) and Momcheiri, respectively. Sa-nekht has left a memorial of his sovereignty over Sinai in the figure of himself carved on a stele in the Wady Maghara. The physiognomy portrayed there is markedly Ethiopian in character.[1]

Before the IIIrd Dynasty ended, there seems to have reigned a shadowy monarch named NEFER-KA-RA,[2] who may be identified with HUNI.[3] The latter name occurs in the famous Prisse Papyrus as that of the King in whose reign the fragmentary "Oldest Book in the World" was composed.[4] The *Instruction of Kegemni* must be dated somewhere about B.C. 4700. Only the last two pages of the treatise have survived the ravages of time. The book is a collection of moral precepts laid down by the vizier of Huni for the guidance and instruction of his sons and daughters.[5] But what is of fascinating interest to us is to discover in this primitive Egyptian treatise the same sententious forms of composition which, in later centuries, made their more extended appearance in the *Instruction of Ptah-hotep*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*, the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, and the *Wisdom of Solomon*. Many of the Proverbs attributed to the Jewish monarch show a striking resemblance to those in this ancient Egyptian Hochma literature. It would almost seem as if Solomon, through his Egyptian connection, was acquainted with the works of his predecessors in this great field of moralistic writing, and that he adopted many of the wise sayings, current in the Nile Valley as traditionary aphoristic lore, to suit the circumstances of his Hebrew subjects. This will be brought out more emphatically in connection with the longer treatise of Ptah-hotep, but even the fragmentary *Instruction of Kegemni* affords some evidence of the plausibility of this theory. A few instances will suffice :—

Kegemni	*Proverbs*
He who fears me (Wisdom) is preserved.	*Whoso hearkeneth unto me* (Wisdom) *shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil.*[6]
Praise is to him whose ways are righteous.	*Blessings are upon the head of the righteous.*[7]
Open is the treasure of my (Wisdom) word.	*I* (Wisdom) *cause those that love me to inherit substance that I may fill their treasuries.*[8]
Large is the dwelling of my (Wisdom) peace.	*Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars.*[9]

[1] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1906), p. 43, fig. 48. [2] The excavations of Barsanti (in 1911) at Zauyet-el-Aryan have brought to light a block of granite bearing the cartouche of a IIIrd Dynasty King named Neb-ka-Ra. It is possible that there is some confusion between him and Nefer-ka-ra (*Annales du Service*, xii. 57). [3] So Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 222: Borchardt (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1909, p. 12) disputes this, and asserts that the name Huni is an ancient mistake for Aha. [4] See Lauth, *Papyrus Prisse*, 1871. [5] See Revillout, *Les Drames de la Conscience*, Paris, 1901, p. 6. Isaac Myer, *Oldest Books in the World* (New York, 1900) pp. 53–63. [6] Prov. $1.^{33}$ [7] $10.^{6}$ [8] $8.^{21}$ [9] $9.^{1}$

Kegemni	*Proverbs*
Words furnished with knives to thrust away the indolent.	*The Lord thrusteth away the desire of the wicked . . . the hand of the diligent maketh rich.*[1]
If thou sit with a company of people, desire not the food which thou lovest: short is the moment of anguish, and gluttony is an abomination.	*When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee: put a knife to thy throat if thou be a man given to appetite: be not desirous of his dainties, seeing they are deceitful meat.*[2]
It is a vile man who stuffs his belly: he departeth only when he is no longer able to fill full his belly in men's houses.	*Be not among wine-bibbers: among gluttonous eaters of flesh: for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty.*[3]
Beware of making strife, for one knoweth not the things that God will do when he punisheth.	*Go not forth hastily to strive, lest thou know not what to do in the end thereof.*[4]

SENEFERU seems to have been the last King of the IIIrd Dynasty rather than, as is usually supposed, the first King of the IVth Dynasty.[5] During his reign of 29 years, he developed the Sinai turquoise mines, built a fort, and erected there a temple to the goddess Hathor. His famous sculpture at Serabit el-Khadem, depicting his smiting a Semite Bedouin with a mace, has now been transported to the Cairo Museum for greater security.[6] The warlike attitude of the Pharaoh may be a reminiscence of the fact of a very early invasion of Egypt by the Amu, Canaanites from the borders of Palestine, who flung themselves across the isthmus of Suez in a vain attempt to seize the rich lands of the Delta. Seneferu attacked them, and drove them back with merciless slaughter.[7]

Seneferu built two pyramids, one near Dahshur, the other at Medûm, on a plan quite unlike that of ordinary pyramids. The Medûm pyramid was opened by Maspero in 1881, and further examined by Petrie in 1891,[8] and again in 1910.[9] It is over 120 feet in height, and consists of three[10] large unequal cubes with slightly inclined sides, arranged in steps one above the other.[11] Originally a small building, it was added to externally by thick, fresh layers of masonry, and Petrie's latest researches on the spot have led him to the conclusion that it was during the reign of Seneferu himself that the whole was covered with an outer facing of polished stone.[12] After his death, the King was deified, and his worship continued even until the period of the Ptolemies.[13]

During these first three Dynasties, there was a steady progress in culture,

[1] Prov. 10.[3 4] [2] 23.[1-3] [3] 23.[20 21] [4] 25.[8] [5] So Petrie, *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, 1893, pp. 138 f.: *Hist. of Egypt.*, i. 31: *Researches in Sinai*, p. 96. [6] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, pp. 84, 96, 122, 130, and chap. xvii. The history of the Egyptian mining operations in Sinai has been worked out by Palmer, *Sinai from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the present day*, 1878: Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*: most of the inscriptions discovered, down to his date, are translated by Birch in the *Account of the Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, p. 168 f.: and more recently by Captain Weill in his *Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes du Sinai*, 1894. [7] Golénischeff in *Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1876, p. 110. [8] Petrie, *Medum*, p. 21: and an interesting summary in *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, pp. 138–147. [9] Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, 1910. [10] Makrizi, *Description d'Egypte et du Caire*, i. 116, says "There is another pyramid called the Pyramid of Medum, which is like a mountain, and has *five* stories." It seems at one time to have had even *seven*. [11] Petrie, *Medum*, p. 5. [12] *Meydum and Memphis*, p. 8. [13] For the deification of heroes and kings, see Sethe in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, vi. 647, art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS (EGYPTIAN).

invention and in architectural and engineering skill. Each reign evidences some advance upon the civilization of its predecessor. Already by the time of the Ist Dynasty, writing, partly ideographic, partly alphabeto-syllabic, had been invented. Ornament in stone, so remarkable in the later Neolithic period, had been superseded by beautiful carvings in gold, ivory, and copper. Seneferu's reign was marked by great industrial expansion. He built vessels nearly 170 feet long for traffic and administration upon the Nile. He was probably the author of the chain of fortresses from the Bitter Lakes to the Gulf of Suez, for everywhere his name is associated in the Eastern Desert with roads and stations.

We would fain have details as to the state of Canaan during these early transitional ages, intermediate between the Neolithic culture, of which we have found traces in Palestine, and the great period of the Pyramid Builders, of which we have next to speak. But the information is exceedingly scanty. Nevertheless, the references to invasions of Egypt by the Amu, the systematic repression of the Semites in the Deltaic regions, and beyond these to the frontiers of Canaan, the pictures illustrating the slaughter of Bedouins in Sinai, and other indications all show that Egypt and Canaan were by no means without considerable mutual inter-relations.[1] Above all, the fact that Seneferu despatched a fleet of 40 vessels to the Phœnician coast to procure cedar beams from Lebanon, and that the Abydos tombs[2] were constructed partly of huge trunks of timber obtained from the forests of Mount Amanus, reveals that Egyptian commerce had already thrown out feelers over the neighbouring Asiatic territory, and that the Nile dwellers already regarded Palestine as being a region subject to their influence. While the timber was brought by sea, we may at the same time well believe that Egyptian armies advanced on land along the Canaanite seaboard to overawe the restless Semitic tribes. Thus early Palestine learned how dangerous for its peace was the proximity of the inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile.

[1] Something of the predominance of Semites in the Delta may be learned from the tombs. Professor Junker (" Bericht über die gräbungen in Turah " in *Denkschriften Kais. Akad. d. Wissens. Wien.*, 1911) has excavated a late pre-dynastic and proto-dynastic cemetery at Turah. Dr. Derry's examination of the skulls reveals that they belong to the same race as the prehistoric people of Upper Egypt, with very little intermixture of the " Gizeh type." But that portion of the cemetery which belongs to the IIIrd Dynasty contains almost exclusively the more massive Gizeh type of skull which Dr. Elliot Smith ascribes to early Syrian immigrants into the Delta.
[2] The Abydos tombs of the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties, other than those of royal personages, have been described by Peet and Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, iii. (1913), p. 8 f.

CHAPTER V

The Pyramid Builders of the IVth Dynasty (B.C. 4731–4454)

The IVth Dynasty [1] has the distinction of being the age of the great Pyramid Builders. Never before or since have more gigantic monuments been erected on the face of the globe, and, as long as the world stands, these huge structures at Gizeh will remind mankind of the genius and the autocratic power of some of the most imperial minds of antiquity.

It is needless to discuss the many fantastic opinions which have been broached as to the object these monarchs had in view in rearing such colossal monuments. The theories that they were erected for astronomical observations,[2] for astrological divination, for establishing a metrological standard,[3] for teaching the immortality of man, and for setting forth the nature of the Triune God under geometrical emblems,[4] have all been advocated. That they were erected to resist the encroachments of the desert sand; that they were Joseph's granaries;[5] that they were built as treasure houses for the safe storage of jewels and gold, have all been urged, along with many another ridiculous suggestion. Sober modern thought, with absolute unanimity, regards them simply as tombs reared on a gigantic scale.

As regards the construction of the pyramids, two chief theories have, in the main, held the field. The first was propounded by Lepsius,[6] as

[1] It is evident to every reader of Herodotus that in his history, Dynasties IV—VI (the Pyramid Kings) are placed after Dynasties VII—XXV. Following a suggestion by Dr. Apostolidos, Petrie (*Journ. Hell. Studies*, 1908, xxviii. 275) has shown how this may be due to the misplacement of a single roll of papyrus containing chapters 100–123. The whole second book might be divided into 12 rolls, and one of them has become transposed in its present completed state. [2] While, of course, in no way identifying himself with any astronomical absurdity, Sir Norman Lockyer has thoroughly worked out the astronomical problem associated with the Great Pyramids in his *Dawn of Astronomy*, 1894. He verified the fact that the four faces of the Pyramids are turned towards the four cardinal points (*cf.* De Merval, *Études sur l'Architecture Egyptienne*, p. 125). [3] For ingenious, yet far-fetched reasonings from the data furnished by the Great Pyramid and its interior sarcophagus, whereby there was supposed to be enshrined for ever in the heart of this mountain of stone a standard measure of capacity of which the British quart is the fourth part, see Professor Piazzi Smyth, *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid*, (1864), and Proctor, *The Great Pyramid*, 1882. There are still some fanciful religious enthusiasts, particular the American sect, "The Millennial Dawnists," who imagine that the profoundest religious truths are built into the structure of the Great Pyramid, and that the initiated will receive divine light on God, and on human destiny by a study of these ancient structures! [4] See Galloway, *Egypt's Record of Time to the Exodus of Israel*, (1869), p. 340. [5] Dionysius of Tell Mahrê (9th cent.) a Syrian Christian, refers to this belief, and explodes it, (*Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahrê*, Paris, 1895). See also Benjamin of Tudela, (A.D. 1168) and Sir John Maundeville (A.D. 1322) in Bohn's *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 121, 154, for this absurd view. For a list of the mediæval writers who supported this fantastic opinion, see Wiedemann, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiv. (1912) 302. [6] "Über den Bau der Pyramiden" in the *Berliner Monatsberichte* (1843), pp. 177–203.

the result of prolonged investigation. It was that "after a suitable site had been chosen and cleared, a mass of rock was, if possible, left in the middle of the area to form the core of the building: around this core a truncated pyramid was built, layer by layer, the steps being filled up with suitably shaped blocks of stone. Coat after coat of stone was built round the work, which grew larger and larger till it was finished." Lepsius thought that, on ascending the throne, a king built for his tomb a small but complete pyramid, and that he placed a new coating of stone round it every year. When he died, the sides of the pyramid, which then resembled long flights of steps, were finished off by filling up the steps with right-angled triangular blocks of stone.[1] On the other hand, Petrie maintains that this is impossible: that "the Great Pyramid was set out from the first upon a vast scale, and that it could not have been designed of any much smaller size is shown conclusively by the internal passages."[2] Modern opinion, however, is veering round to the view that Lepsius was practically right, and that his theory needs only some minor corrections to be strictly accurate.[3]

The founder of the Dynasty seems to have been SHARU, a monarch whose name has only recently been discovered.[4] He is most probably to be identified with King "Soris" of Manetho, and the hitherto unknown fact that he was King of all Egypt is revealed by the presence of the two Horus hawks of Upper and Lower Egypt above his name. His pyramid has not yet been identified, though its ruins may some day be discovered.

With KHUFU[5] or CHEOPS, vastness of architectural plan reached its climax. He was the creator of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh.[6] This mountain of stone has been so often described that it is superfluous to reiterate the story in full detail.[7] Yet the following few particulars may be given. The present height of Khufu's Pyramid is 454 feet, but originally it stood 481 feet high on a base 755 feet square. To-day the greatest length of its sides is 750 feet. Its cubic contents have been estimated to amount to over 3,000,000 yards, or 89,000,000 feet, and the weight of its mass to 6,840,000 tons. Its base occupies a space of 12½ acres. Thus, its apex was higher by 6 feet than the spire of Strasburg Cathedral; 30 feet

[1] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 40 f. [2] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 38: *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 60 f. [3] Lepsius' theory is maintained by Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 181 f.: but Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 214–221, and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 385, assail it. The theory, amended in detail, has been upheld by Borchardt, *Zeit. f. Ægypt Sprache*, xxx. 102–106, and by Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alten Ægypt.*, p. 106 f. [4] It was found in 1895 by F. W. Green at Ro-Anti, among some *graffiti*, which on being studied by Somers Clarke, Quibell and Sayce, revealed the cartouche of this new King. Is it possible that he and Khufu may have reigned for some time simultaneously? For while Manetho ascribes to Khufu a reign of 63 years, the Turin Papyrus gives only 23 (or 33, according to the reading of De Rougé, *Recher. sur les Monuments*, p. 154). On the other hand, if Lepsius' theory be correct then the size of Khufu's pyramid would require a long term of years such as is suggested by the number 63. See Sayce, *P.S.B.A.*, xxi. (1899), p. 110: xxvi. (1904), p. 93. [5] Khufu's signet cylinder, obtained by Petrie, is figured in *Ridgeway Studies*, 1913, p. 192. It bears a pyramid engraved on it. [6] It has been ascertained that, as far back as the Ist Dynasty, Gizeh was used as a cemetery, and that the pyramids of the IVth Dynasty were erected, not on virgin soil, but on ground already held sacred through three previous Dynasties. (Petrie, *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1906–07, p. 28). [7] Full details will be found in Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids* (1820), pp. 255–282: Vyse and Perring, *The Pyramids of Gizeh* (1839–42), and *Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh in* 1837 (1842): Piazzi-Smyth, *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*, 1867: Sir Henry James, *Notes on the Great Pyramid of Egypt* (1869): and most exhaustively and satisfactorily of all, Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (1883).

higher than St. Peter's at Rome ; 50 feet higher than St. Stefan's at Vienna ; 120 feet higher than St. Paul's, London ; and nearly 200 feet higher than the Capitol at Washington. Were the contents of the Pyramid to be laid out in a row, the stones one foot in breadth and depth, then the line would be nearly 17,000 miles in extent ; in other words, it would girdle two-thirds of the earth's circumference at the Equator.[1]

Every device was adopted to baffle and mislead any profane intruder on the sacred silence of the mighty dead. The outside limestone casing began at the top, and continued to the bottom,[2] so that the entrance to the tomb was completely concealed under a smooth polished coating. The entrance really lay on the north side, 45 feet from the ground. Strabo[3] says that a movable flagstone, working on a stone pivot, disguised it so effectively that no one, except the priests and custodians, could have distinguished the stone from its neighbours. Borchardt,[4] however, disputes this, and maintains that the movable stone was simply a flat slab fitting to the sloping side of the pyramid, and not a carefully devised block, pivoted and swinging on its axis. In any case, when the stone was tilted up, a yawning passage was revealed 3½ feet in height, with a breadth of 4 feet. This passage sloped steeply down through masonry and solid rock for 318 feet ; it passed through an unfinished chamber 46 feet long, 27 feet wide, 10·6 feet high, and it ended in a *cul-de-sac*, 59 feet further on, intended to mislead possible riflers of the tomb. It is difficult to discern the joints between the exquisitely adjusted polished blocks.[5]

But 62 feet from the entrance, a corridor branches off upwards, at an angle of 120° ; ascends 108 feet, and then at a wide landing-place again bifurcates. The lower road conducts to what is called the " Queen's Chamber," a room 19 feet long, 17 feet broad, 20 feet high. The other passage continues to ascend, but it is no longer narrow. It expands into a vast gallery, 148 feet long and 11 feet high, with the courses of stone converging on each other towards the roof, until the two walls are only 1 foot 8 inches apart. An arduous and difficult climb up this gallery brings one to another short landing with what seems to have been four rocky barriers to shut off intruders from the shrine. At last the " King's Chamber " is reached, a room 17 feet high, 17 broad, and 34 feet long. It contains a broken red granite sarcophagus, 7 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet 3 inches broad, 3 feet 5 inches high. Directly above this chamber are cunningly placed five small chambers, one above the other, in order to prevent the roofs of the royal vaults from being crushed in by the weight of the superincumbent masonry. The highest of these has for a roof

[1] Rawlinson, *Egypt* (Story of the Nations), pp. 71, 75. Another calculation he mentions is as follows : Were one to erect a solidly-built house, with walls one foot thick, with 20 feet of frontage. 30 feet deep from front to back, its foundations 6 feet deep, its exterior walls 24 feet high, and its partition walls to one-third the extent of its main walls, the result would be a building with 4,000 cubic feet of masonry. The Great Pyramid would build a city of 22,000 such houses piled on high ! The pyramid contains some 2,300,000 blocks, each weighing on the average, 2½ tons. For many details and wonders of its construction, see Barber, *Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1901 ; and for a scientific investigation into the methods of engineering pursued by these primitive builders, see Choisy, *Art de bâtir chez les Egyptiens*, 1903. Legrain has discovered among some XVIIIth Dynasty foundation deposits at Deir-al-Bahri, and elsewhere, models of cradle-like structures which he believes were used by these builders to raise the heavy blocks tier by tier up the side of the pyramid, but Borchardt (" Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempel von Karnak " in Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, Bd. v.) raises serious objections to Choisy's theory. [2] Herod., ii. 125. [3] Strabo, xvii. 1, 33. [4] *Ægypt. Zeitsch.* xxxv. 87. Borchardt also maintains that the structure of the Pyramid shows that it was built at three different periods, each time with enlarged plans. [5] Facts ascertained by Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 145 f. ; *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, p. 24.

enormous blocks tilted at an angle against each other.[1] The device shows great engineering skill, and the wisdom of its adoption has been proved by the permanence of the structure, which has withstood the earthquakes of so many centuries. The heat in the interior of the vaults being stifling, two air-shafts, 8 inches square, lead from both royal chambers to the open air right through the sides of the Pyramid.[2]

It is an exceedingly interesting fact that a fragment of wrought iron was discovered in one of these airshafts, in such a position that it must have been placed there at the time of the erection of the Pyramid. This conclusion was at first scouted by some European archæologists, especially Professor Montelius of Upsala, who refused to believe that Egypt was in possession of the knowledge of iron 5000–4000 years B.C., while Europe did not enjoy that knowledge earlier than B.C. 1000. But Petrie's discovery at Abydos in 1902 of an undoubted fragment of iron, along with bronze tools, in a tomb of the VIth Dynasty, and above all, Wainwright's [3] finding of iron beads along with gold ones in two pre-dynastic graves at El Gergeh, 40 miles south of Cairo, which turn out to be of wrought iron, have proved how ancient the culture of Egypt was. The Nile Valley was many centuries ahead of its neighbours, even as China, with the mariner's compass in her hands, retained possession of the secret for 2,000 years before Europe learned it, and even as Babylon had astronomers who observed eclipses and made intricate astronomical calculations, while all the rest of the world (except Egypt) was still in savagery.

Well may we ask how so gigantic a structure was reared. Herodotus [4] says it required 100,000 men for 20 years, working three months at a time. Diodorus [5] and Pliny [6] mention 360,000 men spread over 20 years, and we may well believe it. The basement stones are sometimes 30 feet long, 5 feet high, 5 feet wide, and weigh 46 to 57 tons; how were they moved? The granite blocks which form the roof of the "King's Chamber" are nearly 19 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 3 to 4 feet deep. How were they placed in their present lofty position to form this room of solid granite? [7] The mathematics of the structure are most precise. It was built at such an angle that the height was the radius of a circle equal to the circuit of the base.[8] How was it that the engineers of this remote era learned such skill that one of the greatest modern authorities on architecture could exclaim with admiration: "Nothing more perfect mechanically has ever been erected since that time"? [9] Even in front of the Pyramid stretched a basalt pavement leading to the temple of the Pyramid, and Petrie believes that the three deep trenches in it, 160 feet long, 20 feet deep, and lined with large blocks, were once filled with water and employed for observing the azimuths of stars! [10]

There is, however, reason to believe that these enormous edifices were reared in the anguish and tears of the common people.[11] The magnitude

[1] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 366 f. [2] It is possible that libations may also have been poured into the interior of the tomb through these orifices on feast days in honour of Khufu. [3] *Man*, 1911, No. 100: also *Rev. Arch.*, xix. 255. [4] Herod., ii. 124. [5] Diod., i. 63. [6] *H.N.*, xxxvi. 16, 17. [7] It is very probable that inclined ramps of earth were employed up which the blocks were moved on rollers, and when in position, the ramps were removed. This is the method used to-day at Thebes by the Service des Antiquités in restoring fallen pillars and obelisks. [8] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 39: for the simple mathematics of the construction of the Great Pyramid, see Sir Chas. Watson in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 151: 1902, p. 407: and for the ancient standards of measure as embodied in its structure, and its interior sarcophagus, see Sir Chas. Warren in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 218. [9] Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, i. 92. [10] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 41. [11] See Büdinger, *Zur Ægyptischen Forschung Herodot's* (1873), Vienna, p. 20 f.

and splendour of the design must not blind us to the colossal pride and brutal selfishness of the King who forced his subjects to carry such immense masses of stone, for 20 years, up the steep side of a mountain, 480 feet high. It is doubtless with good cause that Herodotus and Diodorus [1] report the legends of the priests as to the cruelty of the great Pyramid builders, and their names have been handed down to posterity as belonging to those whom the world regards as the great oppressors of mankind. The selfishness of these tyrants was monstrous. That he alone (and his queen) should have a suitable resting-place for their mummified bodies, Khufu employed the whole resources of his kingdom, and enslaved the entire population over which he ruled, while they toiled in providing a tomb commensurate with his own idea of his importance and greatness. [2] The selfishness met with its just reward. These great Pyramids seemed to have been entered and plundered between the VIIth and the XIth Dynasties.[3]

Khufu married Mertitfes, the widow of his predecessor, Seneferu, and the aged lady survived into the lifetime of his successor, Khafra. The first statue [4] of Khufu that has ever come to light was discovered by Petrie at Abydos in 1902. It is an exquisitely carved ivory statuette of extraordinary delicacy and finish. In it "we see the energy, the commanding air, the indomitable will, and the firm ability of the man who stamped for ever the character of the Egyptian monarchy, and outdid all time in the scale of his work." [5] His name has been discovered as sovereign of all Egypt, as far south as Sehel.[6] A rock tablet in Sinai shows us Khufu striking a bearded foe, the words "Smiting the Inu" being attached. The latter seem to be allied to the Mentu, an Asiatic tribe inhabiting the Sinai Peninsula.[7]

He was followed by his son, KHAFRA or CHEPHREN. Chephren was the builder of what is known as the "Second Pyramid." In height it stood 450 feet, the length of each side being about 700 feet: its cubic contents represent 2,156,960 yards of masonry, and its weight amounts to about 4,883,000 tons. [8] Slightly smaller than the Great Pyramid, but of even superior workmanship, it is a very striking monument of massive architectural and engineering skill. Its top still retains ts original outside

[1] Diodorus (i. 64) states that such was the fury of their subjects that at their death these monarchs were not after all interred in the pyramids they had reared at such cost, for, lest their bodies should be torn in pieces by the mob, they had to be buried secretly in hidden resting-places. Petrie (*Hist.*, i. 40), however, remarks that "there was no detriment to the country in employing a small proportion of the population at a season (during the three months of the inundation) when ordinary labour is at a standstill. The training and skill which they would acquire by such work would be a great benefit to the national character." Similarly, Von Bissing (*Bericht d. Diodor. über die Pyramiden*) holds that Diodorus' account of the Pyramids is far more accurate than that of Herodotus. Hall (*Near East*, p. 128) says "There is little doubt that the popular stories of the cruelty and impiety of the Pyramid builders which are related by Herodotus and Diodorus are grossly exaggerated, if not wholly baseless." Yet, it is difficult to dismiss in this airy manner the impressions and the condemnation of centuries! [2] See Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 117, who adds that "the preservation of the body was at this period considered a sacred duty, an idea obviously influenced by the hope of a possible resurrection of the body." [3] Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 67. [4] Some Arab legends testify that, in the time of the Caliph Al-Mâmûn, a human figure with a golden pectoral, adorned with precious stones, a richly ornamented sword, and on his head a carbuncle of the size of an egg, brilliant as the sun, having characters which no man could read, was found in a stone trough. It may have been the mummy of Khufu, which had escaped the ravages of the temple-riflers of the early period. The Arab legends have been collected by Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte*, ix., 454 f. [5] Petrie, *Abydos*, ii. 30. [6] Weigall, *Ann. du Service*, xi. 171. [7] T. Eric Peet, *The Stele of Sebek-Khu*, 1915, p. 36. [8] Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 115: Rawlinson, *Egypt* (*in loco*), gives the cubic contents as 71,670,000 feet, and the weight as 5,309,000 tons.

casing. Behind it are still the remains of a row of stone sheds erected for the use of the original workmen, granite barracks capable of housing 4,000 skilled masons during the long weary years while the Pyramid was being built. The rubbish heaps of stone chippings are also there to this day.[1]

Connected with the Pyramid of Khafra was the Temple of the Sphinx[2] discovered by Mariette in 1853, in which, at the bottom of a well, he found seven diorite statues of this king, five mutilated, two entire. Another fine head of Chephren was dug up by Steindorff in 1906 while clearing out the temple.[3] The temple was built of granite and alabaster blocks floated down the Nile from Assuan. The workmanship is perfect. It is impossible even to insert a pen-knife blade between any of the blocks,[4] while the film of mortar betwixt the gigantic stones is no thicker than one's thumb-nail. Petrie discovered some of the tools employed by Chephren's workmen, and his verdict is that they are more perfect than any now in use. The hardest blocks of basalt, granite, or diorite were not chiselled but sawn! The saw was not a blade, nor a wire, but was set with fixed cutting points, in fact a jewelled saw, and some of them were nine feet in length! Similarly, their tubular drills were infinitely more effective than any modern tool.[5]

It may be that the *Sphinx* itself was carved out by these pyramid-builders, but it is also possible that it represents the work of a much earlier era.[6] From out of the rock itself some unknown genius hewed the figure of a huge man-headed lion, the body 150 feet long, the paws 50 feet, the head 30 feet, the face 14 feet wide, the height from the top of the head to the base of the monument, 70 feet.[7] Originally painted red, and bearing on its forehead the uræus, the symbol of divinity and royalty, the Sphinx must have been a singularly impressive object, for even to-day, after enduring the weathering of countless storms, and the cannon shots of the fanatical Mamelukes, it has an air of majesty and imposing grandeur, as it stares across the desert with stolid impassiveness to where the sun leaps up over the Eastern plain. What changes in civilization, in empires, in customs, in ethics, in religions has that scarred face witnessed![8] It is possibly one of the oldest, as it certainly is one of the weirdest, of the monuments of the ancient world.[9]

[1] These curious structures were first explored and recognized as to their true nature by Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 101 f.: and *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, p. 25. [2] The latest exploration of the "Second Pyramid" is that of the Sieglin Expedition of 1911. Its results are recorded in a memoir by Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, where a complete account is given of the Temple of the Sphinx. See also Hölscher and Steindorff in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xlvi. (1909), p. 1. [3] Borchardt in *Beit. zur Alt. Gesch.*, v. 410. [4] Many another besides myself has proved the truth of this fact by personal investigation and testing. [5] Petrie, *Pyramids*, etc., p. 75; for details of accurate measurements of the temple, see p. 43 f. [6] On the other hand, Borchardt (*Sitzb. d. Königl. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1897, p. 752) argued from the style adopted in the ribbing of the royal head-dress of the image, that the Sphinx may be of XIIth Dynasty workmanship, and that the features may be those of the great Amenemhat III. This theory, however, he withdrew in 1906, and argued that the Sphinx may well be due to Chephren (*Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuserre*, p. 13). Daressy (*Bull. de l'Instit. Egypt*, ser. v., tom. iii. 35) has pointed out that recent discoveries tend to fix its date to that of the reign of Chephren. Hall, however (*Near East*, p. 164), still holds that both the Sphinx and the Temple of the Sphinx are to be ascribed to Amenemhat III. Breasted (*Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang*, xxx. (1914) 133) denies that the Sphinx is of XIIth Dynasty workmanship. [7] Figures from Budge, *Hist.*, ii. 50; see also Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 472, in which he claims that the Sphinx, as representing Harmachis, probably dates from the archaic period. [8] Most curious is it to read the many inscriptions cut out upon it by tourists of the centuries before Christ, and in early Christian days. They have been collected by Letronne, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1848), ii. 460 f. [9] In 1816, Caviglia discovered in front of its breast a small chapel consisting of three tablets covered with hieroglyphics, dedicated by Thothmes III and Rameses II. It will be seen later what influence the Sphinx had on the destinies of Thothmes IV.

Khafra's successor was RADADF or RA-TET-F, of whom nothing is known. Borchardt and von Bissing [1] believe that certain remains at Gizeh are the foundations of a fourth large Pyramid, which may be that of this monarch, though it may possibly have been the tomb of Sharu. Chassinat in his excavations in 1900 at Abu Roash, north-west of Cairo, found a fine head of this King, and it is probable that his Pyramid stood near that spot.[2]

The Pyramid of Radadf's successor, MENKAURA (or MYCERINUS, as Manetho calls him), is not on such a vast scale as those of his predecessors. Built on a rock with a sloping surface, its substructions are courses of immense blocks of stone. The length of each base is 350 feet, its height about 210 feet. In its interior mummy chamber,[3] 60 feet below the ground, was discovered a splendid stone sarcophagus, a single mass of blue-black basalt, 8 feet long, and finely polished and carved.[4] With great difficulty this sarcophagus was removed in 1838 from the Pyramid, and shipped for England, but the vessel foundered with all on board. Reisner, in 1908, discovered a brick temple or gateway to the Pyramid with wonderful statues of Menkaura and his queen buried within it,[5] which reveal the extraordinary delicacy and perfection of the sculptor's art attained at this remote era. Herodotus tells a long story of the gracious policy of this King in contrast to the vices of his predecessors, and narrates his futile effort to baffle an oracle of the gods and to prolong his life by turning night into day.[6]

Manetho mentions two other Kings of this Dynasty, *Bicheris* [7] and *Thamphthis*, but we have no information whatsoever regarding them, nor any monumental evidence. The last King was SHEPSESKAF, but of his reign, too, we know next to nothing, nor seemingly did he leave a Pyramid to perpetuate his glory.

Let us try to get a general impression of the splendour of Memphis in the time of this great IVth Dynasty.[8] Where the Nile emerges from its rocky, imprisoning walls, the vast plain of the Delta is seen dotted with palms. The city stretches out 17 miles from north to south,[9] and 3 miles from east to west. Its religious heart is the renowned temple of

[1] *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xxxv. 87. [2] The Eckley B. Coxe Expedition discovered in 1914 an offering table at Gizeh with two rows of inscriptions round its edge, containing the names of Khufu, Khafra, and Radadf. C. S. Fisher in *Philad. Museum Journal*, vi. (1915), No. 2. This determines the order of their reigns (*ibid.*, viii. (1917), 46–52). [3] The rifling of this mummy chamber by the Saracens under Al-Mâmûn is described by Vyse, *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, ii. 71. [4] Sethe has (perhaps successfully) demonstrated that this sarcophagus must have been of later date, perhaps even of the XXVIth Dynasty. Borchardt believes that it was made under the XXVIth Dynasty, copying a model of the *Middle* Kingdom (*Ægypt. Zeit.* xxxv. 87). The sarcophagus is figured in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 377, and in Vyse, *Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, ii. 84. [5] *Comptes Rendus*, 1908, p. 806, and Borchardt in *Klio*, ix. 483 f.: xi. 124 f. [6] Herod., ii. 139, 133: see also Diodorus, i. 64. [7] For Bicheris, see Dümichen, *Über die Regierungszeit eines ægyptischen Königs aus dem alten Reich*. [8] Some of the following details have been suggested to me by Wiedemann in his graphic article, *Die Ausgrabungen zu Abusir*, translated in *Ann. Rep. of Smithsonian Instit.*, 1903, p. 669 f. He mentions the width of the necropolis as 2 kilometres = 1¼ miles, and its length as 30 kilometres = 18¾ miles. [9] So Diodorus, "150 stadia." Petrie criticizes these figures in *Memphis*, i. 1 (1909): he makes out the length to have been 8 miles. Petrie's monograph gives a very complete outline of the history of the city. "The history," he says, "of this capital of Egypt extends from the first king to the last Roman Emperor. Menes formed Memphis, and the Roman governor, John Makaukas, signed the capitulation to the Arabs in its palace. From the beginning to the end of Egyptian history, Memphis was the great centre of civilization, government and trade. For a few centuries, Thebes shared its importance, and it was eclipsed at the last by Alexandria, but those cities are only episodes in the 6,000 years of national life" (*Memphis*, i. 2).

Ptah with its gigantic statues, 75 feet in height, standing before it. But many another gorgeous temple is also there, surrounded by gay pleasure gardens. As each king, as a rule, built for himself a new palace, it is a city of splendid edifices, their white magnificence reflected in the numerous canals and beautiful artificial lakes that gleam in the western part. High on a platform on the western side tower the three enormous Pyramids I have just described; while fading into the distant blue are groups of other pyramids—at Abusir, Sakkara and Dahshûr—more than 100 in all, great and small, a Necropolis 20 miles long! To-day the desert sand has encroached, and the city has moved further to the north, to Cairo; but how brilliant the scene 4,000 years before Christ, with the smooth, polished exterior of the Pyramids flashing in the sun, the first two white or yellow, the third glowing red with the ruddy granite transported from the first Cataract! There must have been something infinitely solemn and awe-inspiring in the great walls that enclosed the Pyramids, the dromos of statues between Pyramid and Temple, the vast street of tombs like the Appian Way at Rome, the Royal Road leading up to the very paws of the stupendous stony Sphinx, where the altar smoked, and the sacred steam ascended into the huge nostrils![1] From the terraces of their magnificent palaces, from the gardens of their villas, from the shady walks along the river, the Pharaohs could see the long line of serrated peaks which spoke of death in the midst of their luxurious life, and reminded them of this, their inevitable end, gods though they might think themselves to be.

No wonder that Memphis was renowned for its beauty, and its praises were sung in all quarters of the ancient world. The dwellers in Syria, who traded with the Nile Valley,[2] must have brought back to Palestine glowing descriptions of its splendours, and their tales would induce fresh relays of Canaanite merchants to make a personal visit to the magnificent metropolis in the Delta.[3] The fame of the Pyramids became proverbial. Later ages regarded them as among the "Seven Wonders of the World,"[4] and they were visited by thousands of tourists, who came to gaze on them, and on the Sphinx, and on the other monuments of Memphis, with awe-struck wonder and reverence. Well might Job, in that book which, as will be explained in a separate chapter,[5] shows a profound acquaintance with Egyptian institutions, and in all likelihood was written by a resident in the Nile Valley, exclaim: *"I should have slept; then had I been at rest: with Kings and counsellors of the earth who built pyramids for themselves!*[6] And well might Isaiah refer to the arrogant glory, even in death, of the monarchs of this famous IVth Dynasty: *All the Kings of the nations sleep in glory, every one in his own house.*[7]

[1] For some of these particulars I am indebted to Stanley's vivid description in *Sinai and Palestine*, p. lvii. [2] Reisner in 1913 (Boston *Bulletin*, xiii. 29) found near Chephren's Pyramid a large pottery jar, certainly non-Egyptian, and perhaps brought from Syria with cedar or olive oil. [3] Greek, Syrian, Spanish, and Hindu travellers visited Memphis under the later dynasties (see p. 368), and reference will be made (p. 496) to the visit paid by Germanicus, A.D. 19 (Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 61). [4] Philo of Byzantium (ed. Orelli, p. 816). [5] Chapter xxv. [6] Job 3 [12-14] R.Vm. Driver (*Book of Job*, p. 8) allows that a probable reading might be "which built *pyramids*" (instead of "solitary piles") for themselves. [7] Isa. 14.[18]

CHAPTER VI

The Religious Fervour of the Vth (B.C. 4454–4206) and the Commercial Activity of the VIth (B.C. 4206–4003) Dynasties

1. *The Vth Dynasty* (B.C. 4454–4206)

The Vth Dynasty, though still continuing the practice of pyramid building —yet on a much smaller scale—reveals not so much the absolutism of the sovereign as the growing power of the priesthood.[1] The names of the monarchs of the IVth Dynasty, subsequent to Khufu, had exhibited the title of Ra, the Sun-god of Heliopolis. Khaf-*ra*, Menkau-*ra*, Shepseska-f ("noble is his (Ra's) ghost") all displayed growing attachment to the deity of On, and Horus was somewhat displaced from his former supremacy. The priests of Ra at Heliopolis steadily usurped governmental authority, until, as is probable, one of them actually wrested the crown from the hands of the last sovereign of the IVth Dynasty, and in his person inaugurated the Vth Dynasty.[2]

The first of these priest-Kings, Userkaf, seems to have been the originator of the custom of adding the title "Son of the Sun" to those already attached to the royal name. Manetho says that the Dynasty ruled from Elephantine, far up the Nile at the First Cataract. Petrie, however, has pointed out [3] that the statement probably arose from a confusion in the mind of some early scribe between Abu (Elephantine) and Sakhebu, near Heliopolis, whence the next race of priest-Kings sprang. Userkaf has left his name on the rocks at the First Cataract, in this fashion inaugurating a practice which was maintained by many future generations of Pharaohs.[4]

Sahura, his successor, erected one of the three large Pyramids at Abusir, and began the custom of decorating the interior of the tomb with reliefs illustrative of the annals of his reign. We see records of an expedition down the Red Sea, probably to Tor, whence his soldiers and miners proceeded to the Wady Maghara in search of turquoise. A stele there represents [5] the King as a hawk-headed sphinx, trampling on his foes. But the naval enterprise of Sahura surpassed all that had previously been attempted. His predecessor, Seneferu, had despatched a fleet to Lebanon; Sahura excelled him in sending ships to Punt or Somaliland. From this region he obtained the fragrant gums and resins that were so beloved by

[1] The contrast between the absolutism of the IVth Dynasty and the religious feeling and feudalism of the Vth Dynasty is dwelt on by Ed. Meyer, *Ægypten zur Zeit der Pyramiden Bauer*, 1908. [2] The Westcar Papyrus, 9, 10–11, tells a curious legend whereby it was prophesied to Khufu by an ancient wise man that after his son and grandson had reigned, the throne would pass to three children begotten personally by Ra. [3] *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 69. [4] Mariette, *Monum. Divers.*, p. 54. [5] According to Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 44, Pl. 52) it is very poorly executed.

the luxurious Orientals. 80,000 measures of myrrh, 6,000 lbs. weight of electrum (gold-silver alloy) and 2,600 staves of ebony, and other rare woods, were the rewards of this commercial venture.[1] He seems also to have had dealings with Palestine, military or commercial, for on his tomb there are represented Syrian bears and Mesopotamian fallow-deer ; [2] while in his pyramid temple are shown various gods leading Asiatics before the King.

Of the next monarchs, NEFER-ARI-KA-RA, or KAKAA, SHEPSESKARA,[3] KHA-NEFER-RA, we know practically nothing, except that the first-named left a stately pyramid at Abusir.[4] But RA-EN-USER has bequeathed some notable memorials of his reign.[5] Between 1898 and 1901, Borchardt and Schäfer were engaged in exploring what was supposed to be a pyramid at Abu Ghuraib near Abusir. Their excavations revealed, however, that the structure was really a temple to Ra, the sun-god of Heliopolis.[6] It was built on a platform of dried bricks, which protected it from inundations. Above the platform stood a large rectangular court enclosed by a thick brick wall. On the western end of the court rose a pyramid, not like those at Gizeh, but rather after the pattern of the one at Medum. Its sides were almost perpendicular. It measured 138 feet in length at the base, and 108 at the top. Three of its sides were bare, but on the fourth side a door gave access to the staircase which led to the flat top or platform at the apex. On the summit of this truncated pyramid there stood (and still stands) an immense upright stone (or rather, a brick facsimile of a stone) to the height of about 111 feet ! The courtyard was surrounded with store-rooms in which provisions were deposited, and with residential chambers for the priests. At the western end, near the foot of the Pyramid, stood an enormous circular alabaster altar for the reception of votive gifts, on which slain oxen were offered to the Sun. Behind this were six huge basins, also of alabaster, which caught the blood of the sacrifices, and from them drains ran out to carry away the blood.[7] On the walls of the covered passage leading from the valley temple of Ra-en-user to his pyramid temple the King is depicted in the form of a lion trampling on fallen enemies. One of these is an Asiatic, showing that the Pharaoh claimed to have obtained some victory over Palestinians.[8]

The temple was connected with the Royal Palace by two high parapets which enclosed a Sacred Road, along which Pharaoh could travel betwixt his own house and that of his god. It is a type of temple most unusual and unexpected, and its discovery has revolutionized our ideas of what we have been familiar with in Egyptian religion and architecture. The Sun-god of Heliopolis was " Tum-Ra," the Setting Sun, as " Ra Harmachis," the Rising Sun, was associated with the Sphinx which looks to the east. Even the enormous boat of the Sun-god has been discovered, a mass constructed of bricks to form a vessel 96 feet long ! Recognizing the perishableness of wood, the ancient Egyptians provided for their god a ship that could not decay, and placed it securely on land !

[1] Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.*, from reliefs discovered by the Deutsche Orient. Gesellschaft. [2] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, ii. pp. 18–21. [3] Sethe (*Rev. Egypt*, I. 1) suggests that Shepseskara may be identified with a King Isi, to be distinguished from the well-known Assa at the close of the Vth Dynasty. [4] It is described by Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke-re*, 1909. [5] The best preserved tomb of his reign is that of Ararna, a priest. It is described by N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, 1901, p. 14 f. [6] This extraordinary temple is described by Borchardt, *Das Rê-Heiligthum des Königs Ne-woser-rê*, Berlin, 1905 : Wiedemann in *Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Instit.*, 1903, p. 669 : and Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p. 278 f. [7] That Egyptian sacrifices were ever real " offerings " of living creatures is denied by Kyle, *Rec. de Trav.* 1905 (xxvii.) 161. [8] Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Neuserre*, pp. 46–49 : Pl. 8–12.

It will at once be recognized how remarkably this unique and extraordinary temple at Abusir, reared by priest-Kings of Heliopolis, suggests the influence of Semitic, perhaps Canaanite ideas of worship. Centuries later, we find the construction of the Tabernacle of the Hebrews, a Semitic immigrant race from Palestine, based very much on the same plan. There was the same rectangular courtyard occupied at the western end by a sacred structure, the embodiment of the earthly home of God. Just as the worshipper in the Abusir temple stood in the courtyard and looked westward to where the sun set behind the obelisk or pillar, so the Hebrew worshipper looked westward from the door of the courtyard to the Tabernacle, whose entrance faced the east. In front of both Egyptian temple and Hebrew tabernacle stood the great altar on which sacrifices were offered, and from both altars conduits led the blood and offal away. The pillar as the representative of the Sun-god suggests further the well-known Semitic *mazzeboth*, consecrated to the worship of Baal, the Semitic Sun-god. It will be remembered how frequent are the references in Scripture [1] in later ages to these distinctively Semitic "obelisks of the Sun." These coincidences, therefore, make us wonder how much connection there was between the Heliopolitan cult of Ra and the Semitic worship of Baal. How far did they respectively influence each other? Did Egypt mould Canaanite thought on this subject, or did Palestine so impress itself on Egypt that Heliopolis in its style of worship reproduced the practices current amongst the Syrian devotees of Baal? Further exploration may cast light on the problem.[2]

Ra-en-user continued the practice of working the turquoise mines of Sinai, for he has left on the rocks at Wady Maghara a very large tablet 102 inches long and 62 inches broad. One of the most interesting facts discovered by Petrie in this region is that those who in this early period set out to Sinai to search for the precious gems believed in the efficacy of dreams. At regular stages on the road up the mountain to the shrine of Serabit el-Khadem, Petrie [3] discovered circular sleeping-places where newcomers lay down at nightfall in the hope that the local goddess, the "mother of turquoise," would answer their prayers, and reveal in a dream the exact spot where the treasure was concealed. This divinity of Sinai was not Egyptian, but Syrian, and stelæ and obelisks to her worship were erected by devout visitors and miners. Egyptians, therefore, are seen here conforming to a Canaanite practice, and acknowledging the might of a Palestinian goddess. If the dream brought them success, the potency of this Semitic divinity would be heralded on their return to the Delta, and thus greater fame would accrue to the other Semitic gods and goddesses who were already worshipped in Egypt.

It is of interest to note that the practice of using sleeping-places for the purpose of inducing dreams seems to linger century after century in the conservative East. Long after this era, a Syrian fleeing from Beersheba (which lay on the confines of this Sinai Peninsula where the custom was

[1] *I will cut down your Sun-images* חַמָּנִים Lev. 26 [30]: *Asa took away out of all the cities of Judah the Sun-images*, 2 Chr. 14 [5]: *the Sun-images that were on high above the altars of Baalim, Josiah hewed down*, 2 Chr. 34 [4]: *He shall not look to the altars, neither shall he have respect to that which his fingers have made, either the Asherim or the Sun-images*, Isa. 17 [8]: *the Asherim and the Sun-image shall rise no more*, Isa. 27 [9]: *Your altars shall become desolate and your Sun-images shall be broken*, Ezek. 6 [4]: *Your Sun-images may be hewn down*, Ezek. 6.[6] [2] Cf. L. B. Paton in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 186, art. CANAANITES (1910). See also Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 35 (1912), art. DREAMS AND SLEEP (EGYPTIAN). [3] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 67 f.: he cites many corresponding illustrations of this practice of obtaining guidance in sleep, from the practice of the Greeks at Memphis, Canopus, Abydos, Epidauros, Tenos, Mallos, Seleucia, and Daphnæ in Syria.

prevalent) came to Bethel, *and tarried there all night, because the sun was set: and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep, and he dreamed.*[1] In the morning, Jacob followed the regular Semitic practice: *he took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and he called the name of that place Bethel.*[2] These "Bethels" or "Bætuli" were frequent in Semitic religion,[3] and the shape of the obelisk of Ra-en-user at Abusir reminds us of the fundamental resemblance between the Nilotic and the Canaanite cults.[4] It may also be that it is to this same practice that a later prophet refers, when he denounces the customs of *a people that provoketh Me to My face continually; which sit among the graves and lodge in the vaults.*[5]

All that we know of MENKAUHOR, the seventh King of the Dynasty, is that he carried on the old mining works in Sinai, as a very inferior inscription shows.[6] But with DADKARA or ASSA we come upon a reign marked with great distinction.[7] The old quarries of the Wady Hammâmât between Kosseir and Coptos were re-opened, and Assa began the practice of leaving his cartouche there on the rocks. The Sinai Peninsula was again subdued as an inscription in that region testifies.[8] Throughout the entire Nile Valley the arts flourished. The thronging population enjoyed abundance of food. Great attention was paid to the luxuries of life, and much devotion was shown to the services of religion.

More than that, the early developments of a great literature are discovered. Two thousand years before Hammurabi, King of Babylon, drafted his famous Code of Laws, twenty-five centuries before Moses led Israel out of bondage, about 3,000 years before *Solomon spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five,*[9] there appeared a book, one of the earliest ever composed. It is the so-called *Instruction of Ptah-hotep,*[10] a compilation of proverbial wisdom, reminding us closely of the Biblical Book of Proverbs, and the later Hebrew Hochma literature. The vizier of Assa, named Ptah-hotep, seems to have been a man of singular force of character, and of rare administrative ability. But whether he is to be identified with the author of these saws is uncertain. We have already seen [11] that under the IIIrd Dynasty, *The Instructions of Kegemni*

[1] Gen. 28.[11] [2] v.[18 19] [3] See Pleyte, *La Religion des Pre-Israelites* (1865), p. 165 f.: Lenormant, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, iii. 31–53: Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, p. 206. [4] For the Canaanite "baetyls" at Beth-shemesh, see Mackenzie, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 174. [5] Isa. 65.[3 4] [6] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 45, Pl. 54. [7] It is probably to the reign of Assa that we must ascribe the introduction of the Egyptian calendar. Meyer calculates the date as 19th July, B.C. 4241. Reisner, however (*Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Der* in *Californ. Univ. Egypt. Archæol.*, vol. ii), is unable to accept this date, as being in his judgment simply incredible. At this far-off epoch he regards Egypt as still sunk in primitive barbarism. [8] Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions du Sinai*, No. 14. [9] 1 Ki. 4.[32] [10] Contained in the Prisse Papyrus preserved in the Louvre. The *editio princeps* is that of Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variants* with the Proverbs in 16 photographic plates, giving facsimiles of the Papyrus in the Bibliothêque Nationale with some parallel fragments of early date in the British Museum, and the Introduction to the Proverbs on Lord Carnarvon's tablet from Thebes. Budge, in his photographic *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, gives the greater part of a new version of the Proverbs from a Papyrus of the New Kingdom. The Earl of Carnarvon discovered a tablet with eight lines of hieratic containing the Introduction to these famous Proverbs, with variants from the readings of the Papyrus Prisse (see *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, 1912, p. 36). Translations of the Proverbs are in *R.P.* (N.S.), iii. 1, by Philippe Virey: versified by Canon Rawnsley in *Notes for the Nile*: while the most recent is that by Battiscombe Gunn, *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep* ("Wisdom of the East" series), 1912. See also Revillout, *Les Drames de la Conscience*, Paris, 1901, p. 9: Isaac Myer, *Oldest Books in the World* (New York, 1900), pp. 65–96, and Devaud, *Les Maximes de Ptah-hotep*, 1916, Fribourg. [11] See p. 45.

had revealed a curious amount of correspondence between Egyptian moralistic writing and that associated much later with the name of Solomon. This analogy comes out even more prominently in the case of this Vth Dynasty collection of practical wisdom. A study of the two compilations leads one to the conclusion that Solomon, *whose wisdom excelled all the wisdom of Egypt,*[1] who *made affinity with Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter,*[2] and who *ruled over all the Kingdoms . . . unto the border of Egypt,*[3] had made a personal study of early Egyptian sententious writings, and that he was indebted to these ancient works for many a suggestion in the preparation of his own sapiential literature.

It is impossible, within moderate compass, to marshal all the evidences for this belief, but a few examples of the correspondences may be cited. The exordium in each case is remarkably parallel :—

Ptah-hotep	*Proverbs of Solomon*
Here begin the Proverbs of fair speech, spoken by the Hereditary Chief. . . the Eldest Son of the King . . . so as to instruct the ignorant in the knowledge of exactness in fair speaking.	*The Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel, to know wisdom and instruction: to discern the words of understanding: to receive instruction in wise dealing, in righteousness and judgment and equity.*[4]
It is profitable for him who hears them: it is a loss to him who shall transgress them.	*That the wise man may hear, and increase in learning, and that the man of understanding may attain unto sound counsels.*[5]

Similarly throughout the whole book (which consists of a papyrus roll 23 feet long, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, containing 18 pages of heavy and bold black and red hieratic writing) we are again and again struck with the close resemblance between the *Instruction* of the Nilotic sage and the *Proverbs* of the Jewish monarch. Thus for example :—

Ptah-hotep	*Proverbs of Solomon*
Fair speech is more rare than the emerald that is found by slave-maidens on the pebbles.[6]	*There is gold and abundance of rubies: but the lips of knowledge are a precious jewel.*[10]
If thou hast to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words.[7]	*He that spareth his words hath knowledge: and he that is of a cool spirit is a man of understanding. Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise: when he shutteth his lips, he is esteemed as prudent.*[11]
Great will be the applause on the part of the listeners, and thy name shall be good in the knowledge of princes.[8]	*A man shall be commended according to his wisdom.*[12] *He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips the King shall be his friend.*[13]
If a disputant be a poor man, not thine equal, be not scornful towards him because he is lowly.[9]	*He that despiseth his neighbour sinneth*[14] *. . . he that despiseth his neighbour is void of wisdom.*[15]

[1] 1 Ki. 4.[30] [2] 1 Ki. 3.[1] [3] 1 Ki. 4.[21] [4] Prov. 1[1-3] [5] Prov. 1.[5]
[6] Gunn's translation, § 1. [7] *Ibid.* 3. [8] *Ib.* 3. [9] *Ib.* 4. [10] Prov. 20.[15]
[11] 17.[27 28] [12] 12.[8] [13] 22.[11] [14] 14.[21] [15] 11.[12]

Ptah-hotep	*Proverbs of Solomon*
Pour not out thy wrath upon him that is before thee.[1]	*He that is soon angry will deal foolishly.*[12]
If thou be a leader . . . endeavour always to be gracious.[2]	*Mercy and truth preserve the King, and his throne is upholden by mercy.*[13]
Never hath evil-doing brought its venture safe to port.[3]	*Wealth gotten by vanity shall be diminished.*[14]
He saith "I will take by myself for myself," and saith not "I will take because I am allowed."	*He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be unpunished.*[15]
Never hath that which men have prepared for come to pass: for what God hath commanded, even that thing cometh to pass.[4]	*A man's goings are of the Lord: how then can man understand his way?*[16]
If thou be among the guests seated to eat in the house of a man greater than thyself, accept that which he giveth thee . . . consider that which is placed before thee.[5]	*When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee.*[17]
If thou be an ambassador sent from one noble to another, be exact to that wherewith he hath charged thee . . . beware of altering in speaking the . . . words: he who preverts the truthfulness of his way in order to please . . . is a detestable person.[6]	*A wicked messenger falleth into evil, but a faithful ambassador is health*[18] *. . . as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to them that send him.*[19]
If thou hast ploughed, gather thine harvest in the field, and God shall make it great under thine hand.[7]	*He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread.*[20] *He that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame.*[21]
A father, though great, may be grieved: as to the mother of children, she hath less peace than another.[8]	*A foolish son is a grief to his father, and bitterness to her that bare him.*[22]
If thou be lowly serve a wise man, that all thine actions may be good before God.[9]	*Walk with wise men and thou shalt be wise.*[23]
Riches come not of themselves . . . if a man bestir himself and collect them himself God shall make him prosperous: but He shall punish him, if he be slothful.[10]	*He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand: but the hand of the diligent maketh rich*[24] *. . . the hand of the diligent shall bear rule, but the slothful shall be put under task work.*[25]
Activity produces riches, but riches do not endure when it slackens.[11]	*Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds, for riches are not for ever.*[26]

[1] Gunn's translation, § 4. [2] *Ib.* 5. [3] *Ib.* 5. [4] *Ib.* 6. [5] *Ib.* 7. [6] *Ib.* 8. [7] *Ib.* 9. [8] *Ib.* 9. [9] *Ib.* 10. [10] *Ib.* 10. [11] *Ib.* 11. [12] Prov. 14.[17] [13] 20.[28] [14] 13.[11] [15] 28.[20] [16] 20.[24] [17] 23.[1] [18] 13.[17] [19] 25.[13] [20] 12.[11] 28.[19] [21] 10.[5] [22] 17.[25], *cf.* also 10.[1] [23] 13[20] [24] 10.[4] [25] 12.[24] [26] 27.[23 24]

Ptah-hotep	*Proverbs of Solomon*
If thou wouldest be a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God: if he makes straight his way after thine example, if he occupies himself with thy affairs as is right, do unto him all that is good, for thy son is he.[1]	*The father of the righteous shall greatly rejoice, and he that begetteth a wise child shall have joy of him. Let thy father and thy mother be glad, and let her that bare thee rejoice: my son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes delight in my ways.*[12]
But if he be heedless, and trespass thy rules of conduct, and is violent: if every speech that cometh from his mouth be a vile word, then beat thou him, that his talk may be fitting.[2]	*Chasten thy son seeing there is hope*[13] *. . . correct thy son and he shall give thee rest, yea, he shall give delight unto thy soul:*[14] *withhold not correction from the child, for if thou beat him with the rod he shall not die.*[15]
Be not lavish of favours: it leadeth to servility and produces slackness.[3]	*Many will entreat the favour of the liberal man: and every man is a "friend" to him that giveth gifts.*[16]
If thou be a leader, be gracious when thou hearkenest unto the speech of a suppliant.[4]	*The King that faithfully judgeth the poor, his throne shall be established for ever.*[17]
Wheresoever thou goest, keep thyself from making advances to a woman, for there is nothing good in so doing.[5]	*Remove thy way from a strange woman, and come not nigh the door of her house.*[18]
Thousands of men destroy themselves in order to enjoy a moment, brief as a dream, while they gain death.[6]	*Let not thine heart decline to her ways, go not astray in her paths: for she hath cast down many wounded: yea, all her slain are a mighty host. Her house is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death.*[19]
Beware of covetousness . . . it setteth at variance fathers-in-law and the kinsmen of the daughter-in-law: it sundereth the wife and the husband.[7]	*Better is little with the fear of the Lord than great treasure and trouble therewith:*[20] *he that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house.*[21]
One hath remorse for even a little covetousness when his belly cooleth.[8]	*The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a vapour driven to and fro.*[22]
Love thy wife that is in thine arms.[9]	*Rejoice in the wife of thy youth.*[23]
It is hard to satisfy hired servants.[10]	*A servant will not be corrected by words, for though he understand, he will not give heed.*[24]
Repeat not extravagant speech, neither listen to it . . . if it is repeated, look without hearing it towards the earth, say nothing in regard to it.[11]	*He that goeth about as a talebearer revealeth secrets, therefore meddle not with him that openeth wide his lips*[25] *. . . he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter.*[26]

[1] *Ptah-hotep* 12. [2] *Ib.* 12. [3] *Ib.* 16. [4] *Ib.* 17. [5] *Ib.* 18. [6] *Ib.* 18. [7] *Ib.* 19. [8] *Ib.* 20. [9] *Ib.* 21. [10] *Ib.* 22. [11] *Ib.* 23. [12] Prov. 23.[24 26] [13] 19.[18] [14] 29.[17] [15] 23.[13] [16] 19.[6] [17] 29.[14] [18] 5.[8] [19] 7.[25 27] [20] 15.[16] [21] 15.[27] [22] 21.[6] [23] 5.[18] [24] 29.[19] [25] 20.[19] [26] 11.[13]

Ptah-hotep	*Proverbs of Solomon*
If thou be commanded to do a theft, bring it to pass that the commandment be taken from thee, for it is a thing hateful according to law.[1]	*If sinners entice thee, consent thou not: if they say "We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil, cast in thy lot among us, we will all have one purse," walk not thou in the way with them.*[3]
Be silent rather than scatter thy words.[2]	*He that refraineth his lips doeth wisely.*[4]

These extracts, culled from the 44 sections of the *Instruction*, must suffice to show the trend of this ancient piece of Egyptian sapiential literature. It is typical of the upright, rigid, and somewhat severely moral period embraced by the Vth Dynasty, and its maxims were long held in reverence as models of correct conduct.[5] Ptah-hotep reminds us of Confucius and his religion of good living, but still more in reading his book are we conscious that to his canons of propriety and rectitude of deportment the Hochma literature of the Hebrews owes much. Solomon, and the whole sapiential school who followed his lead down to the Christian era, seem to have appropriated not a few of the Nilotic apophthegms, yet what they took over they adorned, and the finished product as seen in *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdom*, reveals the advance in literary expression that had been made, as well as the deepening and spiritualizing forces that had been at work in enlarging men's conceptions of the true and the false in life. But of all the fruits of the inter-relations between Egypt and Canaan, none is more interesting than that which we discover subsisting between the wise vizier of Assa and the wisest of Israel's Kings.

The tomb of Ptah-hotep at Sakkara was most imperfectly described by Mariette,[6] but very laboriously and adequately re-investigated by Davies in 1898.[7] The extraordinary wealth of mural decoration with which the tomb is ornamented has given us a bewildering series of pictures illustrative of almost every phase of Egyptian life in the time of the Old Empire. The daily round of fishermen, farmers, boatmen, vegetable sellers, horse dealers, keepers of wild animals, slaves, in fact every rank and grade in society, is depicted in the brightest colour on the walls. Even schoolboys' games are shown, while hunting is a favourite theme.[8] In illustrations of funeral processions, every second person has a goose or other waterfowl in his hand, testifying to the enormous abundance of aquatic bird life in the Egypt of the day.

The last King of the Vth Dynasty was UNAS. He built a temple to Hathor in Memphis, and erected a pyramid near the Sakkara Step Pyramid, where it was discovered by Mariette in 1881. Its structure, like others

[1] *Ptah-hotep* 23. [2] *Ib.* 24. [3] Prov. I. [10,13-15] [4] 10.[19] [5] L. E. Steele (*Irish Church Quart.*, x. (1917) 81–93,) emphasizes the commonplaceness of the morals inculcated in the Book: see also Foucart in Hastings, *E.R.E.*, iv. 34, art. CONSCIENCE (EGYPTIAN). [6] *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (1889), p. 62. [7] N. de G. Davies and F. L. Griffith, *The Mastaba of Ptah-hotep and Akhet-hetep at Saqqareh*, Pt. i. (1900): Pt. ii. (1901). [8] See *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, copied by R. F. E. Paget and A. A. Pirie, with comments by F. L. Griffith, 1898. Other tombs of the same period are described by Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Pt. i. (1905). But on the other hand, the contemporary tombs of Deir-el-Gebrawi show great inferiority of taste and style (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el-Gebrawi*, 1902, Pts. i and ii.). Other tombs of the Vth and VIth Dynasties will be found described by Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, ii. (1914), p. 24.

under this Dynasty, reveals decadence from the magnificence of the erections of the preceding Dynasty, yet its internal decorations have been of enormous value to archæologists and to all students of Comparative Religion, inasmuch as its walls are covered with inscriptions, which reveal the views of the Egyptians of the Old Empire as to the future life.[1] They consist of invocations and magical formulæ intended to facilitate the passage of the King's soul through the mysterious regions of the next world.[2] They suggest that the old Neolithic faith was still strong, and that the purely African belief in charms, incantations, and magic was widely held, in spite of the Semiticizing process which had been in vogue for so many centuries. Yet, it must be noted that the fetishism shown in these tombs contains the germ of the later brilliant imaginative effort in "The Book of the Dead," which the priests of the XVIIIth Dynasty brought to such culture and finish.

By the time of the Vth Dynasty, art had become entirely conventionalized. Formality and canons that were hard and fast, marked the limits within which genius might work. The Kings were depicted with stereotyped sameness of expression and pose, and each subject under them was painted in a style that was fixed and unalterable. Naïveté, freshness, and freedom were rigorously repressed; and the rules of art required a strict adherence to the models prescribed. The canons of the Vth Dynasty were maintained practically unchanged, with the exception of the brief spell of freedom from convention enjoyed under Akhnaton, till the very end of the Ptolemaic rule.

II. *The VIth Dynasty* (B.C. 4206–4003)

Under the vigorous rule of the VIth Dynasty, Memphis still continued to be regarded as the capital of the Kingdom. The first King, TETA, in all likelihood was one of the provincial barons, whose power had been increasing during the feeble reigns towards the close of the previous Dynasty. The excessive devotion to religion, characteristic of the monarchs of the Vth Dynasty, permitted the local governors throughout the Nile Valley more and more to arrogate to themselves authority, titles, and even a modified independence. Nominally loyal to the crown, they, nevertheless, exercised considerable freedom in their respective districts, and the absolute power and autocratic sovereignty of the great Pyramid Builders were things of the past. This process of disintegration, commencing under the Vth Dynasty, was destined to go on till almost complete ruin overtook the Early Memphite Empire. More and more the great lords gave over the practice of clustering themselves in life around their sovereign at the Royal Court, and of associating themselves in death with him in the Royal Necropolis; and, instead, ruled with virtual independence over their several nomes, and built tombs for themselves near the seat of their own local government.[3]

Teta, whose only monument is his so-called "Prison-Pyramid"[4] at Sakkara, was succeeded by ATI or USERKARA; but it is only with the

[1] See Offord in *Trans. of Roy. Soc. of Literature*, 2nd Ser., xiv. (1886), p. 299. [2] *Cf.* Hall in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 440 (1908), ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (EGYPTIAN). [3] Some of the tombs of the chiefs of the Hare-Nome (Hermopolis) of the late Vth and VIth Dynasties have been excavated and described by Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (1901), who gives an account (p. 40) of the local necropolis of the region. For the tombs of other nomarchs of the same reign, see Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, 1914 (Cusæ, about 35 miles N. of Assiut). [4] So called from an Arab tradition that it was near here that Joseph was imprisoned.

accession of the third King, MERIRA-PEPI I, that the Dynasty became illustrious. As a ruler of great activity, and a munificent patron of all the arts of civilization, the vigour and splendour of his reign are abundantly testified to by memorials over the entire Nile Valley.[1] We possess the story of the wonderful exploits of his lieutenant, Una, the Governor of Upper Egypt, whom he despatched on an expedition to Nubia, and who was able to boast that he had floated granite blocks down the Nile from Nubia to Memphis.[2]

But it is not only in abundant building operations, from Tanis to Syene, that Pepi I has left memorials of his ceaseless activity. After centuries, perhaps, of at least a semblance of peace between Egypt and Canaan, Pepi broke the quiet by a warlike incursion across the desert into Palestine. The Semites of Southern Canaan were attacked in their strongholds by an army which issued from Egypt, seemingly under the direct command of the Pharaoh in person.[3] Egyptian soldiers were transported from the Nile in troopships, and landed on the coast of Canaan, whence they hewed their way up into the highland backbone of the country. It was a grim prelude to the raids which later ages were to witness, conducted by a Thothmes or a Rameses. Pepi's lieutenant, Una, similarly swept across the Tîh Plateaux, and crushed a revolt of the "Herusha," Semitic Bedouins of the neighbourhood.[4] It was the culmination of the martial exploits of the Old Empire. Egypt had, even at this remote era, asserted her lordship over Palestine, and had shown her determination to maintain her claim by force of arms. Pepi's presence at Gezer is attested still further by a scarab of the VIth Dynasty, and a funerary statue bearing an Egyptian inscription of the VIth Dynasty, discovered by Macalister *in situ*.[5]

Pepi I bequeathed a strong and prosperous realm to his two sons, of whom MERENRA was the elder. Acceding to the throne as a mere youth, Merenra enjoyed the invaluable guidance of his father's old and trusted friend, Una. The aged governor of the South held the turbulent barons in check, and won fresh laurels by his successful completion of a series of five canals at the First Cataract, thus establishing unbroken water communication between the Lower Nile and the granite quarries above the rocky barrier. The way was now open for a more thorough subjugation of Nubia, and of the tribes in the Upper Nile regions.[6] The trade in ebony, ostrich feathers, panther skins, ivory, resinous gums, and sweet-smelling timber was steadily on the increase, and Merenra resolved to establish his authority without question over the Soudanese peoples engaged in this commerce. He ascended the Nile in person, and at the island of El Hesseh, above Philæ, he received the homage of the

[1] In Quibell-Green, *Hierakonpolis*, ii., Pl. 50–56, are some marvellously realistic and unconventionalized copper statues of Pepi and his son, showing that amid the increasing tendency to conventionalism there were still some artists of genius who could throw off the trammels of hard and fast rules. [2] De Rougé, *Six Dynasties*, vii. viii.: *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xx. 2: Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (1887), p. 19 f., who calculates Pepi's date from the data given in the inscription: Birch, "Inscription of Una" in *R.P.*, 1st Ser., ii. 1–8: Maspero, *ibid.*, 2nd Ser., ii. 1–10, and Budge, *P.S.B.A.*, x, 4–40. Reisner (in *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, April, 1914) gives account of evidences of presence of Pepi I at Kerma in Nubia. [3] Petrie (*Deshasheh*, Pl. iv.) discovered a picture on a tomb at Deshasheh, showing Pepi attacking a Canaanite town. [4] A thorough investigation with these relations between Egypt of the VIth Dynasty and the lands to the East (near Sinai) is furnished by Raymond Weill, "L'Asie dans les textes égyptiens de l'ancien et du moyen empire" in *Sphinx*, viii. (1904), p. 197 f.: ix. (1905), pp. 1–17: 63–69. [5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 36. [6] Nubia now begins to be called "Kush" in the contemporary inscriptions. It is the Biblical "Cush," or "Ethiopia."

Ethiopian chiefs and kinglets. The unique spectacle was commemorated in a relief recently discovered by Sayce.[1] This submission was followed by a number of military and commercial expeditions to the interior of Africa,[2] and down the Red Sea, despatched by the King under the command of noted admirals such as Herkhuf and Pepinekht, princes of Assuan.

Merenra died an early death, and was buried in his pyramid near Memphis.[3] His half-brother, PEPI II, succeeded him, and his life extended to well-nigh 100 years. The brilliant commercial enterprises of his father and brother were continued. He sent expeditions into the heart of the Pygmy Land in Equatorial Africa,[4] and the sculptures record the King's minute directions to provide for the safe transit of the captive dwarfs, lest they should be drowned *en route* to Memphis.[5] Adventurous exploits on the part of trading fleets to Punt (or Somaliland) are recorded, one subordinate officer in the *entourage* of an Elephantine prince boasting that he had accompanied his master no fewer than eleven times to these wild shores, and had returned in safety. Royal fleets coasted up the shore line of Canaan, and brought cedars from Lebanon.[6] Other squadrons sailed to Cyprus and Crete, and brought back to Egypt articles representative of the pre-Mykenæan civilization. In the Cairo Museum there is a limestone slab showing foreigners bringing tin, or copper, to Egypt. They were probably Asiatics from the east side of the Ægean.[7]

The tombs of the two Pepis are adorned with funerary texts, and these, along with a tablet of a certain Pepi-Na, who lived at this era, cast considerable light on the views of the ancient Egyptians as to existence in the next world.[8] The Egyptians conceived of man as a composite being with six component parts. Man had a body (*Khat*), a soul (*Ba*), an intelligence (*Khu*), a shadow (*Khaibit*), a name (*Ren*), and an immortal spirit or ghost (*Ka*).[9] The *Ka*, after the body has been buried, must be provided with food, if the vital spark in man is not to be extinguished.[10] Hence, Pepi-Na, in his tablet, prays: "O ye who live upon the earth, ye who come hither and are servants of the gods, O say these words: 'Grant thousands of loaves, thousands of jars of wine, thousands of jars of beer, thousands of oxen, thousands of geese, to the *Ka* of the Royal

[1] *Rec. de Travaux*, xv. 147. [2] The royal agent on one occasion brought to Memphis 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, leopard's skins, and elephant's tusks. [3] His body was removed in 1881 to the Cairo Museum. [4] The Pygmy Land, long believed a myth, was re-discovered by Sir Henry Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*. See David MacRitchie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 123, art. DWARFS AND PYGMIES (1912). [5] Strangely enough, long afterwards, in the time of Osorkon II of the XXIInd Dynasty, pygmies from Equatorial Africa were the official policemen guarding the Egyptian temples. Their long wands of office gave them the dignity denied them by their diminutive stature: see Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (1892). [6] Sethe (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlv. 7) has recognized the name of Byblos (Kepni) on a tablet at Elephantine, in which it is stated that an expedition was sent thither to obtain cedars from Lebanon. [7] W. Max Müller, *Egyptol. Researches*, i. 5. [8] Interesting papers on this subject were read at the *Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français à Saint-Etienne* (1875) including one by Wiedemann on "L'Immortalité de l'Ame chez les Anciens Égyptiens" (p. 159): and by Baron Textor de Ravisi on "L'Ame et le Corps d'après la Théogonie Égyptienne" (p. 171). For the *Khu* and *Ka*, see p. 288 f. The whole article is remarkably full and informing. See also Maspero, *Memnon*, vi. 125–146: Sottas in *Sphinx*, xvii. 33. [9] *Cf.* Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, ii. 763, art. BODY (EGYPTIAN); and Naville, *ib.* iii. 430, art. CHARMS (EGYPTIAN). [10] Petrie (*Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, p. 14 f.) has even discovered at Rifeh about 150 models of houses which were placed on the surface of the ground over a grave, in order that the ghost of the departed might be provided with a "soul-house" to dwell in. Petrie contributes a dissertation on the evolution of these diminutive structures from age to age.

Friend, Pepi-Na, Superintendent of the Royal Household, and Superior of the Priests of the Pyramid of King Pepi.'" [1]

But more curiously still, these "Pyramid Texts" furnish remarkable parallels in thought to expressions in the "Creation Story" in Genesis, and also to the cosmological ideas current in primitive Babylonia. We may place the exordium of both in parallel columns that their resemblances may be shown :—

Pyramid Text of Pepi I [2]	*Creation Story in Genesis*
When as yet the Heaven was not, When as yet the Earth was not, When as yet Man was not, When as yet the Gods were not, When as yet Death was not.	*These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made earth and heaven. And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up . . . and there was not a man to till the ground.* [3]

The correspondences between the cosmological conceptions in Egypt and in Chaldæa are even more striking, and they make us wonder by what channel the beliefs of the Euphrates Valley filtered into the Nile. Did Canaan, which lies intermediate between the two far-separated civilizations, act as the medium of communication? Was it through Palestinian commerce and Semitic traders that the cosmogony of the land of Shinar was transmitted to the dwellers in the Delta? Or is the close affinity of their respective cosmological systems to be traced back to that primitive connection between Babylon and Egypt, to which I have already referred? [4] These questions are as yet incapable of being answered, but it is impossible to deny that in some way there was an interchange of ideas, for the expressions in both poems are remarkably similar. Thus, for example, we may compare the following phrases from the tomb of Pepi II with corresponding sentences from the Chaldæan Creation epos :—

Pyramid Text of Pepi II [5]	*Chaldæan Creation-epos* [6]
Hail to you, ye waters,[7] supported by Shu,[8]	
Ye who were born of Nu,[9]	*At that time above, the heaven was unnamed,*
At a time when the heavens were not yet,	*Below, the earth was unrecorded by name,*
When the earth was not as yet,	*The chaos of the sea was she who bore the whole of them.*
When as yet no (God) supported the heavens,	
When as yet there was no rebellion,	
When as yet there was no fear for the eye of Horus.[10]	

[1] Many of the tombs of the priests of the VIth Dynasty have been excavated, and described by H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-re*, 1908. [2] Pyramid Texts, Pepi I, line 663 f. [3] Gen. 2.4. [5] [4] See p. 31 f. [5] Lines 1,228 f. : see Hommel in *Expos. Times*, ix. 432, 480. [6] Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1880), p. 57. [7] *i.e.*, The Ocean of Heaven. [8] The god of the sky. [9] Corresponding to the Babylonian "Anu." [10] *i.e.*, the Sunlight. These cosmological conceptions are confirmed in a later Hymn to Ptah, quoted by Victor von Strauss, *Der altægypt. Götterglaube*, i. § 365 : see also Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter*, 1888, pp. 100–198.

After the protracted reign of the second Pepi, the government grew weak. The public edifices show a great falling-off in style and finish, while the mastabas and pyramids are badly built. The Memphite Empire was dying. The rule of its sovereigns was becoming increasingly feeble; discontent was rampant; the provinces broke into revolt, and the turbulent barons up the river asserted their independence of any orders from the decrepit monarch in the Delta.[1] The VIth Dynasty had not been so dominated by priestliness as the Vth had been, yet neither did it exhibit the massiveness of the IVth.[2] Foreign conquest, especially of Canaan and of Nubia, was made the serious study of the nation, along with increase of wealth by commerce, and the refinement of life by luxury. Its pyramids were no longer solid structures built for eternity; they were heaps of fragments and rubble kept in position by rude walls, and enveloped in a polished coating. Yet, the artistic powers of the artisan class were very high, in some respects higher than was ever revealed in later generations. Some of the most perfect specimens of sculpture were executed under the VIth Dynasty.[3] The celebrated "Sheikh-el-Beled," the village bailiff, discovered by Mariette at Sakkara, is a proof of the consummate skill of the craftsmen of the period. Yet artistic skill and the refinements of wealth and luxury cannot save a nation. They may even hasten its downfall, if moral strength and righteous government be lacking, and if licentiousness and weakness of character and of administration are sapping the springs of a people's life. Such degeneration and moral collapse seem to have been the features of Egyptian politics towards the close of Pepi II's reign. The Dynasty was tottering to its fall.

The last sovereign of the Dynasty is (perhaps erroneously) said to have been NITOCRIS, a queen of whom many fabulous tales are current.[4] With her, the House of Pepi passed away amid the convulsions of a general revolt. She is reported to have been buried in the Pyramid of Mykerinus and the Arabs assert that to this day her spirit haunts that solitary structure, and allures the foolish to their death.

[1] *Cf.* the dissolution of the once powerful Carlovingian Empire into a multitude of petty duchies, margravates, and landgravates. [2] Weill, *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire Egyptien*, ascribes the downfall of the Memphite Empire to the excessive privileges and immunities granted to the temples, as the monuments with their decrees, which he discovered, abundantly testify. [3] The traveller who walks through the halls of the Cairo Museum, and notes the extraordinary life-likeness of the statues, the elegance of the furniture, the beauty and tastefulness of the decorations of the houses of the VIth Dynasty, will have an amazing conception of the wonderful technical and artistic skill of this period. [4] Manetho calls her "the bravest and most beautiful" of her time. See also Herod. ii. 100. Hall (*Hellenic Journal*, xxiv. 208) has discussed the identity of this Queen *Nitocris* with the courtesan *Rhodopis* of Herodotus, and has unravelled the complicated story. See also Miss Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt* (1908), p. 19.

CHAPTER VII

The Passing of the Memphite Empire and the Rise of Thebes

1. *The VIIth and VIIIth Dynasties*

The VIIth Dynasty (B.C. 4003–3933) and the VIIIth (B.C. 3933–3787) are stated to have reigned from Memphis, but of their Kings, and their works, almost nothing is known. Manetho actually states that the VIIth Dynasty was made up of 70 kings, who reigned for 70 days—a king a day—a strange legend indeed! It may mean that an oligarchy of nobles attempted for a limited period a joint rule until this impossible form of government ended in deserved failure, but nothing is certain. Nevertheless, tombs of this dark and obscure period were discovered by Petrie,[1] and their exploration revealed the fact that two, at least, of these shadowy Memphite sovereigns contrived to make their authority respected at Abydos, and even as far up the Nile as Coptos. But when they passed away, the governors of the Upper Nomes resumed independence, and reigned in full defiance of the royal authority, like the semi-royal barons of the Middle Ages in Europe.

By the end of the VIIIth Dynasty, the centre of rule (if there was such) had shifted from the Delta to Heracleopolis. The chiefs of this city gradually gathered to themselves more and more power, while all around was anarchy and hopeless disintegration. At last one of these nobles felt himself sufficiently strong to discard all fealty to the nominally reigning Pharaoh. He proclaimed his own status as sovereign lord, and styling himself Ruler of all Egypt, became the founder of a new Dynasty, the IXth.

During these 200 years of lawlessness the architectural glories of the previous Dynasties suffered irreparable injury. Tombs were rifled, temples were pillaged, splendid diorite and granite statues of the kings were shattered to fragments in the blind fury of a nation which had at last turned and risen against its tyrants on the throne. The mercilessness of a Cheops was avenged in the total sweeping away of the *ancien régime* in all the agonies of social revolution and civil war.

The horrors of the time seem to have been aggravated by foreign invasion. Canaan, it is probable, seized the opportunity of the decline of the Memphite power to wreak vengeance on Egypt for the Palestinian campaigns of the two Pepis. At Tell-er-Retabeh in the Eastern Delta, Petrie has shown that the origin of the newly-built city, which dates from the beginning of the IXth Dynasty, was due to the presence in that region

[1] Petrie, *Dendereh*, 1898.

of a settlement of Semites.[1] Under the walls, as a foundation deposit, he discovered memorials of child sacrifice, a sure sign of Canaanite influence. It may, therefore, be taken for certain that in this time of tumult, the Delta was invaded by raiders from Palestine, who settled in the rich Nile lands, and even built cities with Canaanite rites.[2] The ancient domination of Egypt over the Sinai Peninsula seems similarly to have been given up during this period of anarchy. Not a trace of an inscription by any of these *fainéant* monarchs has been observed on the rocks of the turquoise mines at Wady Maghara. All the power and glory of the Nile was concentrated in the hands of the nobles of the Upper Nomes, one of whom actually inscribed on his tomb this boast: "I rescued my city in the day of violence from the terrors of the Royal House!"

II. *The IXth and the Xth Dynasties*

The IXth Dynasty, as we have seen, was in all probability founded by that Heracleopolitan noble, who finally disowned his feeble Memphite sovereign, and arrogated to himself the title of Pharaoh. The Dynasty lasted from about B.C. 3787 to B.C. 3687. Heracleopolis Magna, or Ahnes, a little south of Fayum, had been a centre of the worship of Horus from the earliest dynastic period. The name of the first King, KHATI,[3] or MERIABRA, or AKHTHOES (as Manetho calls him) has been handed down coupled with stories of ferocity and savagery. His ruthless vigour stamped out rebellion for a time, and his cartouche appears at the First Cataract, showing that his strong arm had pacified the Nile Valley for a considerable distance up stream. He perished through being devoured by a crocodile.

Although Manetho credits the IXth Dynasty with an existence of 100 years,[4] we are almost entirely in ignorance as to the progress of national events during this epoch. Equally obscure are the annals of the Xth Dynasty (B.C. 3687–3502).[5] But during these centuries what is evident is the fact that the Kings of Heracleopolis were prevented from establishing their authority on an absolute basis throughout the Nile Valley by the steadily-growing power of Thebes, which was yearly rising in importance. The northerly encroachments of the Theban princes were, however, for a time thwarted by the princes of the influential city of Siut, who were in league with the Heracleopolitans.[6] These Siut monarchs have left elaborate tombs filled with notable inscriptions[7] in which each

[1] Petrie in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1906, p. 25: for the Canaanite practice of child sacrifice as a foundation rite, see Macalister, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 19. [2] Additional evidence testifying to an invasion of Egypt by Semito-Canaanite peoples during this period of anarchy has been discovered by A. H. Gardiner, *Pap. Petersbourg*, 1116 A, 1116 B. [3] A fragment of an ebony staff with the full titles (hitherto unknown) of this monarch was discovered in 1910 at Meir by Ahmed Bey Kamal (*Ann. du Service*, x. 185). Another inscription of the same King associated with the name of Arsaphes on a vase was discovered by Daressy, *ibid.* xi. 47. [4] While Manetho's figures are accepted by Petrie, it must be acknowledged that D. G. Hogarth, as a result of his excavations at Assiut in 1906–7, which revealed little difference in the types of funerals between Dynasties VI and XI, was led to the belief that a very brief interval of time separated these two Dynasties (*Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1906–7, p. 24). [5] For the art of Cusæ during this period subsequent to the fall of the VIth Dynasty until maturity was reached at the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, see Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 1914, Pt. i. It represented a break away from the stiff conventionalism of the past, and showed a remarkable naturalism in the treatment of human, animal and vegetable forms. [6] See Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*. [7] Some of the tombs of leading officers or nomarchs from the IXth to the XIIth Dynasties are to be found at El-Bersheh, the ancient Hermopolis. They have been excavated and described by Griffith and Newberry, *El Bersheh*, Pt. i. (1893): Pt. ii. (1894). They were first discovered by Irby and Mangles, *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, etc., during the years* 1817–18 (1823). The hieroglyphs on these tombs, especially those from the tomb of Tehuti-hetep, have been copied in facsimile colours by Griffith, *A Collection of Hieroglyphs*, 1898.

lord grandiloquently extols his personal bravery, enumerates the mighty deeds he has accomplished, and thus indirectly supplies us with some light on this obscure portion of Egyptian history.[1]

Amid the general lack of knowledge relating to this era, it is gratifying that we have a document which reveals how much the proximity of Canaan loomed before the minds of the Nile dwellers.[2] In an "Instruction," which "the King of Upper and Lower Egypt made for his son, King MERI-KA-RA," we not only possess a treatise of moral wisdom addressed by a monarch to his son, but in the papyrus there is a remarkable section which shows how intimate was the knowledge possessed by the Egyptian writer of Palestine and the Palestinians. There is a paragraph summing up the general impression left on the mind of a dweller in the Nile Valley by the appearance and the climatic conditions of Canaan. Accustomed in Egypt to rainless skies, and a Delta flat and featureless, he is most disagreeably affected by the humid atmosphere of Palestine and its mountainous character. "Behold the wretched Aamu," he writes, "toilsome is the land wherein he is: a land troubled with water, made difficult by many trees, its ways made toilsome by reason of the mountains. He dwells not in a single place, but his legs are ever driven wandering. He is ever fighting since the time of Horus. He conquers not, nor yet is he conquered. He announces not a day in fighting, like one who undertakes the suppression of conspirators." It is a lifelike picture drawn evidently by one who had personally visited Canaan. Then follow instructions about building fortifications on the northern frontier of Egypt against the Palestinian Syrians, implying that there was danger in that quarter of invasion on the part of the dwellers in Canaan. Even in the most obscure portion of Egyptian history, we have thus an indication afforded us how intimate were the inter-relations of Nile and Jordan.

In the long struggle between Heracleopolis and Thebes, the latter steadily gained ground. At length, Merikara, the Heracleopolite monarch, was forced to flee to the South by an invasion from Memphis. He took refuge at Siut, but the Thebans now recognized that by a vigorous effort they might gain the coveted supremacy of the Nile Valley. They besieged Siut, and captured it. In its fall, the last trace of the Heracleopolitan Dynasties was swept away.

III. *The XIth Dynasty* (B.C. 3502–3459)

The city of Thebes, from which the XIth Dynasty reigned, is not known by this name in the Bible. There it is called *No* [3] and *No-Amon*,[4] an incorrect punctuation for *Ni*, its designation in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylon. The later Greek and Roman writers call it Diospolis, or Diospolis Magna, when they had identified Amon-Ra with Jupiter. As the Nile divided the city into two, the portion situated on the east bank, which now includes Karnak and Luxor, was called in Egyptian, *Àpet*, and this word, with the addition of the feminine article, *Ta*, gave the Greeks their word, Θῆβαι,[5] hence our *Thebes*.[6]

[1] For details of the prosperity, wealth, and power of these Siut princes, whose might kept up a buffer state between Heracleopolis and Thebes, see Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 149. [2] A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i. 1, 30 (1914) on "Papyrus Petersburg, 1116 A." [3] נֹא Jer. 46.[25] Ezek. 30.[14 15 16] [4] נֹא אָמוֹן Nah. 3.[8] The LXX in Ezek. 30.[14 16] has Διὸς πόλις; in v.[15] Μέμφις (involving a corrupt reading נֹף): in Jer. 46[25] (=26[25] LXX) τὸν Ἀμμὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς: in Nah. 3[8] μερίδα Ἀμμών. [5] Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 381 f. [6] The Coptic word is *Tape*, from *Ta-Apet*,

For 450 miles above Cairo, the Valley of the Nile is seldom more than two miles in width. But as the traveller ascends the ancient river, suddenly at one spot he sees the enclosing mountains receding on both sides until they form a vast amphitheatre encircling a splendid plain ten miles wide. Through this plain, dotted with date palms, and green with the semi-tropical luxuriance of a region of rich alluvial soil, the Nile flows with majesty. On either bank, in far gone days, rose a city of palaces and temples, that on the east side being the more magnificent, but the portion on the west, formerly bearing the name of the "Necropolis," or "Memnonia," or the "Libyan Suburb"—to-day called Medinet-Abu—contained also some buildings of surpassing beauty. The ruins of this vast and famous city of Thebes now measure 27 miles in circumference!

The great deity worshipped here was Amen or Amon. At first his cultus was provincial, and he was regarded as one of the inferior divinities of Egypt, quite subordinate to those favoured by the priestly college at Heliopolis. But as Thebes grew in political power, its god grew in importance with it, till gradually one after another of his rivals—Menthu, Horus, Ptah, and others—were completely overshadowed, and Amen became supreme. For centuries the religious worship of all Egypt became practically the service of this powerful god of Thebes. He absorbed into himself the attributes and characteristics of other divinities, such as Ra,[1] the Sun-god, who became identified with him as "Amen-Ra, King of the gods, Lord of the thrones of the world." The city came to be called *Nut-Amen*, that is, "the city of the god Amen," whence the Hebrew name, *No-Amon*.

It is not till the time of the XIth Dynasty that the Theban princes emerge into the clear light of history.[2] Till then, while engaged in chronic petty warfare with the neighbouring principalities of Heracleopolis and Siut, they had at the same time been occupied with the embellishment of their city. The vast temple of Amen-Ra must have been begun at least during the time of the IXth Dynasty, for Sir Norman Lockyer has calculated by astronomical data that the foundation of the temple dates from B.C. 3700.[3]

The Theban prince who eventually crushed the line of the Heracleopolite Kings, and transferred the seat of government to Thebes, bore the name of Antefa or Antefi. His successor, ANTEFA I, seized the crown of Egypt, and by establishing the XIth Dynasty, inaugurated what is known as the Middle Empire. The succession of the monarchs of this Dynasty is very obscure, and the personalities of the sovereigns, so dim and shadowy, have formed the subject of much discussion.[4] The true

the feminine article prefixed to the name *Apet* (Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 178). For an elaborate discussion on the name "Thebes," see Chabas, *Recherches sur le nom égyptien de Thèbes*, Paris, 1863. Stephen of Byzantium enumerates nine cities of the name, mentioning a Thebes in Boeotia, in Egypt, in Thessaly, in Cilicia, in Ionia, in Attica, in Catalonia, in Italy, and in Syria. Other authors mention another Thebes in Africa, and a Thebes in the Gulf of Corinth (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 3).

[1] See *e.g.*, the hymn to Amen translated by Goodwin, *P.S.B.A.*, ii. 250 (1873).
[2] Tombs of the XIth Dynasty at Thebes are described by Petrie, *Dendereh* (1898), pp. 13–27. [3] Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 119. [4] Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 182 : iii. 166) places the Antefs between the XIIIth and the XVIIth Dynasties, and asserts that they reigned from Coptos. Steindorff is also of opinion that they reigned after the close of the XIIIth Dynasty (*Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxiii. (1895) 77). King and Hall (*Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 335) adopted his view : but latterly Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 142) has restored them to their position as that Theban family whose great head wrested the supremacy of Egypt from the Heracleopolite monarchs. Considerable light on the obscurities of the XIth Dynasty is afforded by a large important stele of Teti discovered in 1904, now in the British Museum. It is published by Breasted in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, xxi. (1904) 159. Breasted and Sethe make out some of these Antefs to have been secondary kings reigning alongside of the Mentuheteps. Von Bissing has discussed the order of the kings of the XIth Dynasty

position of the Antef Kings is very uncertain. Of ANTEF II UAH-ANKH, we know merely that his reign was a lengthy one, and ANTEF III NEKHTNEBTEP-NEFER, has bequeathed to posterity merely his name.[1]

The early Antefs seem to have been succeeded on the throne by representatives of another Theban family, the Mentuheteps, who gave four sovereigns to the XIth Dynasty. Of these, the first two, MENTUHETEP I SANKHABTAUI, and MENTUHETEP II NEB-TAUI-RA, were comparatively inconspicuous. But the third of the family, MENTUHETEP III NEB-HAPET-RA, consolidated the power of his House, and raised the Dynasty to an exceedingly stable and glorious condition. Under his vigorous rule, Egypt was again welded into one homogeneous Kingdom from South to North. Then ensued a spell of martial expeditions against the surrounding peoples. Libya, Nubia, and Asia alternately felt the weight of his arms. Canaan once again saw a Pharaoh marching through the Shephelah to punish previous raids on the part of the dwellers in Palestine. On the walls of his tomb he gave orders that the slaughter of the Amu, the Canaanite Bedouins of Southern Palestine, should be depicted.

Nevertheless, it was not war for its own sake that formed the dominant aim of these XIth Dynasty Kings. What principally occupied their attention was solid works of construction, the opening up of new quarries, the erection of magnificent temples, the development of the power and prestige of Thebes by art and commerce and wise government. Mentuhetep III was fortunate in having an architect and engineer of consummate ability. The great Mertisen, and his son, were men who brought a touch of genius to everything they undertook, and the later reigns of the Dynasty were marked by the production of some of the world's masterpieces. The funerary temple of Neb-Hapet-Ra at Sheikh Abd-el-Kurna, opposite Luxor, is an object lesson in finesse of execution.[2] The masonry is splendid, and in marked contrast to the degenerate, coarse workmanship of the neighbouring XVIIIth Dynasty architecture.[3] Round about the tomb are six chambers, or small funerary shrines above the tombs of a number of priestesses of Hathor, the divinity of the place, who as members of the King's harem, were doubtless put to death to accompany the King to the underworld of shades. During the convulsions of society, which had attended the disappearance of the Old Empire, there had been a marked falling off in fineness of artistic work from the days of the IVth and Vth Dynasties, but under the strong government of the first Theban Kings, a wonderful renascence of architectural skill took place.

The last King of the XIth Dynasty, MENTUHETEP IV SANKHKARA,[4]

distinguishing twelve (*Rec. de Travaux*, xxxiii. 19). See also Naville in *Ægypt. Zeit.* l. 9 : Spiegelberg, *ibid.*, p. 119 : Daressy in *Sphinx*, xvii. 97 : Gautier, *Livre des Rois* and *Bulletin*, ix. 99.

[1] These Antef kings were evidently great dog fanciers. They introduced the practice of inserting the hieroglyphic of a dog alongside of their cartouches, and the Royal Hounds seem to have been quite a feature of their establishments. See Birch, *T.S.B.A.*, iv. (1875) 172 : Maspero, *ibid.* (1876), p. 127. [2] This beautiful temple served as a model and prototype for Hatshapset's shrine at Deir-el-Bahari. It is described in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1903–4, pp. 1–12 : 1904–5, pp. 1–10 : King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 323 : Hall, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvii. (1905) 173–183 : Naville, Hall, and Currelly, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir-el-Bahari*. [3] The tomb of Daga, one of the high officials of the King, has been described and figured along with other tombs in the same neighbourhood by N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 1913. There seem to have been two men of the name of Daga, the second of comparatively humble rank. [4] Petrie (*Hist.*, i. 142) provisionally identified Sankhkara with one of the Antefs. But Amélineau (*Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos* (1895), p. 153) published a table of offerings containing an inscription which A. H. Gardiner has correctly shown, exhibits him as a Mentuhetep (*P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904), p. 75).

carried on with vigour the good work inaugurated by his predecessors. Under the leadership of his admiral, Henu, a naval expedition was undertaken to Punt, or Somaliland. The fleet sailed from Kosseir, and returned in safety laden with the gums, incense, and aromatic spices so much prized by the Pharaohs and their wives. Extraordinary care was taken to guard against accident and disaster. Crossing the desert from the Nile to the Red Sea, each soldier had assigned to him as his daily ration two jars of water, and 20 small biscuit-like loaves. As there were 3,000 men in the expedition, this involved the daily issue of 6,000 jars of water, and 60,000 loaves! On the way, 15 wells and cisterns had to be dug, and at the Wady Hammâmât quarries, colonists had to be settled to provide the commissariat.[1] The latter hewed out blocks of stone, which were transported to Thebes for building operations.[2]

The vizier of the fourth Mentuhetep, an official of great activity and ability, was a man named Amenemhat. He has left inscriptions at the Wady Hammâmât quarries which announce how he spent 25 days there with 10,000 men for the purpose of obtaining a block of stone for his sovereign's sarcophagus, which would excel in size all previous cenotaphs. Various prodigies assisted in the discovery of the proper stone, and with great detail the boastful vizier records his exploits in the matter. It is evident that a servant who could use such language, and muster 10,000 armed workmen, must have been a powerful officer. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that observing the growing feebleness of his aged sovereign, Amenemhat laid his plans for usurpation. On the decease of his king, he seized the crown, and ascended the throne of Egypt as the founder of the famous XIIth Dynasty. The revolution, however, was not accomplished without bloodshed. There were fierce battles on the Nile with a fleet of 20 cedar-wood ships; jealous nobles and embittered nomarchs had to be put down, and opposition crushed. But Amenemhat accomplished the task, and the preparatory work of the XIth Dynasty, which had lasted for 43 years, blossomed out under his efficient rule into the splendours of the XIIth Dynasty, the Golden Age of Egypt.

With the XIth Dynasty will always be associated the famous Papyrus Prisse,[3] which reveals to us the script from which the Semitic alphabet was evolved.[4] Emanuel de Rougé was the first to advance the hypothesis that the Phœnician characters, from which the Hebrew and Aramaic letters were developed, were not derived directly from the pictorial hieroglyphics of the Egyptian monuments, nor from the well-recognized cursive hieratic of the Middle Kingdom, but from a much older and more deformed hieratic script which was in use in the time of the Early Kingdom.[5] This ancient script is exhibited in greatest detail in the celebrated Papyrus Prisse, preserved in the Louvre at Paris, which though found in a tomb of the XIth Dynasty, represents a degree of literary civilization many centuries earlier. These strange and uncouth signs may well be looked on with reverence, for they reveal a vehicle of thought and language older far than the Golden Age of Egypt. In the Providence of God, these rough and uninviting

[1] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 153. [2] It may have been during the reign of this fourth Mentuhetep (or possibly in that of his predecessor) that the travels of Akhthoy, "the treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the unique friend, the revered, the sea-captain," took place. In one of his grandiloquent steles he says: "I punished the Asiatics in their countries. It was fear of my lord that spread respect for me, his influence that spread the terror of me." A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, iv. (1917), p. 35. [3] See also pp. 45, 59. [4] See Isaac Taylor, art. ALPHABET, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 71. [5] See this theory criticized by A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916), p. 1, "The Egyptian origin of the Semitic Alphabet."

characters became the mother of the Phœnician-Semitic texts which were destined to enshrine for all mankind the imperishable record of God's revelation of Himself to the world. Egypt gave the script, Palestine contributed the language, while the Holy Spirit revealed the truths on which the salvation of the world depended. The Old Testament, with its priceless message of grace, was committed to linguistic moulds which were jointly and mutually contributed by the lands of the Nile and of the Jordan.

CHAPTER VIII

The Golden Age of Egypt under the XIIth Dynasty

With the XIIth Dynasty, Egypt entered on what was always regarded as her "Golden Age." [1] The Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom had occupied themselves in rearing vast, useless monuments for themselves at the expense of the tears of their subjects. The huge pyramids fulfilled no serviceable end other than the glorification of their founders. But the sovereigns of the Middle Kingdom devoted their energies to great public works of splendid utility for the nation. Though to a certain extent pyramid-building was still indulged in, Egypt now saw her monarchs opening up trade routes, excavating wells, constructing vast reservoirs for irrigation, erecting Nilometers, reclaiming waste deserts for cultivation, and teaching their people to recognize the immensity of the agricultural wealth which the Nile yearly bequeathed to them. The Kings of the Dynasty (which lasted 213 years) are worthy of all praise, and are entitled to an honourable place on the world's roll of fame.

As has already been mentioned, the founder of the Dynasty was Amenemhat I (*c.* B.C. 3459), who wrested Thebes for himself at the decease of the aged Sankhkara, and by vigorous and stern measures put down the opposition of the nobles. He found the land in practical anarchy, robbers abounding, no man's life safe. When he died, the country enjoyed the blessings of a strong and just government, all citizens rejoicing in peace and abundant prosperity. From a curious little book written towards the close of his life by Amenemhat himself, we learn that, probably at the beginning of his reign, his assassination was attempted. [2] The conspirators attacked him while he was sleeping, but by fighting for dear life, he managed to beat them off. The book is called the *Sbayut* or *Instruction of Amenemhat to his son Usertsen.*[3] It contains a considerable historical element, for the King details for the benefit of his son a number of the events of his reign. But it abounds also in so many utterances of sententious practical wisdom that in the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties it was regarded as a classic which boys and girls at school should be set to copy out. The King recounts how he established righteousness and peace in the land: "I gave to the beggar, and caused the orphan to live . . . in my reign none hungered, none thirsted. They were contented with that which I did, saying about me: 'Every commandment is just.'"

[1] The dynasty is worked out by Maspero, *Rec. de Trav.*, 1905, xxviii., p. 8. [2] See Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, p. 16: Maspero in *R.P.*, ii. 9–16. [3] Birch, *Select Papyri*, Sallier ii. (Texts), translation by Griffith, *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxiv. (1896) 35–51: Battiscombe Gunn in *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep*, 1912, p. 65. Maspero in *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, 1914, and *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxv. 161, 162: xxxvi. 16.

The endeavours of Amenemhat I were directed towards the improvement of irrigation. Water laws were drawn up, and many useful canals were dug. Architecture also was a passion with him. Temples in Upper and Lower Egypt which had been neglected or ruined in the anarchy or feebleness of the preceding reigns were repaired or rebuilt.[1] On the ancient foundations of the temple of Amen at Thebes he rebuilt the holy shrine to the Sun-god, and as a loyal son of the divinity whose name he bore, made it the most sacred spot in all Egypt.[2] Formed of the choicest sandstone and limestone, it was at first of modest dimensions, supported by polygonal columns of 16 sides, and adorned with exquisite bas-reliefs. Succeeding monarchs added repeatedly to the fane, until the temple of Amen-Ra became one of the most renowned structures of antiquity for its vastness, magnificence, and solidity.

There has recently come to light a papyrus [3] written during this reign which contains a prophecy of what Amenemhat would accomplish for his country after the period of misery and anarchy. It professes to foretell to King Seneferu the future of the realm of Egypt. "A king shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman. . . . He shall receive the White Crown: he shall assume the Red Crown . . . the people of his time shall rejoice: this man of noble birth shall make his name for ever and ever. . . . The Asiatics shall fall by his sword: the Libyans shall fall before his flame, and the rebels before his wrath. . . . There shall be built the 'Wall of the Prince,' so as not to allow the Asiatics to go down into Egypt, that they may beg for water after their wonted fashion, so as to give their cattle to drink." The document is interesting in other ways, but especially in this that it gives us the date of the erection of the Great Wall, "the Shur," from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, which it now appears was the work of Amenemhat I. The inroads on the part of Canaanite Bedouins must have been frequent and disastrous to the peace of the Delta, before the Pharaoh was driven to the erection of this great frontier fortification. It is therefore a testimony to the formidable character of these Semites, and to the strength and vigour of these successive attacks on Egypt.

The work of Amenemhat I in subduing enemies on every side, and in establishing the XIIth Dynasty on a firm basis, must have been of a protracted nature. He claims, however, to have thoroughly explored and pacified his entire realm. "I forced my way up to Elephantine; I went down as far as the coast lakes [4] . . . I overcame lions, I carried off crocodiles: I cast the Nubians under my feet: I carried off the Southern Nubians: I caused the Asiatics to flee like hounds." [5] We know that the mines of Serabit el Khadem were also re-opened, for statuettes of this vigorous monarch were discovered by Petrie in that region of Sinai.[6]

It is to the period immediately subsequent to his reign that there belongs the famous *Romance of Sinuhit*,[7] the fugitive Egyptian, whose adventures

[1] For a list of these foundations and restorations, see Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 150. [2] Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 248: Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 41. [3] See A. H. Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt" in *Journ. of Egyptian Archæology*, i. Pt. ii. 105 (1904), (*Papyrus Petersburg*, 1116 B). [4] The broad, shallow lakes of the Delta, especially Lake Mareotis (Gardiner in *Jo. of Egypt. Arch.*, i. Pt. ii. 106 (1914)). [5] *Instruction of Amenemhat I*, v. 10 12 [6] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 97. [7] The story is told by Goodwin in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1865, pp. 185–202: also in *R.P.*, vi. 131–150: Maspero, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, iii. 68-82, and *R.P.* (N.S.), ii. 11 f.: Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 205 f.: Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 370: Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, pp. 57–60: Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 6–13: Griffith, "Fragments of Old Egyptian Stories" in *P.S.B.A.* (1891–92), xiv. 452–458. In 1895, Quibell found in a tomb

in Palestine are so fascinating, and the story of whose life casts such a flood of light on the state of society in Syria in the middle of the fourth millennium before Christ. Sinuhit, in all likelihood, was a younger son of Amenemhat I. On the death of his father, fearing that his brother, the new king Senusert I, would kill him, he immediately resolved on flight. He was in the Delta when the news reached him of his father's decease: and he felt that his only safe asylum was Canaan. He escaped across the Nile, and pressed towards his father's recently erected wall of fortified outposts. All day he hid in the bushes lest the sentinels should see him: at night he managed to creep past the watchmen unobserved. He was now in the desert beside the Bitter Lakes, and suffered acutely from thirst. Despair came over him, his throat rattled, and he said within himself: "This is the taste of death." A Bedouin, however, perceived him, took compassion on him, gave him water and boiled milk, and brought him again to life. The Bedouin wished him to remain a member of his tribe, but Sinuhit decided to go further afield.

He passed on to the country of Qedem, the "East," the region to the east of the Jordan, whose inhabitants in later ages were called "Beni Qedem," or "Children of the East."[1] After a year and a half there, Sinuhit was invited to repair to Upper Tenu,[2] whose king, Ammianshi [3] had heard of his valour, and at whose court a number of Egyptian refugees enjoyed a safe abode. After sundry adventures, Sinuhit received in marriage Ammianshi's eldest daughter, and settled down as the ruler of a beautiful and fertile province, where figs and vines, honey, and olive trees, corn and barley, flocks and herds were very abundant. "I had as much bread as I wanted, and wine for every day, boiled meat, and roast goose," besides all other dainties that the land afforded. Children were born to him: he subdued robbers: fought under his King's standard:

at the Ramesseum a very much decayed mass of hieratic rolls of the Middle Kingdom. With infinite pains, Herr Ibscher of the Berlin Museum deciphered portions of them, and discovered that they gave the beginning of the story of Sinuhit which had hitherto been wanting. The papyrus suggests some doubt as to Sinuhit's royal origin (A. H. Gardiner in *Sitzb. Berlin Akad.*, 1907, p. 142). A new edition of the story of Sinuhit has been published by Maspero, *Les Mémoires de Sinouhit* in Chassinat's *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, i. (1908), pp. 1–184, and Gardiner, *Berlin Hierat. Papyrus*, 1908, vol. v.: and *Rec. de Travaux* (1910), xxxiii. 67: 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914.

[1] *Cf.* Judg. 6.[3] 7.[12] 8.[10] Jer. 49.[28] (where they are coupled with Kedar), Ezek. 25.[4] [10] Job is said to have been *the greatest of all the Bene-Qedem*, Job 1 [3]: *Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the Bene-Qedem*, 1 Ki. 4.[30] They are probably the "Kadmonites," Gen. 15 [19], or even the sons of "Kedemah," Gen. 25.[15] In Ezek. 47 [18] the Dead Sea is called the "East Sea," הַקַּדְמוֹנִי, "the Sea of the Kadmonite!"

[2] The name "Tenu" is probably an abbreviated form of "Lutennu," or "Rutennu," the Egyptian name for Syria (so W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 47). But Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 50), Jensen (*Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, x. 335), and Conder (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 169) regard it as the equivalent of Tidum or Tidanum, the Babylonian name for Anti-Lebanon. Sayce (in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 644) identifies it with Edom.

[3] The name Ammianshi is one containing elements found in abundance in this era. The god Ammi gave his name to such early Minæan Kings as Ammi-karib, Ammi-zadiqa, Ammi-zaduq. The Ammonites were the sons of Ammi, and the god's name was perpetuated in such O.T. names as Ammiel (Nu. 13.[12] 2 Sam. 9.[4] 1 Chr. 3.[4] 26.[5]), Ammi-nadab (Ex. 6.[23] Num. 1.[7] Ruth 4 [19]: Ammi-shaddai (Num. 1 [12]). So Sayce (*Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 64), who adds that it is possible that the name of Balaam contains a reference to this god. At all events, the city of Pethor from which he came was *by the river* (Euphrates) *of the land of the children of Ammo*. On the other hand, Burney has made the interesting suggestion that Ammianshi is a name meaning "kinsman of the ass" (the second element being a Sumerian word), and that consequently he may have been the sheikh of the *sons of Hamor* in the district of Shechem (Gen. 33 [19]). If this be the case, the name as we find it in the narrative of Jacob must have been a patronymic and ancestral one, coming down from many previous centuries (*Journ. of Theol. Stud.* x. 586).

overcame a noted champion in single combat: succoured travellers who, like himself, had well-nigh perished with thirst: maintained roads: exercised patriarchal hospitality, and for many years lived the life of a wild, free chief in a land of plenty.

But as old age crept on, Sinuhit grew weary. He hungered for a sight again of Egypt with its blue Nile, its stately temples, and the fashion and glory of the most splendid Court on earth. He sent messengers to the Pharaoh, and asked pardon for his early offence. It was granted, and a royal messenger bore an invitation for him to return, advising him to leave his riches behind him, for all the wealth of Egypt was at his disposal. Overjoyed, Sinuhit made a great feast to all his clan in Aaa, installed his eldest son as sheikh in his stead, and made over to him all his goods. Then with a band of soldiers trained under himself, he set out for Egypt. He was received with every honour. Words failed him to express to the Pharaoh the gratitude of his heart. He stripped himself of the rude clothing (and the foul vermin !) of Syria: he put on soft raiment, anointed himself with sweet unguents, lay down on a civilized bed, and felt again with profound emotion that no longer was he a wild barbarian, but a refined gentleman ! The King gave orders at once for a pyramid to be got ready for his body whenever death should call him away, and Sinuhit ended his days in peace and comfort in his native land.

The *Romance of Sinuhit* is undoubtedly based on fact, and its vivid portraiture of Egyptian and of Canaanite society gives us a delightful and memorable glimpse into the inter-relations subsisting between the two neighbouring territories.[1]

Amenemhat I inaugurated a custom that was followed by most of his successors of associating on the throne with himself his legitimate heir. SENUSERT I (or USERTSEN as the name is sometimes written) (*c.* B.C. 3416) was therefore a colleague of his father from the 20th year of the latter's reign. He was a great builder. Besides erecting a beautiful house for the high-priest of Amen on the west side of the sacred lake at Thebes,[2] he adorned all Egypt with statues, temples, and obelisks. The renowned Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, the On of the Hebrews,[3] owed its erection or re-foundation to him. This ancient city associated with priestly learning,[4] which had already been famous for at least 1,000 years, he embellished and endowed with new life. The cult of Ra, now identified with Amen of Thebes, acquired a fresh status. Nothing remains to-day of this celebrated temple except one of the two red granite obelisks, 66 feet high, which Senusert I set up in front of it, now standing in the midst of the green cornfields of Matariyeh.[5] Yet, the spot has perennial interest

[1] Hall (*Near East*, p. 157) states that Sinuhit "fled by sea to Kepni (Byblos) and thence to the land of Kedma in Syria." This is in accordance with Gardiner's view. But in addition to the doubt as to whether Kepni really means Byblos, it is not easy to explain away the definite verisimilitude of the flight across the Suez Peninsula into the Tîh. Weill (*Sphinx*, xi. 201), while recognizing that the Egyptian "Kepni" can be no other than "Gebal," is doubtful whether this is really the famous Byblos, and proposes to identify it with Jibâl (*Gebal*, Ps. 83,[7] the Gobalitis of Josephus) in the Edomite territory. See also Von Bissing, *Rec. de Trav.*, 1907.

[2] Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 62: De Rougé, "Études des Monuments du Massif de Karnak" in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, i. 38, 39. [3] Gen. 41.[45]

[4] In later ages, Plato is said to have studied here for thirteen years under priestly tuition. How many of his ideas as to the immortality of the soul were derived from intercourse with these Egyptian pundits ? [5] See Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell-el-Yahudiyah*, etc. (1890), p. 64 f.: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 18. The other obelisk, according to Makrizi, was not thrown down till A.D. 1258, and both of the obelisks retained their copper caps till A.D. 1200; *cf.* Abd-al-Latif (De Sacy's

for all Bible students by reason of its connection with Joseph, who married the daughter of the priest of On, and who must have read its inscription,[1] and also for its association with the infant Jesus, who in his flight into Egypt, took refuge at this spot.

Notwithstanding the fact that Thebes was now the recognized capital of Egypt and its premier city, the ancient metropolis of Memphis still remained a holy spot. The founders of the great XIIth Dynasty bowed before the hoary renown of Menes' city. Amenemhat I, besides building for himself a fortress-palace on the east bank of the Nile near Memphis, had erected a pyramid at Lisht, about 30 miles south of Cairo, after the style of the early Memphite Kings.[2] His son, Senusert I, followed his example. The new palace became the seat of government, or at least an alternative place of residence for the Pharaohs.[3] In the hieroglyphs, it is called "Ithtaui," and is represented as a square fortress with battlemented walls.

Senusert I was a warrior as well as a builder. He attacked the Nubians both in the 18th and in the 43rd years of his reign.[4] His general, Menthu-hetep, led an expedition against the Amu or Semitic Bedouins that inhabited the south of Canaan. On the wall of the tomb of Ukh-hotep, son of Senbi, at Cusæ, Blackman has discovered a row of oxen above which is written, "Bulls of the Amu brought from . . ." Unfortunately the end of the inscription is destroyed; but it is probable that the cattle formed part of the spoils of this raid.[5] He himself possibly entered Palestine in person, for a stele with a dedication to Osiris,[6] as well as a collection of jewellery belonging to some Semite lady of the period,[7] was dug up by Macalister at Gezer. Canaan seems in all likelihood to have seen the Pharaoh face to face. Similarly, from the minuteness of the details recorded by Senusert I regarding his wife, his daughter, and his overseer, carved on stelæ in Sinai, it would appear that the King paid a personal visit to Serabit el-Khadem. The shrine there was a building of permanence and solidity, and the arrangement of its interior suggests the likelihood of Senusert's having settled the plan on the spot. It was also during his reign that the first of the Egyptian "Bethel-stones" in the region in question was set up.[8]

Before he died, Senusert I associated with himself as co-ruler his son, Amenemhat II (B.C. 3390). The young monarch opened up new quarries at the turquoise mines in Sinai, and erected at Serabit-el-Khadem a temple to the goddess, Hathor.[9] But his long reign of 36 years was unmarked by any striking episodes or foreign wars. The development of trade, the building of temples, the advancement of irrigation and agriculture

Trans.), p. 181, where a number of passages from Arab writers are quoted with reference to these ruins. The stones of Heliopolis must have been much drawn upon for the erection of Moslem mosques in Cairo; one which acts as a door sill to the mosque of Shâaban bears the cartouche of Senusert I (Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 243). A great mass of information relative to the accounts given of the Heliopolitan obelisks by travellers in the Middle Ages and later, as well as a vast store of learning on obelisk-lore in general, will be found in Zoega, *De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, 1797.

[1] The inscription is given in Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Pl. xxviii. [2] The latest excavation of this pyramid, and of the pyramid tower near it, is that by A. C. Mace, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, 1913–14. [3] Excavations at the South Pyramid of Lisht in 1914 revealed exquisite wooden statuettes finer than anything known before the period of the Middle Kingdom (*Anc. Egypt*, 1915, Pt. iv.) [4] Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, i., Pl. 7. [5] Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. 18 (1915). Another link with Canaan is supplied by the fact that pottery jar-handles stamped with Middle Kingdom scarabs have been found at Jericho (Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, Pl. 42, p. 156). [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 37: 1904, p. 121. [7] *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 287. [8] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 97: see regarding these *baetuli*, p. 59. [9] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 60, 95, 98, 124.

went on with steadiness. His admiral, Khent-Khat-ur, conducted a trading expedition along the perilous coast of the Red Sea to Punt,[1] and home again to Sanu (Kosseir) without having lost a vessel[2] or a single man. By these commercial enterprises, wealth poured in on Egypt. In 1894, de Morgan discovered near Dahshûr two undisturbed tombs of princesses who had lived during this reign. Their mummies were covered with jewellery to the extent of 5,760 objects, in gold, silver, lapislazuli, malachite, carnelian, and paste. There were two crowns of gold inlaid with precious stones.[3] So profuse were the riches of the Nile Valley gained in the peaceful pursuit of trade and barter.

Amenemhat II's son, SENUSERT II, continued the placid, progressive policy of his fathers, building up the solid fabric of Egyptian civilization. One of the most interesting memorials of his reign is that of the figures inscribed on the walls of the tomb of Khnumhetep,[4] prince of the Oryx-Nome,[5] at Beni-Hasan.[6] Thirty-seven Asiatics,[7] men, women, and children, under the leadership of a chief named Absha or Abishua,[8] in true Syrian garments, and characteristic Canaanite weapons, are depicted with remarkable lifelikeness, and their whole appearance suggests that they represent persons of importance.[9] The idea was once widely entertained that the picture illustrated the arrival in Egypt of Joseph's brethren to buy corn. The notion, however, is, of course, quite untenable, and has long been given up.

Nevertheless, the painting affords us an accurate and vivid view of the kind of civilization enjoyed at this period by Canaan. We find evidence of much barbaric wealth, considerable skill in the arts of weaving cloth and fashioning arms, and a high degree of culture and magnificence affected by persons who appear to have been rich Palestinian merchants. They seem not to be coming as suppliants to the Pharaoh's land, but as equals, convoying articles for sale or barter. Canaan was now at peace with Egypt, and caravans could pass freely between the two territories in the familiar interchanges of commerce.[10] These Semitic immigrations

[1] Somaliland. [2] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Anc. Egypt* (2nd Edit.), i. 253: Birch, *Catal. of Collection of Egypt. Antiq. at Alnwick* (1880), p. 276. The whole subject of ancient Egyptian voyaging on the Red Sea has been treated by Lieblein, *Handel u. Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere in alter Zeiten nach Ægyptischen Quellen*, 1886, and by Krall, *Das Land Punt*, 1890, in *Sitzb. Akad. Wiss. Wien.*, xxxi. 1–82. This hazardous Red Sea voyaging was the theme of many romances. One of them belonging to this period has survived. It is "The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor" on the lines of Sinbad in the *Arabian Nights*. The hero set sail in a vessel 225 feet long and 60 feet broad, with 150 lion-hearted seamen. But the ship was wrecked, and he was the only survivor of the gallant crew. He was cast ashore on a magic island, whereon dwelt a python 45 feet long, with a beard over 3 feet in length, and a body bespangled with gold. The hero told the tale of his shipwreck to the serpent, who refrained from eating him, kept him in safety for four months, restored him to Egypt, and converted the mysterious islet into waves. See Weigall, *The Treasury of Ancient Egypt*, 1911: Maspero, *Contes Populaires*, p. 131 f.: Golenischeff in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Études*, ii. (1912), pp. 1–235. [3] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1895, p. 35. [4] For this and other tombs of the Middle Kingdom, see Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, 1907. [5] For full details of this Nome, see Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, ii. 17 (1893); and for a beautiful reproduction of a wall painting of the oryx from which the Nome took its name, see Griffith, *Beni-Hasan*, iii. (frontispiece), 1896. Splendid paintings of the bird-life which enliven the walls of this tomb are reproduced by Griffith, *Beni-Hasan*, iv. (1900). [6] See Lepsius, *Briefe aus Ægypten, Æthiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai*, 1852, p. 97. [7] On the question of what was the homeland of these Asiatics, see Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, p. 112 f. [8] Or Abishai, as in 2 Sam. 10.[10] [9] Griffith and Newberry, *Archæol. Survey of Egypt* (1893), i., Pl. xxx. xxxi: *Beni-Hasan*, i., with excellent reproductions of the tomb, by Fraser (1893). [10] At Riqqeh, near Memphis, the tomb of a priest of this dynasty yielded a Syrian vase with a handle, which was imported from Canaan with cedar oil (H. F. Petrie in Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (1915), p. 24).

introduced considerable changes into the Nile Valley. The Canaanites brought with them the use of the quiver, hitherto unknown to the earlier Egyptians, and the strange dagger with a round handle. Other modifications of custom and thought followed. So numerous were the Semitic immigrants into the Delta, and so strong were their prejudices against any change being made on the time-honoured, ancient mode of disposing of the royal dead, that even these powerful Theban monarchs were forced gradually to abandon their ancestral custom of burying their deceased friends in rock-cut tombs and chambers hollowed out of the hill, and to conform to the Memphite practice of erecting pyramids modelled on those of the IVth—VIth Dynasties. So potent was the influence of Canaan on even the established religious practices of Egypt.[1]

The tomb of another powerful noble of the period, Tehuti-hetep, at El-Bersheh, explored in 1891–92, has supplied some remarkably vivid representations of the social life of the Middle Kingdom. One wall painting shows the transport of a colossal royal statue, 22 feet high, drawn on a sledge by 172 men in four double lines. It was dragged ten miles from the quarry at Hatnub to the banks of the river, though the block of alabaster weighed over 60 tons.[2]

The name of "Sesostris" given by Manetho to Senusert II is much more applicable to Thothmes III or Rameses II. There is no evidence that he was a mighty world-subduer, and that he "conquered all Asia in nine years, and Europe as far as Thrace."[3] It may be that "Sesostris" is a corruption of "Senusert."[4] His pyramid at Illahûn, built in a very peculiar and unique manner, was opened by Fraser, and thoroughly explored and described by Petrie.[5] Though it stands in the Valley of the Nile, from its summit the Fayum Oasis is visible, that oasis which his grandson was so marvellously to develop. In 1914, an extraordinarily rich archæological discovery was made here of the treasure of a daughter of Senusert II.[6] The royal diadem, pectorals, collars, necklets, armlets, bracelets, toilet objects, were dug up, most of them of gold and splendidly adorned with precious stones. Other gorgeous objects such as alabaster vases, ivory and gold boxes, rings, etc. attest the wealth and glory of his reign.

The son of the second Senusert was, unlike his father, a monarch of fierce, warlike ambitions. SENUSERT III (B.C. 3320) extended and consolidated the authority of Egypt over Nubia. It was not mere lust of slaughter, or eagerness for territorial expansion which prompted the expedition, but a desire to have in his own hands the mysterious lands which held the fortunes of Egypt in their grasp. Egypt is proverbially "the gift of the Nile," and the Theban sovereigns felt that if there was any widespread tampering with the headwaters of the life-bringing river on the part of unscrupulous foes, the consequences for the dwellers lower down the stream would be disastrous. A resolute purpose to be masters

[1] The wall-pictures of the Beni-Hasan tombs have furnished us with much information relative to the views held during this epoch as to religion and the state of the dead: see Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, Pt. ii. (1894), p. 22 f. Zoological and other details of the tombs are illustrated in *Beni-Hasan*, Pt. iv. (1900), with 21 coloured plates. [2] Newberry and Fraser, *El Bersheh*, Pt. i. 19, Plates xii—xv. *El-Bersheh*, Pt. ii., deals with nine other tombs, not the equal of that of Tehuti-hetep, however, in elegance and delicacy of detail. [3] Cory, *Anc. Frag.*, p. 110. [4] So Sethe (*Untersuch. z. Gesch. u. Alterthumskunde Ægyptens*, ii. 1) suggests. See also Maspero, *Rev. Crit.*, June 1901. [5] Petrie, *Illahun* (1889–90), pp. 1–15: *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, pp. 107–127: *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pp. 11–32. [6] *Ancient Egypt*, i. (1914), 97: Mrs. Petrie gives a list of the finds in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, i., Pt. iii. 185.

of the country from which the Nile emerged, coupled with a desire for the gold with which the Nubian valleys abounded, led the monarchs of the XIIth Dynasty to repeated invasions of Nubia.

We have already seen that his predecessors had undertaken some desultory incursions into Ethiopia, but without an actual conquest of the territory. Senusert III now, in his eighth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years, attacked the fortresses of the Upper Nile.[1] He so reduced the Nubians, harried their villages, and massacred their population, that (to use the conqueror's own simile) they were "as helpless victims of a merciless crocodile." He then built two forts (which still survive) on either side of the river, about 30 miles above the Second Cataract, one on the west bank at Semneh, the other on the east bank at Kumneh.[2] At the former, he set up a boundary-stone which forbade any negro to set foot on soil lower down the Nile.[3] A second stele, erected on his second expedition, gives an important inscription describing how the Nubian territory was reduced and pacified.[4] Evidently, Senusert's methods resembled those of Red Indians,[5] "I am King, and I say it and I do it: I am vigorous in seizing . . . never showing mercy to the enemy who attacks me. . . . I have seized their women: I have carried off their folk: I marched to their wells: I took their cattle: I destroyed their seed-corn: I set fire to it. Behold me! Behold my Majesty hath set up an image of my Majesty upon this frontier which my Majesty makes, not from a desire that ye should worship it, but from a desire that ye should fight for it!" The pacification of the Nubians seems to have been so thorough that no further military measures were necessary in the reign of his successor.[6]

Canaan also had experience of the vigorous hand of Senusert III. He and his general, Sebek-khu, invaded Palestine to chastise a place called Sekmem (identified by Professors E. Meyer and Max Müller[7] with Shechem) which had joined a coalition made up of "vile" Syrians and others.[8] They seem to have carried off as a punishment herds of cattle, and to have swept into Egypt as much of the Canaanite live stock as could survive the journey across the intervening desert. In the tomb-chapel of Tehuti-hetep at El-Bersheh,[9] already referred to,[10] there is a scene in which that monarch is shown presiding over the periodical enumeration of the herds of cattle kept in the various farms on his domain. One of the groups of cattle is styled "Syrian," and the oxen are made to give utterance to this gratified soliloquy, "Ye once trod the Syrian sand, now here in Egypt ye walk on herbage"—the current mode of expressing the difference between the bare uplands and sandy wastes of Southern

[1] Senusert began the campaign by re-opening the canal, commenced by Uni in the VIth Dynasty, to secure an uninterrupted passageway for boats past the First Cataract. The engineers of Senusert cut a channel through the rock, 260 feet long, 34 feet wide, and nearly 26 feet deep! It was named "Beautiful-are-the-ways-of-Kha-Kau-Ra" (the throne name of Senusert III). Not a trace of it is now to be seen, though it was restored under Thothmes III with orders for its perpetual maintenance. [2] See Somers Clarke, "Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses" in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916), 155. [3] The stone is figured in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 136. [4] Translated in Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 324: Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 37: Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 161. [5] Or Germans, after the exhibition of their military methods towards Belgium! [6] Reisner (*Zeit. f. ægypt. Spr.* (1914), lii. 49) speaking of the remains of Nubians massacred by the Egyptian garrison at this and subsequent eras, says: "The picture given us of the Egyptians' treatment of a subject race is a revelation of ancient savagery which, while not unexampled among modern savages, is nevertheless almost appalling in its cold-blooded brutality." [7] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, vi. (1903), pp. 448 f. [8] The stele of Sebek-Khu was discovered at Abydos by Garstang in 1900 (*El-Arabah*, Pl. v., pp. 32–3) and gives us this information. [9] Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, i. Pls. xvii.-xix. [10] See p. 82.

Canaan, and the rich, black loam of the Delta with its luxuriant verdure.[1] Tehuti-hetep, as nomarch of the Hare-Nome, probably accompanied his sovereign in this Palestine expedition, and received part of the cattle as his share of the spoil.[2]

Other tokens of this raid into Canaan have been discovered at Gezer. Macalister found there a stele to Osiris, which Petrie assigns to this reign,[3] while scarabs (one of them set on a thick bronze ring) [4] bearing the cartouche of Senusert III. were dug up in abundance.[5] Indeed at Gezer an entire cemetery of this remote age was unearthed, every interment being thoroughly Egyptian in style, with the exception of embalming, showing that fully 1,800 years before Thothmes III, Gezer was subject to the Egyptian influence.[6] Speaking of an Egyptian statuette which Macalister found at Gezer, Griffith has even gone the length of saying: "In the discovery of this little monument, taken in conjunction with the burials in the cave, and the stele of Didi-Amen,[7] Mr. Macalister has rescued the best proof yet attained of an entirely new view, that at the time of the XIIth Dynasty, Southern Palestine, about the coast road to Syria, comprised a settled Egyptian colony or population, with Egyptian officials, and keeping up Egyptian customs." [8]

Senusert III. built temples on the Upper Nile at Abydos and Elephantine, and in the Delta at Tanis [9] and Bubastis, rendering the sanctuary of Bast in the latter city one of the finest in Egypt.[10] The brick pyramid at Dahshûr, near which de Morgan discovered in 1894 a number of tombs of royal ladies, the wives and daughters of Senusert III, is believed to be his. In the tombs of these princesses were found 107 different objects of immense beauty and value. Great pectorals in the form of pylons with the names of Senusert II, Senusert III, and Amenemhat III: all kinds of jewellery in gold and precious stones; fine cloisonné work; massive chains of gold beads and cowries; two full-sized Nile barges for the conveyance of the dead, and many other elaborate articles were dug up. They form the gem of the Cairo Museum, and afford a brilliant exposition of the marvellous artistic skill of the jewellers of the XIIth Dynasty, and of the magnificence and wealth of the Egyptian Court.[11]

In 1904, Legrain discovered a pit at Karnak filled with statues of all ages from the VIth Dynasty onwards, thrown in pell-mell by some savage iconoclast of later times. One of the statues gives us a portrait of Senusert III, and curiously enough, we observe that his features are much more Hyksos-Semitic than Egyptian in cast.[12] This Canaanite physiognomy seems to have been the result of the replenishing of the harems of the Pharaohs from Palestinian territory. Long before the actual Hyksos invasion, the palaces of the Egyptian Kings held many a Semitic princess,

[1] References to the presence of Aamu or Syrian slaves in Egypt during this period or in the next reign may be found in Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, 1898, Pls. xii. 10 : xiii. 15 : xxiv. 4 : xxx. 35. [2] Blackman in *Journ. of Egyptian Arch.*, ii., Pt. i. 13 (1915). [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, pp. 37, 192 : and *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 312. [4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 327. [5] See the lengthy list of articles found in Macalister, *op. cit.*, ii. 314–319 : *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 314. [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 316. [7] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 125. [8] Griffith in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, p. 122. [9] On the base of a colossal red granite statue in the temple at Tanis, Senusert III gives a list of tribes which he had conquered in Upper Egypt. Many of them bear strange and uncouth names, relating, doubtless, to the wild, uncivilized lands near Berber. The statue was later appropriated by Amenhotep III of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but the exploits refer to the times of the XIIth Dynasty (Petrie, *Tanis*, i. ii. 7). [10] Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 9–11. [11] These articles are all figured in water colours by Legrain in de Morgan's *Fouilles à Dahchour*, Vienna, 1895. A tomb at Riqqeh excavated by Engelbach in 1915 has revealed similar jewellery. It is described and figured in colours in Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, 1915, p. 11. [12] Sayce in *Expos. Times*, xv. 406.

who transmitted to her offspring her facial peculiarities, and no doubt in other ways helped to influence and modify the ancient Egyptian type of manners and beliefs. Thus, Canaan took its revenge for many an insulting raid on the part of Egypt, and for many a forcible carrying off of female captives.

So profoundly did the success of the military expeditions, and the resistless might of Senusert III in establishing his rule over 1,000 miles of the Nile Valley, and over Palestine as well, appeal to the imagination of his subjects, that even in his lifetime a remarkable hymn, displaying "rigid strophic structure and all the conscious artificialities of literary art," was composed in his honour. Some of its expressions are very striking :—[1]

"Twice great is the King of his city,[2] above a million arms :
As for other rulers of men, they are but common folk.[3]
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a dyke,
Damming the stream in its waterflood.
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a bulwark [4]
With walls built of sharp stones of Kesem.
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a place of refuge [5]
Excluding the marauder.
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were an asylum [6]
Shielding the terrified from his foe.
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a shade,[7]
The cool vegetation of the flood in the season of harvest.[8]
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a corner
Warm and dry in time of winter.
Twice great is the King of his city : he is as it were a rock [9]
Barring the blast in time of tempest."

With the accession of AMENEMHAT III (B.C. 3303), the son of Senusert III., Egypt attained the zenith of her glory and prosperity in the time of the Middle Kingdom. Despotic in his rule, suffering none of the great nobles, like the Khnumheteps and Tehuti-heteps of former reigns, to stand near him, consolidating all power into his own autocratic person and will, Amenemhat III, nevertheless, spent his whole life in vast public works, in effecting gigantic engineering improvements, and in developing the resources of his Kingdom. At his death he left Egypt in a more flourishing condition than she had ever previously known. His attention to the mines of Sinai is attested by the great number of his inscriptions, stelæ, and altars still to be seen at Serabit-el-Khadem, where the turquoise hewers were protected by a garrison of 734 soldiers.[10] Throughout his

[1] Quoted in Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 207, from Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, p. 2 (1898). [2] The reader will observe the parallelisms between this eulogy of the Pharaoh, and many phrases applied to Jehovah by Isaiah. Thus [3] *The loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be brought low, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day*, Isa. 2.[17] [4] Isa. 26.[1] *Salvation will he appoint for walls and bulwarks.* [5] Isa. 25,[4] *Thou hast been a stronghold to the poor, a stronghold to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall.* [6] Isa. 14.[32] *The Lord hath founded Zion, and in her shall the afflicted of his people take refuge* : Isa. 31.[5] *As birds flying, so will the Lord of hosts protect Jerusalem : he will protect and deliver it.* [7] Isa. 4,[6] *There shall be a pavilion for a shadow in the daytime from the heat.* [8] Isa. 18.[4] *Like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.* [9] Isa. 32.[2] *A man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as rivers of waters in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.* [10] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 98, 117, etc.

long reign of nearly 50 years[1] his building operations were incessant. The Nilometer which he made at Semmeh shows that the river was then 26 feet higher than at the present time.[2]

But the most extraordinary work carried out by Amenemhat III was his construction of the vast reservoir for the overflow of the Nile waters, known as Lake Moeris. Well knowing that every ounce of fertilizing water meant life to Egypt's parched soil, the king looked round for a suitable depression in which the surplus from the far-off snow mountains of Central Africa might be stored. He fixed on a site about 50 miles south of Memphis, and here he formed a lake 150 miles in circumference, 50 miles long, 30 wide, with an area of about 750 square miles, its average level being about 80 feet above the Mediterranean. The present Bahr Yusuf Canal, which cuts through a gap in the western hills, and after a course of 200 miles, admits the Nile waters to the Fayum, is believed to have been the work of Amenemhat III's engineers.[3]

Petrie,[4] however, maintains that the king merely took advantage of the vast, natural depression of the Fayum Oasis, which had existed from time immemorial, built an immense embankment some 20–27 miles in length, and then enclosed an almost level area of about 40 square miles or over 20,000 acres. All authorities, though differing in details, agree that by means of gigantic sluices, Amenemhat III. regulated the admission and exit of the Nile waters.

In the exceedingly fertile land thus won from the desert, the King carried forward the building of the city of Crocodilopolis begun by the founder of the XIIth Dynasty, Amenemhat I. At the northern limit of his great enclosure, now known as Biahmû, he erected two massive limestone platforms now called "Pharaoh's Chairs," on which were two gigantic colossi of the King, each 39 feet high. Adding the height of the bases and pedestals, these enormous statues towered up 60 feet into the blue air. "Carved in glassy quartzite, and polished brilliantly, they glittered as landmarks seen across the lake."[5] Herodotus, who visited Egypt at the time of the annual inundation, speaks of them as two pyramids rising above the waters, and asserts what is probably correct that the circumference of the lake was equal to the coast-line of Egypt.[6] Strabo speaks with admiration of the system of regulating sluices.[7] Pliny says that "the immense artificial piece of water was cited by the Egyptians among their wondrous and memorable works."[8] Diodorus adds that in Ptolemaic times the revenues of the fish (of which there were 22 species) from the lake went to the private dress and unguent account of the queens of Alexandria, and brought them a talent of silver[9] per day. So prolific

[1] Manetho has made a mistake in crediting him with merely eight years: a stele in Sinai mentions his 44th year, and there are reports of the state of the rise of the Nile from the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 14th, 15th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 30th, 32nd, 37th, 40th, 41st, and 43rd years of his reign (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 139). [2] Lepsius, *Letters*, p. 510: *Sitzb. d. Berliner Akad.* (1844), p. 374. [3] So Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 48, 120) contends. He has the strong support for his views of Sir William Willcocks, the great engineer, in his *The Assuan Reservoir. and Lake Moeris* (1904), p. 13 f. [4] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 190: Maspero (*Manual of Egyptian Archæology* (1902), p. 40) more or less agrees with Petrie. See the question discussed by Grenfell and Hunt, *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1898–9, p. 13. [5] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmû, and Arsinoe*, pp. 53–6: see also his *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, p. 104: and Sir H. Brown, *The Fayum and Lake Moeris* (1892), p. 76. For a minute discussion on the geology of the district, see Schweinfurth, *Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fayum* in *Zeit. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1886, No. 2, where also reference is made to his discovery of a little XIIth Dynasty temple in the utter solitude on the farther side of the Birket Kerun [6] Herod. ii. 149. [7] Strabo, xvii. 37. [8] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 9: xxxvi. 16. [9] About £240.

were the fish that it was impossible for the multitude of curers to keep pace with the enormous quantities that were caught.[1]

The other great work executed by Amenemhat III was the construction of the *Labyrinth*. It is difficult from the descriptions of ancient writers to learn exactly what it was. Herodotus speaks of it as exceeding in cost all the public edifices of the Greeks, and excelling in greatness even the Pyramids. He states that it had 12 courts enclosed by walls with many doors. It had 1,500 rooms under ground, and 1,500 above ground, placed above the former. He says he was not allowed to go downstairs, as the sepulchres of the Kings who built the Labyrinth were there; but he marvelled at the upper rooms which surpassed any human works he had ever seen—the endless passages, the vaulted corridors, the windings through the various courts, from vestibule to chamber, from chamber to hall, from hall to corridor. The roofs were all of stone, and the stone walls were full of sculptured figures: each court was surrounded by a colonnade of white stone.[2] Strabo declares that a stranger would infallibly lose his way in the mazes of the passages without a guide: and he adds that the roofs of each dwelling were composed of a single vast slab.[3] Diodorus confirms the difficulty of entering the Labyrinth, and of even finding one's way out again.[4] Pliny says that the entrance was constructed of Parian marble; that it contained temples to all the gods of Egypt; banqueting halls at the top of flights of stairs; porticoes from which ninety steps led to the ground; columns of porphyry; pyramids; figures of gods; statues of kings; effigies of hideous monsters; palaces some of whose doors were constructed to open with a noise like reverberating thunder; and rooms in total darkness.[5]

What exactly all this was intended to serve is somewhat of a mystery. Maspero casts ridicule on the whole accounts given by the classical writers. He regarded their stories as the outcome of the later "cult of Amenemhat," which lingered through many generations.[6] But it is doubtful if this will explain all. Sir William Willcocks, again, derives the name "Labyrinth" from "Lape-ro-hunt, the "Barrage-Temple," and contends that it was a maze of outworks and barracks, temples and palaces, so constructed that no one from the mainland could approach the dyke with hostile intent.[7]

The truth seems to be that in the Labyrinth of Amenemhat III we have a remarkable illustration of the powerful influence exercised on Egypt by Crete. The XIIth Dynasty was contemporary with the period of Ægean civilization known as "Middle Minoan II."[8] Now, the famous palace of Minos at Knossos has been discovered by Evans[9] to be the original of the legendary "Labyrinth" of Crete, erected by Dædalus, and associated with the monster, the Minotaur, and with the exploits of Theseus and Ariadne. The palace had in its interior columns of gypsum, each block marked with the sign of the Double Axe, or "Labrys." The "Labrys" was the peculiar sign of the Cretan Zeus, many bronze votive specimens bearing this mark having been found in the cave of Dicte, the

[1] Diod. Sic. i. 4. [2] Herod. ii. 148. [3] Strabo, xvii. 37. [4] Diod. i. 5. [5] Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxvi. 19. [6] *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 520. [7] Willcocks' *Assuan Reservoir and Lake Moeris*, p. 14. He identified the Hyksos fort of Avaris with Hawara, the fortified island in Lake Moeris, as being the key of Egypt. He accounted for the famine in Joseph's time by the supposition that the Theban kings shut off the water supply by capturing the Barrage! [8] On the synchronisms of the chronology of Egypt, Palestine, Crete, and other Ægean peoples, see a tentative, but useful, scheme by Fimmen, *Zeit. u. Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur*, 1909. [9] *Monthly Review*, 1901, p. 131.

reputed birthplace of the god.[1] The "Labrys" suggests also a link with the title of the Carian Zeus, that is, Zeus of Labraunda, where Jove is frequently shown with a double axe in his hand.[2] This vast palace, so recently unearthed at Knossos, is seen to be one and the same with the traditional "Cretan Labyrinth": and it was evidently the original of the Egyptian "Labyrinth" of Amenemhat III, not *vice versa*, as has sometimes been imagined.

The connection between Crete and Egypt had for centuries been intimate. Graves of even the Ist Dynasty at Abydos have yielded vases, which Petrie regards as Cretan importations[3] closely akin to vessels discovered in the stratum at Knossos immediately above the Neolithic deposits. Similarly on the other hand, in the palace at Knossos, numerous exquisitely fashioned IIIrd Dynasty Egyptian stone vessels of diorite, syenite, and other intensely hard stones, have been found by Evans.[4] Not only has Newberry come across a Vth Dynasty title "Khet-priest of the Double Axe," but the "Double Axe" as a symbol is found in Egypt as early as the Ist Dynasty.[5] We have already seen how under the VIth Dynasty communication with Crete was maintained. It need not, therefore, surprise us to find under the XIIth Dynasty even closer relations subsisting. A seated male figure of diorite has been found in the palace of Knossos with a hieroglyphic inscription on three sides, which Petrie and Budge assign to the time of this Dynasty. Middle Minoan II was the period of the exquisite polychrome Kamárais ware, and it is significant of close connection between Crete and Egypt that at Kahun, near the pyramid of Senusert II, Petrie discovered some specimens of this ceramic masterpiece which were undoubtedly Ægean.[6] Similarly in a grave of the XIIth Dynasty at Abydos, Garstang found vessels of the same type along with glazed steatite cylinders bearing the cartouches of Senusert III and Amenemhat III.[7] Hall indeed contends that, in their respective art-spheres, Crete and Egypt were at this epoch in such close inter-relation, that they exchanged their knowledge mutually. Egypt borrowed from Crete the beautiful spiral forms of decorative art, while Crete took from Egypt the secret of glazing pottery, and the practice of using pen and ink in writing.[8]

With these close relations subsisting between the Nile and Crete, it may well be that Amenemhat III conceived the idea of erecting a building similar to the famous Labyrinth of Knossos, of which traders gave him thrilling accounts. He may even have imported Cretan workmen to carry out the design. And thus it came about that the Labyrinthine maze of Minos, with its long corridors and repeated successions of blind galleries, its tortuous passages and spacious underground conduits, its bewildering system of small chambers which Sir Arthur Evans has described, found its counterpart and replica at Hawara in the extraordinary structure reared

[1] For a fascinating account of the exploration of this famous cave, see Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, p. 66 f., and for the religious significance of the "Double Axe," see Hogarth in *E.R.E.*, i. 144, *s.v.* ÆGEAN RELIGION. [2] λαβυρινθος is a Carian word, meaning "The Place of the Double Axe." [3] Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, ii. 46, pl. liv.: *Abydos*, i. 6, pl. viii: ii. 28, 38, 48, pl. xlii. [4] *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoenne*, p. 5. [5] *Liverpool Annals of Archæol. and Anthrop.*, i. (1908), 27. See also Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. lxviii: Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. 308: Evans, *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 8. [6] *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 9 ff., Pl. i. [7] *Liverpool Annals*, v. (1913) p. 107. [8] *P.S.B.A.*, xxxi. 135, 221: and *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i., Pt. ii. (1914), 115 f.: for further accounts of the connection between Crete and Egypt, see Baikie, *The Sea-Kings of Crete*, 1910, ch. vii.: Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 1908: W. Max Müller, *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xiii. 171.

by Amenemhat III, a building different from any previously erected in that land of architectural wonders. The Fayum Labyrinth was a copy of the island Labyrinth of Minos. It is not for nothing that ancient tradition makes out the Cretan Dædalus, the architect of the Minoan Labyrinth, to have sat at the feet of Egyptian masters,[1] to have built the Propylæum of Ptah at Memphis, and to have received divine honours in a neighbouring shrine.[2] The "Parian marble" of Hawara must have closely resembled the glittering white selenite or gypsum of Knossos.[3]

The site of this immense Labyrinth is probably represented to-day by a gigantic bed of fragments of fine white limestone, 1,000 feet long, and 800 feet broad, lying to the south of the pyramid of Hawara. It is a space sufficiently capacious to hold all the temples of Thebes including Luxor and Karnak! In Roman times its destruction had begun, and as it has been used as a quarry for 2,000 years, nothing but this immense heap of fragments remains to testify to the existence of a building which struck with amazement and admiration every visitor to the Nilotic land of marvels.

The Labyrinth was dedicated to Sebek, the deity to whom crocodiles were sacred, and the city of Crocodilopolis (or, as it was called in later Ptolemaic times, Arsinoe) rose not far from the pyramid of Hawara, where Amenemhat III, most powerful and most glorious of the monarchs of the Middle Kingdom, was entombed. The pyramid was explored by Petrie in 1889,[4] who discovered the extraordinary, yet vain, ingenuity adopted in its construction to prevent robbers from obtaining access to the royal resting-place. Over 190 feet high, with a base 334 feet square, the pyramid had false passages, dumb chambers, gigantic sliding roof trap-doors weighing 45 tons, and other contrivances. Yet all had been in vain: the spoilers had mined through, and had rifled and burned the coffins and their contents. The sepulchral chamber in the interior is over 22 feet long, and 10 feet wide, yet it was hewn out of one solid block of hard yellow quartzite weighing 110 tons; an amazing feat, indeed, yet revealing the ease with which the engineers of the XIIth Dynasty faced and overcame enormous mechanical difficulties. In the Ptolemaic period, Amenemhat III was deified, and was worshipped in the Fayum under the name of Pra-marres.[5]

Amid all this glory and earthly splendour [6] it is not a little instructive to find that reflection on the transient character of it all, and meditations on the inherent vanity and perishableness of all human things, were by no means awanting. Preserved in the Leyden Museum is a slab bearing *The Lay of the Harper*, in which an Egyptian musician sings to the revellers in the rich banqueting hall, and reminds them of the inevitable darkness of the tomb which awaits them all. The song dates from the period of this greatest King of the XIIth Dynasty. Many of its cadences remind us forcibly of the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, wherein Koheleth describes the glory and seeming happiness of King Solomon, and contrasts these with the hopeless descent into Sheol which is the lot of the King, noble and peasant

[1] Evans in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1899–1900, p. 62. [2] Diodorus, i. 97. [3] Hall in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1905, Pt. ii. [4] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pp. 12–17. It should be mentioned, however, that de Morgan (*Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1894–5) and Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 198) dispute the identification of the Pyramid of Hawara with that of the tomb of Amenemhat III. [5] Rubensohn, *Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlii. 111. [6] That Amenemhat III had to engage in war with Asiatics is testified to by his famous pectoral which shows the King striking down two bearded foreigners, with the legend attached, "The striking of the Mentu, the striking of the Asiatics."

alike. Indeed, if we are led to regard the *Book of Ecclesiastes* as having been composed in Egypt in Ptolemaic times, in the brilliant period of the early Græco-Egyptian Kings,[1] it is not a little remarkable to note the striking resemblances between the two compositions, and their similarities even invite the question whether the author of the latter book may not have seen, and read, and adapted for his own purposes some of the literary expressions contained in the earlier work. That the correspondence between the two, in thought if not in verbal expression, may be the better brought out, I place some of the phrases in parallel columns :—

The Lay of the Harper [2]	*Ecclesiastes*
How happy is this good prince! This goodly destiny is fulfilled.	*I was King over Israel in Jerusalem.*[3] *. . . I said in mine heart "Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth."*[4]
The body perishes, passing away, while others abide, since the time of the ancestors.	*That which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts: . . . as the one dieth, so dieth the other . . . all go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again;*[5] *one generation goeth, and another generation cometh.*[6]
The gods who were aforetime, rest in their pyramids: likewise the noble, and the wise, entombed in their pyramids. As for those who built houses—their place is no more: behold, what hath become of them?	*I saw the wicked buried and they came to the grave*[7] *. . . all things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and to the clean*[8] *. . . madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead*[9] *. . . the dead know not anything . . . the memory of them is forgotten:*[10] *do not all go to one place?*[11]
I have heard the words of Imhotep and Harzozef, whose utterances are of much reputation: yet how are the homes of these sages? Their walls are in ruins, their places are no more—as if they had never been!	*Of the wise man, even as of the fool, there is no remembrance for ever: seeing that, in the days to come, all will have been already forgotten.*[12]
None cometh from thence (from the lower world of shades) that he might tell us of their state, that he might restore our hearts until we too depart to the place whither they have gone.	*Who knoweth the spirit of man whither it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth? . . . Who shall bring a man back to see what shall be after him*[13] *. . . as well their love, as their hatred and their envy, is now perished, neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun.*[14]

[1] For the evidence for this view, see p. 443. [2] The translation of the Egyptian poem is from Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 206. [3] Eccles. 1.[12] [4] 2.[1] [5] 3.[19 20] [6] 1.[4] [7] 8.[10] [8] 9.[2] [9] 9.[3] [10] 9.[5] [11] 6.[6] [12] 2.[16] [13] 3.[21 22] [14] 9.[6]

The Lay of the Harper	*Ecclesiastes*
Encourage thy heart to forget it (the inevitable descent into Sheol) and let the heart dwell upon that which is profitable for thee.	*There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink and make his soul enjoy good in his labour*[1] *. . . there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his works*[2] *. . . that which I have seen to be good and to be comely is for one to eat and to drink and to enjoy good in all his labour wherein he laboureth under the sun:*[3] *for he shall not much remember the days of his life.*[4]
Follow thy desire while thou livest: lay myrrh upon thy head, clothe thee in fine linen, imbued with luxurious perfumes.	*Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart . . . let thy garments be always white, and let not thy head lack ointment.*[5]
Increase yet more thy delights, let not thine heart be weary: follow thy desire and thy pleasure and mould thine affairs on earth after the mandates of thine heart.	*Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of thy life of thy vanity.*[6] *. . . Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes.*[7]
Till that day of lamentation cometh to thee, when the stilled heart hears not their mourning: for lamentation calls back no man from the tomb.	*There is no work nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave whither thou goest:*[8] *. . . if a man live many years, let him rejoice in them all, but let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many*[9] *. . . because man goeth to his long home.*[10]
Celebrate the glad day: rest not therein.	*Therefore remove sorrow from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh*[11] *. . . a feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh glad the life.*[12]
For lo, no one taketh his goods away with him: yea, no man returneth again that is gone thither.	*As he came forth of his mother's womb, naked shall he go again as he came, and shall take nothing for his labour which he may carry away in his hand: in all points as he came, so shall he go.*[13]

Under the two remaining sovereigns of the XIIth Dynasty, AMENEMHAT IV (B.C. 3259), and his sister-wife, SEBEK-NEFERU-RA (B.C. 3246), the glory of the Middle Kingdom faded away. Their reigns

[1] Eccles. 2.[24] [2] 3.[22] [3] 5.[18] [4] 5.[20] [5] 9.[7 8] [6] 9.[9] [7] 11.[9] [8] 9.[10] 11.[8] [10] 12.[5] [11] 11.[10] [12] 10.[19] [13] 5.[15 16]

were short and unremarkable.[1] With the former ends the series of rock inscriptions in the Wady Maghara, or at Serabit-el-Khadem, in Sinai:[2] no more inscriptions are found there until the accession of Aahmes I of the XVIIIth Dynasty.[3] But Amenemhat IV left in the last-named spot a memorial of another description. Petrie discovered here a vast bed of wood ashes, 100 feet long and 50 feet broad, varying from 3 to 18 inches in thickness. The bed, in all likelihood, must formerly have been of much more extended size, for in spite of the rains and winds of 4,900 years, it is still of gigantic proportions, there being some 50 tons of ashes on the spot, the residue of many former hundreds of tons which have disappeared. What is the reason of this extraordinary ash deposit? Petrie lays aside as untenable the supposition that we have here the remains of smelting works, for there is no copper near to be melted, and the site is inaccessible for the purpose. Equally unsuitable is the theory that the ashes are the product of wood fires to extract alkali. Rather he believes that we have here a typical Palestinian "high-place" where sacrifices and burnt incense were offered.[4] References to these Canaanite "high-places" are scattered throughout the whole Old Testament.[5] As a popular Syrian mode of worship, they were of very ancient date, and the later developments of the practice under the Kings of Judah and Israel were but perpetuations of a primitive Canaanite ritual. Thus, in this huge "high-place" in Sinai, with its enormous heap of ashes, we discover another proof of the intimate connection that subsisted between the neighbouring territories of Canaan and Egypt. Soldiers of the Egyptian garrison, and the turquoise miners of the XIIth Dynasty, seem to have fallen under the influence of the religious traditions of the place. Burnt sacrifices on high places were entirely unknown in Egypt itself. But outside the Nile Valley, the Egyptian settlers succumbed to the dominance of Semitic religious customs; and the immense size of this ash-bed testifies to the devotion of these miners and officials to the seductive power of Canaanite forms of worship.

The ash-heap, however, witnesses to still another fact. It is evidence of how extensive and wholesale the destruction of the forests of Sinai must have been, and how in the time of the XIIth Dynasty, the hillsides must have been clothed with vegetation where to-day all is sterility and barren sand and rock. These valleys, now lined with dry watercourses, and bare of any trees, must in the time of the XIIth Dynasty have been beautiful with the shade of noble pines and cypresses, and musical with the laughter of rippling water. The exquisite loveliness of the Southern Valleys, such as the Wady Sigilliyeh discovered by Palmer,[6] where deep pools and waterfalls are overshadowed by palm trees and graced with ferns and desert herbage of the richest green, where tall, wavy rushes with feathery heads grow to a height of 12 or 14 feet, and where there is exuberant vegetation swarming with insect and bird life, must also have been characteristic of the Northern wadies, where to-day are inhospitable

[1] For interesting remains of Amenemhat IV discovered at Thebes, see Earl of Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes* (1912), p. 7. [2] For a list of these, see David Paton, *Early Egyptian Records of Travel*, i. (Princeton, 1915). [3] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pp. 98, 102. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 186. [5] 2 Ki. 12,[3] *The high-places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places* (so also 14,[4] 15[4 35]): 2 Ki. 16,[4] *Ahaz sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree*: 2 Ki. 17,[9 10 11] *The children of Israel built them high places in all their cities . . . and they set them up obelisks, and Asherim, upon every high hill and under every green tree, and there they burnt incense in all the high places, as did the nations whom the Lord carried away before them.* [6] Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, i. 210, 213.

wastes of rock and stone. This fact further disposes of the objection that has been raised to the possibility of the Israelites having been able to find trees in Sinai of a size sufficient to furnish the beams requisite for the construction of the Tabernacle. There is no reason to believe that this ash-heap represents the final extermination of the forests in this region. In all likelihood, there were still surviving large trees which were available in later ages when the Israelites entered this territory. The presence of the trees also indicates a greater rainfall in this early period than now obtains, when the wholesale cutting down of the forests has altered the climatic conditions of the country.[1]

As the great XIIth Dynasty passed away, there were not wanting tokens that some reflective minds felt that they were on the verge of grave and even overwhelming trouble. It is not a little ominous to find a prophet arising at this era, and predicting a time of trial, and ruin, and humiliation such as had never been. In a papyrus of this period, a certain Ipuwer[2] is said to have appeared before the Pharaoh, and to have prophesied a season of unspeakable disaster, the ruin of family life, the dissolution of society, the overturning of all ancient institutions.[3] Epidemics will sweep away all classes indiscriminately: there will be plague and bloodshed everywhere: civil war will rage: "the rivers will be turned into blood, and although ye will not like it, ye will have to drink of it, and thirst after water." There will be invasion by the desert dwellers, who will swarm into Egypt with grim carnage and massacre. The rich nobles will be made beggars, and will see their lands and houses, their wealth and privileges, usurped by the vilest and the poorest. Those at the bottom of society will come to the top, and those at the top will be cast to the bottom. It is all a vivid characterization of Oriental life turned topsy-turvy; and certainly in the sorrows and calamities of the succeeding Dynasties, when the Hyksos had overwhelmed the old regime, the dwellers on the Nile might well reflect how truly the prophecy had been fulfilled!

But what is of striking interest for us to note is that at the end of the prediction of woes coming upon the land, there is the promise of a Saviour, a Messiah, who will again bring peace and prosperity. He is conceived of as "The Good Shepherd." "Men shall say 'He is the Shepherd of all the people: there is no evil in his heart. If his flocks go astray, he will spend the day to search for them . . . would that he might achieve their rescue! Verily he shall smite evil when he raises his arm against it. . . . Where is he this day? Doth he sleep among you?'" Some may be disposed to regard the prediction as flattery addressed merely to the then existing sovereign of the XIIth Dynasty, who had brought peace to Egypt after the anarchy of former times. Others will find the fulfilment in the rise of the strong monarchs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who drove out the hated foreigners who had overturned the native line of kings. But others[4] perhaps will regard this as one of the most remarkable "unconscious prophecies of heathendom," wherein

[1] This fact does not seem to have been sufficiently weighed by Woolley and Lawrence, *P.E.F. Annual* (*The Wilderness of Zin*), iii. (1914 15), p. 32, who assert that the ancient rainfall must have been as scanty as it is to-day. Some remarkable evidence as to the gradual desiccation of a wide region by the systematic destruction of forests is given by Garrett, *The American Archæol. Exped. to Syria in* 1899–1900, Pt. i. (1914), p. 93. See also on the former afforested condition of Sinai, W. T. Pilter in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxix. (1917), 160. [2] Or Apoui. [3] Lange, "Prophezeiungen eines Ægyptischen Weisen aus dem Papyrus, i. 344 in Leyden." (*Sitzb. d. Berlin Akad.*, xxvii. (1903), 601–610). [4] Including Professor Breasted.

the Spirit of God led this ancient seer to predict the coming of Him who said of Himself, *I am the Good Shepherd*,[1] and regarding whom, as a Hebrew prophet declared, *Behold I myself, even I, will search for my sheep and will seek them out. As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that he is among his sheep that are scattered abroad, so will I seek out my sheep; and I will deliver them out of all places whither they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day*.[2]

[1] Jno. 10.[11 14] [2] Erek. 34.[11 12]

CHAPTER IX

The Fall of the Middle Kingdom and the Invasion of the Hyksos

From the XIIIth Dynasty to the XVIIth is the darkest and most obscure portion of Egyptian history. Long lists of names of kings of whom otherwise we know nothing are given in the Turin Papyrus, but as regards the extent of their rule, the length of their reigns, and the general features of their government,we are absolutely in the dark. Nor can we be certain that the Dynasties were successive. Many authorities of eminence regard some of them as contemporary, maintaining that the Nile Valley was again split into two rival principalities—the South and the North—one Dynasty ruling at Thebes, while its neighbour and antagonist occupied the Delta.[1]

1. *The XIIIth Dynasty* (B.C. 3246–2793)

The XIIIth Dynasty was still Theban. But as it begins in obscurity, it continues in decadence, and it ends in darkness. The fewness of the monuments it has left is a testimony to the weakness of the government and the demoralized condition of the commonwealth. While some Egyptologists[2] would have us regard the period as one of profound calm, a season of inactivity at home and abroad, a backwater eddy after the excessive vigour of the preceding Dynasty, the evidence is rather that it was an era of decline, of increasing intestine feuds, of revolts and assassinations, of the uprising of the nobles against the royal authority, and of the rebellion of the great cities and nomes of the Nile Valley against the autocratic rule of Thebes.[3] It is not without significance that the Tablet of Abydos passes over in total silence the kings of this and of the four following Dynasties. The Tablet of Karnak mentions but a few names, while the Tablet of Sakkara is equally unsatisfactory in the way of showing us how to elucidate the many chronological problems of the period. Manetho states that the XIIIth Dynasty had 60 kings, all reigning from Thebes, and that their rule lasted for a period of 453 years.[4]

[1] One of the latest and most thorough attempts in this direction is that by Weill, *Journ. Asiat.*, xi. Sér. ix. (1917), pp. 193–256. [2] Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 531) declares that art and everything else in Egypt, during the whole XIIIth Dynasty, was fairly prosperous. "Nothing attained a very high standard, but on the other hand, nothing fell below a certain level of respectable mediocrity. Wealth, however, exercised an injurious influence upon artistic taste." Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, i. 217) suggests that Egypt by this time was surfeited with building, and the zeal for architecture had died down. [3] Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 165) suggests that at the beginning of the XIIIth Dynasty, Egypt was divided again into two Kingdoms. A branch of dynasts held rule at Thebes, while the legitimate line reigned in the North at Itht-taui. He places the Antefs in the period between the XIIIth and XVIIth Dynasties. [4] The intricacies of this XIIIth Dynasty are grappled with by Max Pieper in the *Zeit. f. Æg. Sprache*, 1914, p. 54 f.

Of these monarchs, one or two emerge into the sunlight like mountain peaks rising from an ocean of mist which enswathes all other summits of lesser altitude.[1] The first of the Dynasty, RA-KHU-TAUI,[2] exercised authority from the Delta to the Second Cataract where Nilometric markings with his cartouche are recorded for the first four years of his reign. The sixth king, AMENI-ANTEF-AMENEMHAT, has left at Karnak a large sandstone altar. The fifteenth, SEBEKHETEP I, was a vigorous ruler who enjoyed the undisputed mastery of the Nile Valley from Bubastis [3] in the Delta to Semneh in Nubia.[4] The seventeenth, MERMASHAU, has left two black granite statues in Tanis, discovered by Mariette.[5] The twentieth, SEBEKHETEP II, is stated on a stele now in Vienna to have succeeded to the throne in virtue of the royal descent of his mother, his father having been a plebeian, or at least of non-royal blood. The twenty-first, NEFER-HETEP, erected a large stele at Abydos in which he recorded his devotion to the Sun-god. The twenty-third was SEBEKHETEP III, seemingly the greatest monarch of the Dynasty. Two colossal granite statues representing him were discovered at Tanis, another at Bubastis, while similar gigantic mutilated statues, 23 feet high, are still to be seen in the island of Argo at the head of the Third Cataract.[6] It would appear, also, that in his reign, Egypt and Canaan were once again in close political and commercial relations. Macalister found at Gezer a scarab bearing the title "Nefer-ka-ra," which is the prenomen of Sebekhetep III.[7] To probably the same reign must be referred the scarabs of steatite found at Gezer (one scarab being set on a thick bronze ring), bronze hair-pins, and other articles of adornment possibly from the tomb of some Egyptian resident in the Canaanite town.[8] The twenty-fifth King, SEBEKHETEP IV, reared a colossal statue of himself in the entrance of the temple at Tanis.[9] If, therefore, he reigned from Thebes, his rule must have been as extensive over the Nile Valley as any of his predecessors.

The fifty-fourth monarch actually had the effrontery to put his name, NEHESI, the "Negro," within a royal cartouche! A colossal black granite seated figure of this King was discovered by Mariette at Tanis,[10] and an obelisk which he left shows him worshipping the Semitic god, Set.[11] In all likelihood he was a true negro, or at least a half-breed, who in the troublous times of the dying Dynasty had "waded through slaughter to the throne," and now gloried in the triumph of his Ethiopic blood.[12] Thus

[1] Sethe (*Göttingen Gel. Anz.*, 1904, p. 932) suggests that the Israelites entered Egypt under this dynasty, and that the Exodus was connected with the Expulsion of the Hyksos—a most improbable view, which violates all chronology. [2] Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 211) combines in one person the two kings whom Budge names as the first and second monarchs of the XIIIth Dynasty. [3] Naville (*Bubastis*, p. 15) found here abundant tokens of Sebekhetep I's building operations. [4] His name occurs here in a series of Nilometric hieroglyphs. [5] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 8. They were both over 12 feet high, and both placed in the great temple of Ptah in that city: *cf.* also Burton, *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, Pl. xxx. 1, 7. [6] Hoskins, *Ethiopia*, p. 213. [7] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 279. The Turin Papyrus gives the name of the 85th King of the XIIIth Dynasty as Nefer-ka-ra. But the spiral ornamentation on this Gezer scarab points to the identification of the monarch in question with Sebekhetep III, the greatest sovereign of the XIIIth Dynasty, rather than with the *fainéant* monarch at the close of the Dynasty. It also prevents us from identifying the king with any of those monarchs of the VIIth—Xth Dynasties, who bore the same prenomen. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 328. [9] Figured in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 529. [10] Naville, *Ahnas-el-Medineh*, Pl. 4, B1 and B2. This statue gave rise to much controversy as to its identification, until Naville settled the problem. [11] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. pl. iii. 19a. [12] Naville (*Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1892–3, p. 7) says "Are we to suppose that in the long period, so little known, which extends from the XIIth Dynasty to the Hyksos, one of the causes of the anarchy which probably prevailed at that time was the invasion of negroes? Did the Ethiopians, before the invaders from the East, succeed in conquering Egypt, and in coming to the throne? . . . It is quite possible

the splendour, the prosperity, and the vigour of the Amenemhats and Senuserts were succeeded by the misery, the insecurity, the anarchy of the crocodile worshippers, the devotees of Sebek, until the nadir of shame was reached when a negro sat on the throne that had once been tenanted by some of the wisest and greatest of sovereigns!

II. *The XIVth Dynasty* (B.C. 2793–2533)

The XIVth Dynasty is said to have ruled from Xois in the marshes of the Delta, between the Phatnitic and the Sebennytic mouths of the Nile. How it came to pass that this neglected town in the swamps rose to be the seat of royal power; why Thebes lost her supremacy; who were the leaders in this great transference of dynastic rule, are questions to which neither history nor archæology can as yet contribute answers. According to Manetho, the Kings of the XIVth Dynasty numbered 76, and their united reigns extended over a period of either 184 or 484 years. None of these monarchs, however, in any way resembled their mighty predecessors of the XIIth Dynasty. Their reigns were brief and inglorious. A fragment of masonry here, a statue there, a scarab bearing a royal cartouche, are in most cases all that we have to guide us. There was no wealth, nor security, nor stability of government, in which to erect lasting monuments. King followed king with startling rapidity, some reigning only a year, others stretching out their term to two or three years: in one case a king reigned only two months and a few days. It was a period paralleled by the misery of the last agonies of the State of Samaria so luridly sketched by Hosea, when king after king grasped the sceptre and fell beneath the dagger of his successful rival.[1] Or it reminds us of the military despotism following the assassination of Commodus, when in about 90 years, probably 80 emperors assumed the Roman purple.[2]

It is possible that the weakness of Egypt at this era may be connected with the contemporary invasions of Palestine and of Sinai by Sargon I (Sharganisharali) of Agade, and his famous son, Naram-Sin (*c.* B.C. 2750). The "Omen Texts" mention that both father and son invaded "Magan," according to Haupt [3] the Babylonian name for the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, or what is perhaps more likely, the Sinai Peninsula, which was Egyptian territory, and conquered it.[4] Four times Sargon invaded Martu (Syria-Palestine) and ravaged it. As Canaan had been reckoned by former Pharaohs as part of their dominion, the power of Egypt must have been low indeed to take these insults tamely.

Of all the Kings of the XIVth Dynasty, only two stand out with any clearness, both bearing the name of SEBEKEMSAF.[5] These seem to have exercised a somewhat wider and more powerful sway than any of the rest and to have been buried in the vicinity of Thebes, though reigning in the Delta. But the authority of all these *fainéant* monarchs was largely nominal. Probably many of them reigned contemporaneously with each other in different parts of the Delta, and simultaneously also with other

that by a turn of fortune, so often seen in the history of Eastern empires, the negroes may have had their day, and have become masters, not only of Upper Egypt, but even of the Delta?"

[1] *Cf.* Hos. 7,[7] 8,[4] 10,[7] 10,[2] 13.[10] [2] Meyer, *Ægypt. Chron.*, p. 62. [3] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xvi. 488. [4] *Cuneiform Inscript.*, iv., Pl. 34: De Sarzec, *Découvertes*, Pl. 16, col. vii. (see p. 106). [5] Pieper (*Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, li. 94) links the Sebekemsafs with the late Antefs, and out of these and other constituents he makes a local Theban Dynasty, contemporary with the beginning of Dynasty XIII; and concludes that between the XIIth and the XVIIth Dynasties, Egypt was an elective monarchy.

kinglets in the Thebaid. In the divided state of the land, the country lay open to the attack of any bold invader.[1] The end of the Dynasty was brought about by an irruption of semi-savages, who left a deep mark on the history and memorials of Egypt.

III. *The Hyksos Invasion and the XVth* (B.C. 2533–2249) *and XVIth Dynasties* (B.C. 2249–1731)

To the wild, roving tribes of the Arabian desert, the Nile Valley, with its freshness and greenery, and especially the broad, well-watered Delta, with its magnificent crops and luxuriant palms, was always a land eagerly coveted. The fertility of the Delta was indeed proverbial, and famed beyond its borders. *When Lot lifted up his eyes, he beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt.*[2] For many previous centuries there had been a constant immigration into the Delta of Semitic peoples, arriving singly, or in families, or in tribes, who had settled in the land, and had quietly mingled themselves with the purely Egyptian population. Of kindred race with these, vast swarms of *Shasu*, *Amu*, *Menti*, as the Egyptians called the Bedouin races, hovered on the confines of this fertile territory, and sighed for an opportunity of exchanging the blazing sands and arid wastes of Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula for the canals and groves and shady gardens of Egypt. The weakness of the XIVth Dynasty afforded them the long-desired boon. The numerous Bedouin families, who, generation after generation, had already been quietly settling in the Delta, were suddenly reinforced by enormous hordes of their Semitic fellow-countrymen who poured in with irresistible strength from the deserts of Arabia.

By the native Egyptians the invaders were called *Hyksos*, but both the meaning of the name, and the peoples whom they represent, have been the subject of a prolonged controversy which cannot yet be said to have been finally settled.[3] Rosellini and Lenormant maintained the Scythian origin of the Hyksos. Brugsch held that in a general sense they were natives of the interior of Asia.[4] W. Max Müller[5] says that they were not Semites, but Mitannians, Hittites, or similar intruders from eastern Asia Minor, who had first of all conquered Syria previous to their irruption into Egypt. Similarly Mariette[6] and Conder[7] urge the claims of the Hittites (whom they style "Mongols") to be the people represented by the name Hyksos. Naville[8] has contributed an elaborate discussion on their origin and the extent of their power, and inclines towards Flower's and Virchow's views, based on ethnological considerations, that the Hyksos were of Turanian stock. Newberry and Garstang[9] believe that the Hyksos were practically Hittite, and thus they were racially akin to the Pelasgians, the pre-Hellenic Minoans, the Tyrrhenians, and the Etruscans of Italy.

[1] Naville (*Bubastis*, p. 19) points out how the discords and factions of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties were the main causes of the success of the Hyksos invasion. [2] Gen. 13.[10] [3] Much information and acute reasoning regarding the whole period from Joseph to Moses, *i.e.*, the Hyksos era, will be found in Dr. Max Uhlemann, *Israeliten und Hyksos in Ægypten, eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1856), and P. Cesare A. de Cara, *Gli Hyksos o Re Pastori di Egitto* (Rome, 1889). One of the latest discussions is that by Battiscombe Gunn and A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 36 f. [4] *Verh. d. Internat. Orient.-Kongress* (Berlin, 1881), ii. 3, 76. [5] *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. EGYPT, ii. 1238. In *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xii. 427, he argues from the spelling of the name that the Egyptians were well acquainted with the Hittites long before the XVIIIth Dynasty, probably in this Hyksos period. [6] *Aperçu de l'Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 50. [7] *The Hittites and their Language*, pp. 19–23. [8] *Bubastis* (1891), pp. 15–29. [9] *Short Hist. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 65.

It is, however, a formidable objection to this theory that the Hyksos names are all strongly Semitic,[1] while the Hittites were of non-Semitic blood. Lepsius,[2] Steindorff,[3] and Maspero[4] plead for a Canaanite-Kushite origin. Sayce,[5] finding the Hyksos god, Sutekh, on a Babylonian seal in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, with the inscription "Uzi-Sutakh, son of the Kassite, servant of Burnaburias,"[6] concludes that the Hyksos were of Kassite origin. E. Meyer[7] urges that the Hyksos were not foreign invaders at all, but a Dynasty of Kings of Lower Egypt, who attracted a large number of Asiatic mercenaries to their service. This R. Weill[8] strenuously combats.

Notwithstanding all the force with which some of these views are urged by their respective advocates, it would seem likely that the old view is, after all, that which lies nearest to the truth, namely, that the Hyksos represent the mingled Semitic peoples of the Arabian desert, along with the nomad dwellers in Canaan and neighbouring territories. Petrie[9] has pointed out that the Semite Abishua, who headed the procession of Canaanites entering Egypt, as shown in the tomb of Khnumhetep at Beni-Hasan,[10] in the days of Senusert II, was the bearer of the name which appears later in Jewish history as Abishai.[11] The Egyptians gave this dignitary the title of *hak khast*, "prince of the desert," which in the plural form became, in later ages, *Hyksos*,[12] which Manetho correctly describes as meaning "Shepherd-Kings."

Hommel[13] very plausibly connects their invasion of Egypt with the simultaneous overflow of other tribes of North Arabia into Babylonia, an incursion which led to the overthrow of the early Kingdoms of Nisin, Ur, Larsa, and Elam, and to the establishment of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon, which was Arabian in origin, and whose sixth king, Hammurabi,[14] was the most distinguished monarch of his age.[15] There are even in existence two scarabs containing the names of two kings of Babylonian origin—KHENZER and KHANDY—who claim to have a place among the Hyksos monarchs.[16] Petrie maintains that these two kings came into Egypt from Babylon as mercenaries, and that during the misery and anarchy of the XIIIth or XIVth Dynasties, they gradually rose to seize the supreme power.[17] Khandy is shown on a cylinder of green jasper wearing the double crown of Egypt, and giving the sign of life to a Babylonian figure standing before him. It is a remarkable fact that two Babylonian Kings should have sat on the august throne of Egypt. Yet, if the invasion of Babylonia and of Egypt respectively were thus but parts of the same widespread movement, originating in a common centre, impelled by a common impulse, and arising from what might be called the common necessity of providing for a periodic overflow of the overplus population of Arabia into the civilized lands that lay on either hand, it is interesting to note that both

[1] This is emphasized by Burchardt, *Ægypt. Zeitsch.* l. 6. [2] *Nub. Gram. Einleitung*, pp. cxiii. f. [3] *Zur Gesch. der Hyksos*, pp. 3–7. [4] *Gesch. d. Morgen. Völk.*, p. 167. [5] *Academy*, 1895, p. 189. [6] Burnaburias, King of Babylon, lived contemporaneously with the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1400. [7] *Gesch. d. Altertums.* [8] *Journ. Asiat.*, 1911, and esp. ix. (1917), pp. 1–143. [9] *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 5. [10] See p. 81. [11] 1 Sam. 26.[6] [12] *Hyk*=princes, kings+*Sos*=Egyptian *Shasu*, or desert nomads. [13] *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 41: Winckler (*History of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 60) supports the same view. [14] The *Amraphel King of Shinar* of Gen. 14.[1] as is proved by Pilter, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), p. 171. [15] See King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, p. 236 f. [16] Pieper, *Könige zwischen dem mittleren u. neuen Reich*, p. 32: Meyer, *Nachträge*, p. 37. [17] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 12: but later in *Essays and Studies, presented to William Ridgeway*, 1913, p. 193, he and Peet assign the Khandy scarab to the period between the VIth and XIth Dynasties, a time of Semitic incursion into the Delta.

sections of this migration were themselves overcome by the civilization which they temporarily displaced. In each case, these nomads, after carrying fire and sword, ruin and desolation with them,[1] settled down in the land they had conquered, availed themselves of the resources of the arts and culture they had despised, adopted the language, learning, and religion of the subjugated population, and to a large extent became, in the one case, naturalized Babylonians, in the other, thorough Egyptians.

The native Egyptians so loathed these intruding foreigners that they disdained to record on their monuments anything as to their exploits. Josephus,[2] however, has preserved a long account of them, which he quotes from a lost Egyptian history by Manetho. The Egyptian priest tells how the invaders savagely burned down the cities, demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants in a most barbarous fashion. This was after they had got the land into their possession "without a battle." These men "of ignoble birth from the East" then made one of themselves king, whose name was SALATIS.[3] He chose Memphis as his capital, and forced both Lower and Upper Egypt to pay tribute. Garrisons were placed in suitable quarters. For fear of the "Assyrians,"[4] he specially fortified the eastern frontier. He rebuilt the ancient city, Avaris, making it very strong with encircling walls, and put into it a garrison of 240,000 men.[5] Here he lived in summer, spending the rest of the year at Memphis. Such in substance is Manetho's story.

This fort of Avaris is not Pelusium, as some have supposed. Its true site was discovered by Petrie in 1905.[6] Strange to say, he found that the Jewish high priest Onias (about B.C. 154) had utilized the deserted Hyksos citadel for his temple-fortress of Leontopolis. But Salatis' original structure was a square enclosure, each side measuring about 500 yards, the walls being not of Egyptian brickwork, but of sand with an outside sloping face of stucco, which only later had a great stone wall built round it. There was no gateway. The entrance was by a long, sloping roadway, about 35 feet wide, and about 225 feet in length on the east side, leading right over the sandbank, which was more than 40 feet high. That the stucco was put on and smoothed with the hands is shown by the finger sweeps still preserved on it at some points, a remarkably interesting *human* element in the course of the excavations. The work displays no great building capacity, but rather the untutored attempts at architecture contrived by the rude sons of the desert. The Hyksos defenders of the camp must have trusted to archery at long distance to withstand the rush of foes up the long slope. It was a mode of fortification utterly different from the usual Egyptian massive walled structures as at Abydos, or at Semneh and Kumneh. There is certainly a great discrepancy between

[1] Reisner (*Bulletin of Boston Mus. of Fine Arts*, April, 1914) has shown from excavations at Kerma in Nubia, that the brick fort, erected there under Amenemhat III, was burned down in a great conflagration. Many seal-impressions of the Hyksos period were found, proving that the invasion of Semites penetrated far up the Nile. [2] *c. Apion*, i. 14, 15. [3] Probably derived from שַׁלִּיט the "governor," the same name as was given later by the Hyksos Pharaoh Apepi to Joseph (Gen. 42[6]). The word may, therefore, be only a title, not the real name of the first Hyksos King. [4] The early Kings of Assyria were viceroys and vassals of the Babylonian throne. Even at this early period, the ferocity and merciless attacking power for which the Assyrians were so much dreaded may have been exhibited in such a way as to make them formidable to the Hyksos Kings. But, of course, to a Grecized Egyptian like Manetho, "Assyria" was a loose term to include all the dwellers in Mesopotamia and the Euphrates Valley. [5] Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 14. [6] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund* 1906, p. 25 *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 9.

Petrie's measurements of the fort and Josephus' statement that it covered 10,000 acres (or 3½ miles square). Yet there is no doubt that Petrie's identification of the spot is correct, and that the later Tell-el-Yahudiyah, or Leontopolis, at the mouth of the Wady Tumilât in Goshen, is the site of the great camp associated with the Hyksos domination of Egypt. Petrie calculates it might hold 40,000 men ; or if they were put together as closely as British soldiers in tenting, there might be 80,000.[1]

The names of the six Hyksos monarchs of the XVth Dynasty are given by Manetho.[2] They were SALATIS, who reigned 19 years ; BNON or BEON, who reigned 44 years ; APAKHNAS or PACHNAN, who reigned 36 years ; APOPHIS, who reigned 61 years ; JONIAS or ANNAS or STAAN, who reigned 50 years ; and ASSIS or ARCHLES, who reigned 49 years. But the names are almost certainly misplaced : some of them belonged to Hyksos Kings of the XVIth Dynasty ;[3] and as there are many other names of Hyksos monarchs known from scarabs, it is evident that Manetho has mentioned merely a few whose exploits were more remarkable, or whose reigning years were longer, than the rest.[4]

There seems to have been chronic war for a long period between the invaders and the native Theban princes until the latter were crushed by the vigorous Hyksos Kings of the early portion of the XVIth Dynasty. As the later XVIth sovereigns became feeble, the old Theban spirit revived : the quarrel broke out afresh : under the XVIIth Dynasty there was furious fighting, and at last, by the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, the hated "Shepherds" were expelled from the soil of Egypt. Manetho asserts that the early Hyksos were "always warring with the Egyptians, and were very desirous to pluck up Egypt by the roots." Their atrocities earned for them the name of the "filthy ones," or the "plague-smitten." It is probable that their rapid conquest of Egypt was due to their possessing a factor hitherto unknown to the Africans—the war chariot.[5] Though used by the Babylonians, and familiar by repute to the Egyptians, the horse had not yet been employed by the latter in warfare. The ass was the recognized beast of burden. It was the Hyksos who utilized the superior striking force of the war chariot in martial combat, and before their novel mode of attack the softer Egyptians succumbed.[6] But the Egyptians speedily learned the lesson taught them by their conquerors. They adopted the war chariot as part of their equipment for battle ; they took over with it its Semitic name, *markabata*,[7] and they used this formidable engine in their later raids on Canaan.[8]

[1] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), p. 5. [2] The versions of the Syncellus and of Africanus differ as to the order of these Kings, and their precise nomenclature. On the variants in Africanus, Eusebius, and the Scholiast on Plato, see Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altherthum*, i. 137, and Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 284. [3] For example, "Apophis" seems to be identifiable with Neb-Khepesh-Ra, or with Maa-ab-Ra : Jonias or Staan is probably Khian : and Assis seems to be Uatjed. [4] On the other hand, Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 53) believes that these are the names of the native Theban Kings, and that there has been some mistake made by Manetho in identifying them with the Hyksos. Petrie (*Historical Studies*, p. 14) states that there are far more scarabs of the Hyksos than there are of Dynasties XI—XII, XXI—XXV, XXVI—XXX. There are altogether about 100 with the names of 28 different kings. [5] See Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 51 : *Egypt and Assyria*, p. 81 : Zippelin, however, suggests that the horse had really died out in Egypt, and was re-introduced. This was the way with the camel, which is found portrayed on objects of the Ist Dynasty. [6] See Textor de Ravisi, "Études sur les Chars de Guerre Égyptiens" in *Compte-Rendu de la première session du Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français à St. Etienne*, 1875, p. 441 f. [7] מֶרְכָּבָה *merkabah*. [8] See Chabas' essay, "Le Cheval chez les Egyptiens" in his *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, Paris, 1873 p. 421 f.

During the early Hyksos period, while the land was in a perpetual tumult, it was inevitable that art, literature, and sculpture should be in a decadent and backward condition. The graves of the early Hyksos age round Avaris show that while there was a steady importation from Syria of its typical black incised and buff painted pottery, there was also a continual degradation in technique.[1] With the increasing stability of the conquest, however, the invaders settled down as thoroughly acclimatized Egyptians. They began to revive native styles of architecture, and to impress upon the Nilotic types features of a Semitic cast, until the Court life of the later Hyksos period, under the XVIth Dynasty, was in all probability formed as thoroughly after the ancient mould as if the Shepherd Kings had always been true Egyptians. They appropriated the ancient Egyptian titles, styled themselves "Sons of Ra," but especially worshipped Sutekh or Set,[2] whom they soon learned to identify with their ancestral Semitic Baal.[3]

The annals of the Hyksos period are exceedingly dim, obscure and fragmentary. It is impossible to draw the exact boundary lines between the XVth and the XVIth Dynasties. Nor can we, except in the case of a very few kings, determine to which dynasty any of the Hyksos monarchs belonged. Many names of Hyksos sovereigns have come down to us merely on solitary scarabs, their personalities otherwise being quite unknown.[4] The name of NEB-KHEPESH-RA (i.e., "Lord of the Sword") APEPI I is a fitting title for one who all his days pursued a ceaseless war; but regarding his exploits, and those of MAA-AB-RA, UATJED, IEKEB-HUR (whose name seems to be identical with the Semitic word "Jacob"), SEMKEN, ANT-HAR, NEKARA, and others, we are totally in the dark.

In all likelihood it was during the lifetime of one of these Pharaohs, although we cannot identify the particular monarch intended, that *Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was sore in the land*[5] of Canaan.[6] If the scheme of Biblical Chronology in the Appendix[7] be correct, the limits of the possible dates for this entrance of the patriarch into the Delta are somewhere between B.C. 2090 (the approximate date of his departure from Haran) and B.C. 2065 (the approximate date for the birth of Isaac). We may, therefore, hold that the "father of the faithful" entered Egypt about B.C. 2080.

There were three routes by which it was possible to reach Egypt from Canaan, and it is probable that Abraham chose the middle one of the three. The *Way of Shur* came down through Hebron by Beersheba, and entered the Delta by the Great Wall—"Khetam," or "Etam,"[8] or "Shur." Shur seems to be the Semitic equivalent of *Zar* or *Zaru*, the Egyptian word for the frontier fortifications.[9] It is referred to in the passage I have already

[1] Petrie in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1906, p. 25: *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 15. [2] On the Hyksos worship of Set, see Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites* (Leyden, 1865), pp. 81–127. [3] At Avaris, and at Tanis, the Hyksos erected temples to Sutekh-Baal. Under the vengeance of the XVIIIth Dynasty, these temples were overthrown, even although they contained great halls, which had been erected by the great Kings of the XIIth Dynasty. [4] Weill (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1917) has shown that it is highly probable that Palestine was the seat of an important manufactory of Egyptian scarabs. There was an extensive interchange of this sort, thousands of Egypt-made scarabs having been found in Palestine, and similarly, many Palestine-made scarabs being discovered in Egypt. [5] Gen. 12.[10] [6] In 1870, owing to a drought, the Philistine country was almost depopulated, the inhabitants having gone to Egypt for food. So ancient history repeats itself. [7] See p. 515. [8] Ex. 13.[20] [9] Zar was the starting-place of all the great military expeditions into Syria in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. The "fortress of Zar" was made the rendezvous. Seti I has a stele showing the fortress with himself leading strings of Syrian captives. On the other hand, Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ægyptens*, places Zaru at El Kantara, instead of near Pelusium.

quoted as of proverbial currency, *The plain of Jordan was well watered everywhere . . . like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar,*[1] where by "Zoar" we should understand "Zar." The *Way of Shur* is a very ancient road, for Holland,[2] when he discovered it in 1878 leading eastward from the Delta, found traces of it wherever the sand had been blown away, and the old highway could easily be followed by the numerous flint flakes and beautifully made arrowheads with which it was studded. Abraham descended into Egypt by the same road as that used by Palæolithic man in his journeys to and from Canaan and the Nile Valley.

The danger which befell Sarah in Egypt was a very real one. *When Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair, and the princes of Pharaoh saw her, and praised her to Pharaoh, and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.*[3] The fairness of Asiatics was highly valued in contrast to the swarthiness of the native Egyptian women, and as the harems of the Pharaoh were being continually replenished with white-skinned Syrians, their difference in colour and physiognomy was always rendered faithfully in mural paintings. More than that, Chabas has discovered in a papyrus of the XIIth Dynasty an enactment that the wife and children of a foreigner visiting Egypt might be confiscated as a matter of course, and become the property of the Pharaoh.[4] Sarah, as the sister of a wealthy Canaanite sheikh, was considered a suitable personage to be taken into the harem of a Hyksos sovereign, with whom there existed racial affinity, and the Pharaoh showed towards her "brother" gracious treatment.[5]

Delivered from this danger, Abraham returned to Canaan,[6] bringing with him a native of the Nile Valley, who was afterwards to prove a cause of dispeace in his family relationships—Hagar, his Egyptian handmaid. *For after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, Sarai took Hagar, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife.*[7] When Sarah's harshness forced Hagar to flee, it was towards Egypt that she bent her steps *in the way to Shur.*[8] It is a curious mark of genuineness in the later narrative that we read that *Abraham took a bottle of water and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder.*[9] Hagar was an Egyptian, and Herodotus mentions it as a peculiarity of the Egyptians that while the men carry burdens on their heads, the women carry them on their shoulders.[10] The Arabs still point out Hagar's well, south of Beersheba, and also a rock-dwelling, Beit Hagar not far off.[11] When the final parting had taken place, and Hagar and her son went forth from the patriarch's

[1] Gen. 13,[10] see Tomkins, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1884, p. 55: and Naville, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiv. (1912), p. 308: Clay Trumbull in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1884, p. 250 f. It is noteworthy that the LXX. distinguish between Gen. 13[10] εἰς Ζόγορα and Gen. 19,[22] εἰς Σηγώρ. [2] *Brit. Assoc. Rep.*, 1878, p. 622 f.: *P.E.F.Q.*, 1879, p. 71: 1884, pp. 5–13. [3] Gen. 12.[14 15] The history of the name Pharaoh is interesting. It occurs under the Old Kingdom as equivalent to "The Great House," *i.e.*, the Royal Palace or Court. Horapollo (i. 61) says the King was called οἶκος μέγας. In the Middle Kingdom it is beginning to be employed a little more in the direction of meaning the Royal Person who lives within the palace. Here in the Hyksos *régime*, and a little later under the XVIIIth Dynasty, the term is freely applied to the King himself. By the XXVth Dynasty it is part of the King's proper name, *e.g.*, Pharaoh-Necho, Pharaoh-Hophra. See Griffith in Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.*, iii. 819, art. PHARAOH, and *P.S.B.A.*, xxiii. (1901), p. 72. [4] Chabas, *Les Papyrus hieratiques de Berlin*, p. xiv. [5] Gen. 12.[16] [6] Eupolemus (in Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.*, ix. 17) asserts that Abraham lived many years in Heliopolis, taught the Egyptians arithmetic and astronomy, and corrected the theology of the college of priests at that religious centre! [7] Gen. 16.[3] [8] Gen. 16.[7] [9] Gen. 21.[14] [10] Herod., ii. 35. [11] Dillmann, *Comm. on Genesis in loco.*

Palestinian encampment, *he dwelt in the neighbourhood of Paran,*[1] *and his mother took Ishmael a wife out of the land of Egypt.*[2] The descendants of Ishmael *dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt,*[3] that is, from the Persian Gulf right across the sandy desert of North Arabia as far as the great fortified Wall which guarded the eastern frontier of the Delta.

It is in connection with the life of Abraham that we come across, for the first time in Scripture, mention of the "River of Egypt," to which frequent reference is made in subsequent times.[4] The promise made to Abraham was *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the River of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.*[5] The term designates not the Nile,[6] but the Wady-el-Arîsh, which, descending from near Nakhl (El Paran [7]) in the plateau of the Tîh, a torrent in winter, a dry watercourse in summer drought, after a flow of more than 100 miles, empties the drainage of a wide area into the Mediterranean midway between Pelusium and Gaza.[8] The ancient Rhinocoloura stood near its mouth. The Wady was the recognized boundary line between Egypt and Canaan, whereas the present boundary line is half-way between El-Arîsh and Gaza, at Raphia, where two ancient pillars have been re-erected as a landmark. But the political boundary availed nothing in retarding Egyptian rule over Canaan. The Pharaohs of the Hyksos period maintained the same nominal sovereignty over Palestine which their legitimate predecessors of the Memphite and Theban stock had upheld, and intercourse between the Jordan Valley and that of the Nile was close and intimate. Even the name *Phicol,*[9] the "captain of the host" of Abimelech of Gerar, with whom Abraham made a treaty at Beersheba, seems to be an Egyptian word meaning "the Syrian," inasmuch as *Khol* is an Egyptian name for Palestine.[10]

Some of the Kings of the XVIth Dynasty are a little more conspicuous than their shadowy predecessors of the earlier Hyksos era. The great KHIAN is a mighty figure as he looms up in the obscure annals of the time.[11] Tokens of his widespread fame and influence are found at opposite ends of the ancient world. At Bagdad in Mesopotamia, George Smith discovered a small basalt lion bearing his name.[12] In an early alphabetic inscription in an unknown language from Ördek-bunu near Zenjirli, now in the Museum at Constantinople, Lidzbarski has found his name occurring.[13] At Gezer

[1] The name Paran has been discovered in Shishak's geographical list at Karnak as "An-Paran," or "Ain Paran," the "Spring of Paran." It lies south of Raphia. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 169. [2] Gen. 21.[21] Winckler denies this, and asserts that the name "Hagar" associates her with the Arab tribe of the "Hagarenes," Ps. 83,[6] and that she was a native of the Arabian Musri (see *Expos. Times*, vii. 407). [3] Gen. 25.[18] [4] Numb. 34.[5] Jos. 15.[4 47] 1 Ki. 8.[65] 2 Ki. 24.[7] 2 Chr. 7.[8] Isa. 27.[12] Esarhaddon called it *Nakhal Musur*, but to distinguish it from the Nile, he added *ashar nâru lâ ishu*, "where no river is," *i.e.*, no continuous flow of water (Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 257). [5] Gen. 15.[18] [6] The Nile is called in the Bible usually יְאֹר never נַחַל which it could never be inasmuch as the latter means a *wady*. The Massoretic text of Gen. 15 [18] reads נָהָר but this is almost certainly an error for נַחַל (so Lagarde and Ball in Haupt's *O.T.*).

[7] Gen. 14.[6] [8] For a description of the Wady-el-Arish, see Chester in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 158: Holland, *ib.*, 1884, p. 12: Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, ii. 288: Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*, p. 115. [9] Gen. 21,[22] 26.[26] [10] So Spiegelberg, *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, ix. 106, 109. He has detected other Semitic words in Egyptian demotic, *e.g.*, *swt*—Heb., *swt*, "whip"; *nzh*=probably *nzh*, "be clean": *hbl*=*hebl*, 'breath" (*ibid.* xvi. 193). [11] An elaborate article on the Hyksos is given by R. Weill in *Journ. Asiatique*, x. Ser. t. xvi, pp. 247, 507: xvii. p. 5. Weill regards the Apepi portion of the Dynasty as consisting of real Egyptians, who worshipped Set in Tanis, and triumphed over North Egypt, while the truly Semitic Hyksos Kings, he maintains, were represented by Khian—a theory certainly at variance with the views of most authorities on the subject. [12] *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 420: figured in Tomkins' *Studies on the Times of Abraham* p. 140, Pl. xi. [13] *Ephemeris f. Semit. Epigraph.*, iii. 200.

in Palestine, Macalister has dug up a scarab bearing his cartouche ;[1] while on a jar-lid discovered by Evans in 1901 in the Ægean Palace of Knossos in Crete, the same great name of Khian is preserved.[2] What this widespread dissemination of his influence indicates, it would be hazardous to affirm. That under his rule the Hyksos authority spread as far as the Euphrates Valley on the east, and as far as Crete in the west, we have no reason to believe. The lion may have been carried to Bagdad by some later Assyrian conqueror of Egypt ; the Knossos relic may have been transported thither by some quite ordinary channel, if only we knew the details.[3] But certainly we may well believe that, inasmuch as a Semitic Dynasty now held the Valley of the Nile, the Egyptian overlordship of Canaan was acknowledged somewhat more emphatically than had before been the case.

It is not improbable that it was by means of the engineering skill of the mechanics of Khian's time that the famous water-passage discovered by Macalister at Gezer was hewn out.[4] This gigantic excavation testifies to one or other of two conclusions. Either the engineering capabilities of the Semitic inhabitants of Gezer were much more advanced than has hitherto been believed, or else the tunnel owes its construction to the genius of Egyptian architects. The entrance is by an imposing archway, 23 feet high, 12 feet 10 inches broad. These dimensions are maintained throughout two-thirds of its total length (219 feet). The tunnel descends in the rock at an angle of about 38° and the floor is cut from side to side into a continuous flight of steps. The roof is vaulted into a barrel shape, and the sides are well plumb. The cavern was excavated by means of flint tools as the quarrymen's toolmarks indicate. The work is clearly marked into three divisions, the last two portions being through harder rock, and the execution very much inferior to the first. At the bottom of the huge shaft, Macalister came upon a powerful spring of water in a great natural cave, 94 feet vertically below the surface of the rock, or about 130 feet below the present surface of the ground. The tunnel thus presents us with a strange historical puzzle. Were the petty chieftains of Canaan able to execute such a gigantic scheme as this by means of their own unaided efforts ? Is it not more likely that the work was accomplished for them by Egyptian engineers, who were well accustomed to hydraulic and irrigation projects of an immensely more extensive character ? The tunnel was abandoned and filled up about B.C. 1450–1250 ; and as 500 years at least are necessary to allow for the worn and dilapidated condition of the steps in the interior down to the spring, the excavation of the water-passage may well be relegated to the period of the XVIth Dynasty, and there are strong grounds for referring it to the reign of Khian as an interesting relic of his presence, and interest, in Palestine.[5]

From the extensive building operations carried on by Khian at Bubastis [6] and other places, and from the fact that his Horus-name means " The Embracer of many lands," we may gather that he was

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 227. [2] Evans, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vii., p. 64 : fig. 60. [3] See Lichtenberg, " Einflüsse der Ægäischen Kultur auf Ægypten und Palästina " in *Mittheil. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* 1911, fasc. 2. [4] Macalister, *The Excavations at Gezer*, i. 256 f. [5] Vincent (*Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, p. 27) attributes to the Jebusites of the 15th—11th centuries B.C. the excavation of the famous *sinnor* of Jerusalem up which Joab and his men climbed to capture Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5 [8]). If Khian's engineers could do the excavation of the Gezer tunnel, there was nothing to hinder the execution of the Jerusalem " gutter " at a very early period. [6] Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 23.

one of the foremost sovereigns of his time, a real Pharaoh of the first rank.[1]

Aa-user-Ra Apepi II, Khian's probable successor, must have exercised authority as far south as Gebelen in Upper Egypt,[2] showing that by this time the Hyksos monarchs had so thoroughly consolidated their power, that their rule extended far to the south of Thebes. In the 33rd year of his reign, there was copied the celebrated Rhind mathematical treatise—a transcript of an earlier work of the XIIth Dynasty—which attests the very remarkable scientific and geometrical knowledge of the times.[3] Accurate measurements of lands whose boundaries were annually obliterated by the Nile flood were required in Egypt, and possibly their very necessity led to the prosecution of advanced mathematical studies about 2,000 years before Christ.

A shadowy monarch, Aa-seh-Ra, known only from a fragment of an obelisk at Tanis, was followed, whether immediately or not we cannot tell, by Aa-kenen-Ra Apepi III, who, with great probability, is to be identified with the Pharaoh of the time of Joseph.

[1] W. Max Müller ("Stud. zur Vorderasiat. Gesch." in *Mittheil. der Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1897, pp. 1–26) indeed urges that there was only one dynasty, consisting of six Hyksos kings, the most important of whom was Khian, whose empire, he says, may have extended as widely as that of Thothmes III, if not still further. But it seems impossible to crowd into this short dynastic period all the many kings whose cartouches have been discovered, and it also plays utter havoc with any sound scheme of chronology. If Apepi II reigned at least 33 years, and Khian, say, another 30, where is there room, on the "Short Chronology" scheme, for all the other Hyksos monarchs? [2] Daressy, "Notes et Remarques" in *Rec. de Trav.*, xiv. 26. [3] *Facsimile of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, published by the British Museum, 1898: Eisenlohr in *P.S.B.A.* (1881), p. 97: Griffith, *ibid.*, xiv. (1891), p. 36.

Additional Note to p. 97[4]—On the ground of this invasion of Magan, Albright (*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* vi. (1920) 92) maintains the contemporaneity of Naram-Sin and Menes. This involves, of course, the acceptance of the "Short Chronology," which for many reasons seems impossible as a scheme.

CHAPTER X

The Later Hyksos and the Story of Joseph

A TRADITION, widely held in the Middle Ages, maintained that Joseph was sold into Egypt while a certain King Apapus or Aphobis was seated on the throne.[1] This is quite in accordance with the evidence of the monuments which speak of AA-KENEN-RA APEPI III as one of the later sovereigns of the XVIth Dynasty.[2] The story of Joseph as recorded in Genesis is so remarkably accurate in its local colouring, and so close in actual correspondence to what we otherwise know of Egyptian life and customs, that it is worth considering whether it could have been written by any author who was not intimately and personally acquainted with the minutest details of the civilization of the Nile Valley. As Egypt depends for its water supply on the melting of the far-off snows of the Alps in the heart of Africa, it is so unique in its agricultural operations, and its people were so peculiar in their domestic institutions, that it was practically impossible for any one who was not an actual dweller in the land to escape from perpetrating glaring mistakes and anachronisms. Years ago many of these so-called "errors" were triumphantly heralded abroad; but now, through the abundance of modern Egyptological research, the evidence is all the other way. It may be well in this chapter to indicate some of these minutiæ in the story, which reveal the author's close acquaintanceship with all things Egyptian.[3]

The fact that Jacob made for Joseph *a coat of many colours*[4] was not due to the excessive love which he bore towards him. It was because Joseph was the first-born of Jacob's first and principal wife. Rachel was

[1] See George the Syncellos, *Chronography* (ed. Dindorf), p. 201: Dionysius of Tell Marchê (ed. Tullberg, 1850, p. 2): and Bar Hebræus (ed. Bruns, p. 14). [2] The cartouche of this third Apepi was discovered in 1898 at Sakkara on a bronze dagger with a silver handle (*P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), p. 86). [3] Driver (in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 771, art. JOSEPH) states it to be his conviction that "there was an actual person, Joseph, afterwards regarded as the ancestor of the tribe, whose biography, during the time that it lived only in oral tradition, may have been embellished and made more dramatic in details, but who underwent *substantially* the experiences recounted of him in Genesis, and who, having risen to power in Egypt, succeeded in obtaining for his fellow-tribesmen a home in the pastoral land of Goshen." Naville (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. (1910), p. 210) says "It seems to me that the presence in the Book of names such as Zaphenath-Paneah and others, and the thoroughly Egyptian narratives of the life of Joseph and the Exodus point to the existence of an early document written in Egypt by a Semitic writer, when the traditions as to the earlier facts were fully alive, and at no great distance from the later ones." The Egyptian details in the narrative may be studied in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Anc. Egyptians*, 3 v.: Tomkins, *Life and Times of Joseph* (1891): Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, pp. 43–88: Ebers, *Ægypt. u. die Bücher Moses*, i. 295 f.: Driver in Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 47–54, and esp. in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 771 art. JOSEPH: Rawlinson, *Histor. Illustrations of the O.T.*, p. 83 f.: Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 207 f. [4] Gen. 37.[3]

the ruling lady in Jacob's harem ; and as Joseph was her eldest son, he had the right to the most distinguished place in the family, above that of the sons of his second wife, Leah, or of the concubines. His dress was to mark his distinguished position. Egyptian paintings show us that the Semitic peoples wore coats and kilts of similar richly coloured designs, and that the chieftain was singled out by the special pattern and ornamentation of his tunic.[1]

The grave attention paid to the *dreams*[2] of Joseph, as solemn intimations of impending actual occurrences, is quite in accord with Egyptian belief on the subject.[3] More than that : in Joseph's dream *his sheaf arose and stood upright.*[4] In Egypt, sheaves are not set upright ; they are laid flat on the ground. The unwonted posture attracted special notice. It portended the far-off scene of Joseph's future greatness, the harvest fields of Egypt.

The close commercial connection between Canaan and Egypt is witnessed to by the narrative of Joseph's sale. He was sold by his brethren to *a travelling company of Ishmaelites from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.*[5] The three items mentioned—gum tragacanth, mastic, and ladanum—were employed in medical preparations, and formed some of the ingredients used in incense for religious worship in Egypt, and for embalming purposes.[6]

We learn from papyri and other sources that Syrian slaves were highly prized in Egypt. " Kan'amu " or " Canaanites " was even a synonym for slaves.[7] The name of *Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard,*[8] to whom Joseph was sold, is an abbreviated form of the Egyptian Potipherah, " the gift of Ra," the Sun-god.[9] It has been urged that the name does not become common until the time of the XXIInd Dynasty, and that, therefore, the late date of the narrative is attested. But not only is the *argumentum e silentio* always a precarious one, but Lieblein has actually shown that names like " Potiphar," " Poti-pherah," " Asenath," " Zaphenath-Paneah," etc., indicate the Hyksos period, and not that of the much later dynasties.[10] He asserts that " Potiphar " is a composite hybrid word compounded from the Egyptian *Pt* and *bar*, a name of the Semitic Baal, and he avers that Potiphar himself was an Egyptianized Semite. His wife's name, Zuleikha, is non-Egyptian, probably Semitic. Similarly, Tomkins[11] has pointed out that the name " Potiphar " is made up of " Pa-du-pa-Ra," and is found as " Pa-thu-Ba'al " on a stele of the time of Thothmes III. The person indicated by the name must, therefore, have lived in the age of the Hyksos, and been of Semitic descent.

That Potiphar should be a *eunuch* (A.V. and R.V. " officer ") and yet be married, is a feature not unknown in the East. Eunuchs are represented on the tombs,[12] but it is possible that *saris* is used in a general sense for " officer." [13] What the exact office is, comprehended under the

[1] " The same word in effect in Egyptian, as a verb signifying to *divide* in two parts, is seen in the Coptic *pôsh*, meaning 'division.' It is thus *patch-work.*" (Tomkins, *op. cit*, p. 31.) [2] Gen. 37.[5 11] [3] Compare the dreams of Thothmes IV regarding the Sphinx (p. 163): that of Nut-Amen of Ethiopia, by which he was summoned to invade Egypt (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, p. 265), and what has already been said regarding the " Bethels " at Sinai (p. 59). [4] Gen. 37.[7] [5] Gen. 37.[25] [6] Ebers, *Ægypt. u. die Büch. Moses*, 1868, p. 289. [7] Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 75. [8] Gen. 37.[36] [9] Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 23. [10] *P.S.B.A.*, xx. (1898), p. 202. [11] *Life and Times of Joseph*, p. 184. [12] Ebers, *op. cit.*, p. 298. [13] The chief butler and the chief baker are both described by the same name (Gen. 40[2 7]), and it is rather unlikely that all these high officials

title "*captain of the guard*," [1] is difficult to realize. It might be translated "chief of the slaughterers" (not "executioners") or "cooks," for the Royal Cook was a person of no little importance at the Court of the Pharaohs.[2]

When we read that Potiphar made Joseph *overseer over his house*,[3] it is a statement quite in accordance with what the monuments reveal, for the *merper* or "superintendent of the house" is frequently mentioned in connection with the large establishments of wealthy Egyptians.[4] And the further statement that *he left all that he had in Joseph's hand: he knew not aught that was with him, save the bread which he did eat* [5] is entirely in harmony with the scruples which Egyptians had against partaking of food that had been prepared by foreigners. It shows how thoroughly Egyptianized these Semitic Hyksos Kings and their Courts had become by the time of the XVIth Dynasty.

The story of the attempt on Joseph's virtue made by Potiphar's wife [6] finds a curious parallel in the well-known *Tale of the Two Brothers*, but the latter romance is of late date, having been written for Seti II of the XIXth Dynasty.[7] By Egyptian law it was not permissible for the husband to put Joseph to death for the offence of which he was charged.[8] Joseph's master, therefore, *took him and put him into the prison, the place where the King's prisoners were bound*.[9] The word for prison—*sohar*— is very peculiar. Literally it means "house of roundness," [10] and suggests a circular tower used as a state-prison.[11] The state-prison at Thebes where Thothmes III confined his Syrian captives was known as *Suhan*,[12] and it is possible that the former name is a Semitic phrasing of the Egyptian term.

The offices filled by *the chief of the butlers* [13] and *the chief of the bakers* [14] are well represented on the Egyptian monuments. Lists of officials at the Court embrace personages who exactly fulfilled the offices mentioned in Genesis.[15] Bread-making in all its stages is portrayed on the walls of tombs.[16] Even what the butler said, *I took the grapes and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand*,[17] is illustrated by Ebers [18] from a text published by Naville from the temple at Edfu, where it is said that grapes squeezed into water formed a refreshing beverage which was drunk by the King.[19] Representations of bakers carrying *baskets of white bread* [20] on the head, containing *all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh* [21] have also been found,[22] and it would seem that at the Court there was not only a department for the baking of ordinary bread,

would be literally eunuchs. (But see Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvi. 8, 17.) The LXX has σπάδων in 37,[36] and εὐνοῦχος in 39.[1] Modern instances in Turkish lands show that eunuchs have been married, and have kept harems (Burckhardt *Arabia*, i. 290).

[1] שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים [2] The Hebrew name for "captain of the guard" is the same "chief slaughterer." It was a title in use in Jewish Court circles, and in that of Babylon: *cf.* 2 Ki. 25,[8] Jer. 39,[9] 41,[10] 43,[6] 52,[12] Dan. 2.[14] The Royal Butchers became the Royal Bodyguard. See Robertson Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*,[2] p. 262. [3] Gen. 39.[4] [4] Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 187. [5] Gen. 39.[6] [6] Gen. 39[7.20]. [7] See p. 251. [8] Diodorus, i. 77. [9] Gen. 39.[20] [10] The only other place in the Bible where the word is employed (besides Gen. 40[3 5]) is Cant. 7[3], where it signifies "roundness." [11] Ebers, (*Ægypten, etc.*, p. 317) identifies this fortress with that at Memphis mentioned in inscriptions as "The White Wall." [12] W. Max. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 268: Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 271, n. 5. [13] Herodotus (ii. 77) states that the vine did not exist in ancient Egypt; but this has long been proved to be entirely erroneous. See Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ii. 143. [14] Gen. 40.[2] [15] Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptol.*, ser. 3, p. 131, and Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1918, p. 139. [16] Wilkinson (ed. 1878), ii. 34. [17] Gen. 40.[11] [18] *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (1872), p. 480. [19] Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 772. [20] Gen. 40.[16] [21] Gen. 40.[17] [22] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 314.

but a special superintendent of the bakers of "fancy' bread.[1] The punishment of death by hanging, and the doom *the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee*,[2] constituted the most dreadful thought to an Egyptian, inasmuch as not to be embalmed deprived him of the hope of personal immortality in the next world. *Pharaoh's birthday* [3] was made a great deal of in ancient Egypt: the day was observed as a festival, no business was transacted upon it, and in later times prisoners were amnestied.[4]

The subject matter of Pharaoh's dreams was thoroughly Egyptian. The Nile is described as *the river—Yeôr* [5]—the correct term: and as Egypt owed her existence and her fertility to the life-giving waters of the river, abundance was appropriately typified under the aspect of *seven kine well favoured and fat-fleshed*, which *fed in the reed grass*.[6] Egyptian texts call the Nile a milch-cow, and compare its waters to milk. The cow-headed goddess, Hat-hor, the personification of fruitfulness, is stated in inscriptions "to cause the Nile to overflow at its due season," and "to pour forth fertility upon the land." The seven cows were the "seven Hat-hors," the seven forms under which the goddess was worshipped in the great sanctuaries of the country.[7] The *reed-grass* (A.V. "meadow") is the technical Egyptian word, *akhu*, meaning "river-grass." [8] The *east wind* (really south-east) which *blasted the seven ears of corn* [9] is well known still (the *khamsin*) as a destructive agency in the Nile Valley. It works great havoc among the crops of the fellahin, who say that it rots the grain before it is ripe. It makes vegetables seem frostbitten.

Egypt was the home of magic, and the *magicians* (*khartummim* [10]) and *the wise men* [11] whom Pharaoh summoned to give him the interpretation of his dreams, appear frequently in Egyptian texts. They correspond to the Egyptian *Rekh-Khetu*, "knowers of things," which the Rosetta stone translates ἱερογραμματεῖς, "sacred scribes." [12] That Joseph should *shave himself and change his raiment* [13] before he came in to Pharaoh was strictly in accordance with Egyptian etiquette.[14] All Egyptians of any social standing shaved. It was only foreigners, especially Canaanites, with their pointed beards, and natives of lower social grade, who abstained from the use of the razor on head and face, as the monuments faithfully testify.[15] Once again, the frequent reference made by Joseph to God,[16] and the corresponding statement of Pharaoh, *Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?* [17] are in harmony with Egyptian beliefs whereby it was held that the soul of the gods could animate mortals, and make them the media of a divine revelation.

Joseph's proposal that the King should *take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years* [18] agrees with the recognized Egyptian

[1] Rosellini, *Monum. Storici*, ii. 264. [2] Gen. 40.[19] [3] Gen. 40.[20] [4] Ebers, *Ægypt.*, p. 334: Wilkinson, iii. 368: especially see instances in time of Rameses II, and in the Ptolemaic period. [5] Gen. 41.[1] [6] Gen. 41.[2 18] [7] The 'Seven Hat-hors" are frequently mentioned: *cf.* Petrie, *Tale of Two Brothers*, p. 51: Ebers, *Ægypten*, p. 359. In chap. 148 of the *Book of the Dead*, reference is made to the Seven Sacred Cows with their Bull, who provide food and drink for the dead (Budge's Transl. (1898), p. 261). See also Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 433. [8] Driver, *l.c.*, p. 773: Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 172: see Job 8,[11] where the same word occurs. [9] Gen. 41.[6] [10] On the etymology of this word, see Boissier, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), p. 189. [11] Gen. 41,[8] *cf.* Ex. 7,[11 22] 8,[7 18 19] 9.[11] Dan. 1,[20] 2,[2 10 27] 4,[7 9] 5.[11] See Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874, chap. ii., p. 63 f. [12] Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 172. [13] Gen. 41.[14] [14] That there is no mention of any interpreter between Joseph and Pharaoh is an evidence that both spoke in the Semitic language, and that the Pharaoh was one of the Hyksos. That the susceptibilities of the native Egyptians, however, must be respected is proved from the fact that they are stated to have hated all shepherds (Gen. 46 [34]). [15] Wilkinson, ii. 330, etc. [16] Gen. 41.[16 25 28 32] [17] Gen. 41.[38] [18] Gen. 41.[34]

policy of storing up grain in State granaries. Each chief city had its Royal Granaries, where corn was preserved for State purposes, and the "superintendent of the granaries" [1] was one of the great officials of the Kingdom.[2] When *Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt,*[3] he spoke as one of the later sovereigns of the XVIth Dynasty, who by that time had established their authority as far as the borders of Nubia. The earlier Hyksos Kings had ruled, as we have seen, merely in the Delta. But *all the land of Egypt* was the territory over which at this time Apepi III was monarch, until the Theban insurrection broke out a little later.[4]

The *signet-ring*[5] which Pharaoh took off his own finger and placed on Joseph's hand was a thoroughly Egyptian mark of favour, for the "keeper of the seal" (*mer chetam*) was practically a viceroy.[6] A stele of the XIth Dynasty describes in graphic terms the plenary powers of such a functionary.[7] The *vestures of fine linen*[8] with which Joseph was arrayed remind us of how Sinuhit, on his return from Canaan to the Court of Egypt, had garments of fine linen given him as a mark of Royal favour.[9] It is possible that the linen, so greatly prized in Egypt, may have included the Royal apron worn under the Old Kingdom only by royalties, but under the Hyksos regime by others as well.[10] The *gold chain about his neck*[11] was distinctively an Egyptian mark of honour:[12] it was called "receiving gold." Aahmes, who a little later was associated with the expulsion of the Hyksos, "received gold" on seven different occasions for various deeds of valour while he was captain-general of the marines.[13] That Joseph should have been made *to ride in the second chariot*[14] is in strict accordance with the fact which has already been pointed out that it was only under the Hyksos Kings that horses were introduced into Egypt. Till then the monarchs had been carried in litters or palanquins.[15]

The word *Abrech,* which has been translated *Bow the knee!* is still of uncertain etymology. Sayce[16] explains it as of Sumerian origin, inasmuch as *abrik* signifies a "seer." He states that the Semitic Babylonians borrowed the term under the form *abriqqu,* and the cry, therefore, of *"A Seer! A Seer!"* with which Joseph was greeted as he rode forth, he explains by the supposition that Egypt derived her primitive customs from Chaldæan sources.[17] Delitzsch, Schrader, Halévy, and others, all give a different etymology.[18] Amid the multiplicity of attempted explanations, it may not be amiss to remember that a word of similar sound is still used by the Arabs in Egypt in making their camels kneel down.[19] But Renouf's

[1] He was practically the Finance Minister of the day. He had to present to the King each year "an account of the harvests of the South and the North." The monuments represent to us the offices and the weighing rooms for the grain, secretaries and clerks recording each sack as it was weighed (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt,* pp. 95, 433). [2] It is possible that the phrase in v.[40] *According unto thy word shall all my people be ruled,* וְעַל פִּיךָ יִשַּׁק כָּל עַמִּי may be translated, *upon thy mouth every one of my people shall kiss,* with reference not to the actual mouth of the Vizier, but to his word as written out on a *firman* which (as still in the East) it was the custom to give to be kissed. [3] Gen. 41.[41 43 44] [4] Even the Sallier Papyrus, which was written by an Egyptian who hated the Hyksos rule, acknowledges that Apepi III had tribute paid to him from the whole country. This evidence of an enemy is noteworthy as to the strength and the wide dominion of the later Hyksos sovereigns. [5] Gen. 41.[42] [6] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt,* p. 321: Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt,* ii. 90. [7] Sayce, *Expos. Times,* x. 172. [8] Gen. 41.[42] [9] See p. 79. [10] Erman, *op. cit.,* pp. 62, 206. [11] Gen. 41.[42] [12] But see Driver, *l.c.* 775b n.* [13] Driver, *l.c.,* Lepsius, *Denkmäler,* iii., pl. 11. [14] Gen. 41.[43] [15] Erman, *op. cit.,* p. 65. [16] *l.c.,* p. 172: *Egypt of the Hebrews,* p. 33: *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), p. 183. [17] See p. 31. [18] Prof. Ira M. Price (Hastings' *D.B.,* i. 18, art. ABRECH) gives an exhaustive list of all the suggested etymologies. [19] Stanley Leathes in Kitto, *Cyclop. o Biblical Liter.,* art. EGYPT: Wilkinson, ii. 24.

translation, *We are at thy service!* is also deserving of favourable consideration.[1] The suddenness of Joseph's elevation from the dungeon to the vice-royalty is paralleled by similar instances in Egyptian history of Syrian slaves rising to positions of great honour and high rank.[2]

When a low-born person was thus dignified, it was customary that a new name should either be assumed or bestowed. In accordance with this rule, *Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphenathpaneah.*[3] There is little doubt that the name is a purely Egyptian one. According to Professor Krall, it means "Menthu speaks and he lives"[4]; according to Professor Steindorff, "the god speaks and he lives"; according to Mahler, "the feeder of the land who gives life."[5] Professor Sayce, however, translates it "nourisher of the Pharaoh," under the belief that the word is compounded of *Zaf-nti-pa-ankh*, the last word meaning "the life" or "the living one," *i.e.*, Pharaoh.[6] Professor Naville,[7] again, thinks these meanings singularly inept and inappropriate to the occasion. He believes that Erman[8] was on the right track in translating it "a member of the College of Hierogrammatists." But he rather favours the rendering "Head of the College of Learning" at Heliopolis.[9]

The fact that Pharaoh *gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Poti-phera, priest of On,*[10] linked Joseph to the high priest of the national faith, for the chief hierophant of Ra at Heliopolis was at the head of Egyptian religious worship, and was of royal blood.[11] He bore the titles of "the Far-Seeing," "He who sees the secret of heaven," and "the Chief of the secrets of heaven."[12] The name Asenath means "attached to (or favourite of the goddess) Neith." This Saite deity is found much earlier than the Hyksos period in the name Nitocris, borne by the ill-fated Queen in the VIth Dynasty.[13] Asenath is not, therefore, merely a late invention of the XXVIth (Saite) Dynasty, as has been supposed, but suitably occurs in a narrative of the XVIth Dynasty.[14]

It is a matter of no small interest to find a *famine* referred to on monuments of this very period. Beby, an official under Sequenen-Ra III

[1] *P.S.B.A.*, 1888, pp. 5–10: so also Brugsch, *Steininschrift*, p. 83. [2] The instances given by Driver are those of Meri-Ra, the armour-bearer of Thothmes III, and the priest User-Min, who were sons of a foreigner, the judge Pa-'Emer-'eu (the Amorite): and under Merenptah, that of Ben-Mat-ana, a Canaanite, son of Jupa'a, who held the office of "first speaker of His Majesty," *i.e.* one who acted as an intermediary between the King and his attendants. He received the name of Ramses-em-per-Ra="Rameses in the temple of Ra" (*l.c.* 773). [3] Gen. 41.[45] [4] *Cf.* Griffith in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 963. So also Spiegelberg (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlii. 84), who quotes occurrences of "the god" in Egyptian proper names, and translates Zaphenath-paneah, as "the god spake and he liveth." [5] *Zeit. Deut. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxi. 625. [6] *Expos. Times*, x. 173. [7] *P.S.B.A.*, xxv. (1903), p. 157, xxxii. (1910), p. 203. [8] *Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1883, p. 59. [9] See also Scott Moncrieff, *P.S.B.A.*, xxix. (1907), p. 88. [10] Gen. 41.[45] [11] Joseph must thus have frequently seen the two great obelisks of Senusert II, one of which is still standing, and is a favourite object of pilgrimage on the part of tourists from Cairo. [12] Sayce, *ib.*, p. 173. [13] See p. 68. [14] Naville (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. (1910) 207) brushes aside the argument based on the alleged lateness of these names, and asserts that Poti-phera is *P. hotep Ra*, the name of the high priest of On whose beautiful statue has been found at Meydum, and which belongs to the IIIrd or IVth Dynasty. In the early Christian centuries a most romantic novel came to be written, entitled *The Book of the Confession of Asenath.* It told how the proud beauty of On scorned marriage with Joseph when it was first proposed, but afterwards fell in love with him when he arrived at Heliopolis on business. Joseph would not marry her until she renounced idolatry, and there is a vivid description given of how her conversion was brought about. The original legend seems to have made out Asenath to have been the daughter of Dinah and Shechem, thus getting over the slur on Joseph's character of his having married a heathen wife. The romance had an immense popularity in the Middle Ages (see Latin transl. of Syriac by Oppenheim, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ*, 1886: Hort in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i. 176: James in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 162).

of Thebes, of whom mention will soon be made as having fought to the death with Apepi III,[1] records in his tomb at El Kab in Upper Egypt these events,[2] "I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest-god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. And now, when a famine arose, lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of famine."[3] Regarding the question whether this refers to the famine of Joseph's time, it may be sufficient to quote Kittel's[4] verdict: "We do not hesitate to admit that the coincidence of the time of the famine with the conjectural date of Joseph, together with the extraordinary infrequency of great famines in Egypt, seems to us to be of real weight in favour of the identification of the two famines, and consequently in support of the history of Joseph generally." Earlier famines are recorded under Tcheser of the IIIrd Dynasty already referred to,[5] and under Senusert II of the XIIth Dynasty.[6] The statement that *there was famine in all lands*[7] has occasioned some difficulty. Canaan was not "the gift of the Nile" as was Egypt. In Palestine, plenty or dearth depended on no single river, but on the amount of general rainfall. It is possible that the same climatic influences may have been at work in both countries, affecting each in different ways, but with the similar result of a bad harvest in both. Yet it is equally likely that just as Canaan in a "short year" was normally supplied with corn from Egypt, now that Egypt was hoarding her supplies, the inhabitants of Palestine and neighbouring territories experienced the sore results of the stoppage of the corn trade.

The word (שַׁלִּיט) used to describe Joseph as the *governor over the and*,[8] is Aramaic and Assyrian rather than Hebrew, but at the same time it suggests the name of Salatis,[9] the traditional first Hyksos King.[10] The lowly obeisance whereby *Joseph's brethren bowed down themselves to him with their faces to the earth*[11] was called by the Egyptians "smelling the earth," and the practice was obligatory for all inferiors when approaching any high official. The charge *Ye are spies*[12] was a very natural one. It was always from the direction of Canaan that Egypt looked for invasion; and the Egyptianized Hyksos, who had themselves entered Egypt from that quarter, might well dread a second irruption of Semites from the wilds of the Palestinian Negeb or the Sinaitic Tîh. Under the XIIth Dynasty, as we have seen,[13] the "Shur" or border line of fortresses was erected to guard the Delta from attack in this quarter. The expression of the reply, *We are true men*,[14] reminds us of the constant asseveration used some centuries later in the Tell el-Amarna tablets by the Canaanite dynasts, "I am thy faithful servant,"[15] whereby they sought to assure their overlord, the King of Egypt, of their loyalty. May it not be that the Hebrews even identified their very word for "life" (חַי) with the Egyptian *ka*, for when Joseph said to his brethren, *Your words shall be proved, whether there be truth in you, or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies*,[16] he meant to say, and as a feigned Egyptian did say, "by the *ka* of Pharaoh"? As the *ka* was the veritable vital principle, the immortal part of the being of a man, it

[1] See p. 124. [2] Villiers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings*, p. 237. [3] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*,[2] i. 304. [4] *Hist. of the Hebrews*, i. 190. [5] See p. 44. [6] There is also a well-attested instance of a seven years' famine in A.D. 1064–1071, as recorded by the Arab historian, El Makrizi, described in Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. FAMINE. Another, in the 12th Christian century, is narrated by Abd-àl-Latif, *Relation de l'Égypte*, ii., ch. 2: the horrors of which are given by Miss Martineau, *Eastern Travels*, ch. xx., and Stanley, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, i. 70. [7] Gen. 41.[54] [8] Gen. 42.[6] [9] See p. 100. [10] Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 418. [11] Gen. 42.[6] [12] Gen. 42.[9] [13] See p. 77. [14] Gen. 42.[11] [15] See p. 217. [16] Gen. 42.[15 16]

was the most solemn oath by which Joseph could have sworn. Spoken lightly it was punishable with death, for the *ka* was that divine life of the King which was the gift of Ra, the solar deity.[1]

The *interpreter*[2] between Joseph and his brethren was a recognized Egyptian institution. As commerce was zealously carried on, and as foreign embassies frequently arrived at the Royal Court, the office was one of high importance, and the official is shown on the monuments acting as an intermediary. The fact stated that Joseph's brethren *laded their asses with their corn*[3] has been seized on as an anachronism. It was long believed that asses were not introduced into Egypt till much later.[4] With this mention in the story of Joseph went also, of course, the authenticity of the fact averred regarding a previous Pharaoh that he had given *she-asses* to Abraham.[5] Wilkinson, however, has shown [6] the frequency with which the ass is represented on the monuments as an integral portion of domestic riches, some Egyptians possessing even 700 or 800 of these animals The famous Sheikh Abishua in the Beni-Hasan wall paintings is shown with his 37 companions accompanied by their asses: [7] while in 1913, Petrie discovered in the cemetery at Tarkan, 35 miles south of Cairo, in a pre-dynastic tomb, the skeletons of three asses. Their heads had been cut off and placed beside their bodies, the animals having been killed to accompany their masters to the other world. This proves what has hitherto been scouted—the existence of the ass in Egypt at the very earliest period. The *lodging-place*[8] where the men gave their asses provender on the way home was probably one of those afterwards fully equipped by Thothmes III so as to rob the desert journey of some of its terrors for wayfarers. The style of speech employed by the sons to their father, Jacob, *The man, the lord of the land*,[9] reminds us of the fact that an Egyptian called himself "man" (*romi*), while the people of Egypt styled themselves "men" (*romet*).[10]

The *steward of his house*,[11] who received orders from the vizier, stands in the same relation to Joseph as Joseph had once occupied towards Potiphar. The major-domo was a fixed institution in all Egyptian establishments of any size, and the extreme politeness of Joseph's brethren towards this functionary whereby they said *Oh my lord*,[12] reveals the importance of the post. The statement *They set on for Joseph by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians which did eat with him by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews: for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians*,[13] is strictly in accordance with well-known Egyptian etiquette, which forbade well-bred persons from thus mixing with "unclean" foreigners.[14] "Five" was a favourite number with the Egyptians, and the fact that *Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of them* [15] is paralleled by corresponding statements, *Let Pharaoh take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt*; [16] *to Benjamin he gave five changes of raiment*;[17] *from his brethren he took five men, and presented them unto Pharaoh*; [18] *ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh*; [19] *in that day*

[1] Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Pharaoh, Fellahs and Explorers* (1892), p. 131. [2] Gen. 42.[23] Similarly Tushratta, King of Mitanni, speaks in the Tell el-Amarna letters of the *turgumannu* = dragoman or interpreter. See also A. H. Gardiner, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxix. (1917), 133. [3] Gen. 42,[26] 45.[23] [4] Bohlen, *Introd. to Genesis*, 1835, *in loco*. [5] Gen. 12.[16] [6] *Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 34. [7] See p. 81. [8] Gen. 42.[27] [9] Gen. 42,[30] 43.[3 6 14] [10] Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 418. [11] Gen. 43,[16] cp. 39.[4] [12] Gen. 43.[20] [13] Gen. 43.[32] [14] Herodotus says (ii. 41) that because of their veneration for the cow (an animal sacred to Isis), the Egyptians would not use the knife or cooking utensil of a Greek, as it might have been employed in preparing the flesh of a cow as food. [15] Gen. 43.[34] [16] Gen. 41.[34] [17] Gen. 45.[22] [18] Gen. 47.[2] [19] Gen. 47.[24]

there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan.[1]

The *cup, the silver cup* (Egyptian *yenra*) *in which my lord drinketh and whereby he indeed divineth*[2] is a familiar feature in Egyptian divination. Kulicomancy is not infrequently referred to as part of the recognized ritual for obtaining horoscopes of the future.[3] It was specially associated with the cult of Anubis, the god being invoked by means of a vase full of liquid or a flame.[4] Jewish methods of reading the future were similar. A cup was filled with water or wine: the beholder gazed intently on the surface till all sorts of images were seen.[5] Joseph's words, *Know ye not that such a man as I can indeed divine?*[6] remind us of many similar expressions in Egyptian novels, where marvellous deeds of magic are described as having been wrought for the purpose of detecting secret criminals.

When Joseph used the expression, *God hath made me a father* (*ab*) *to Pharaoh, and lord* (*'adon*) *of all his house,*[7] he was merely employing ordinary official titles.[8] The *wagons*[9] which Joseph sent for his father were new institutions in Egypt. They came in with the Hyksos and their horses. The name of the vehicle—*agolt*[10]—is Semitic, being borrowed from Canaan, the original home of this new mode of travel. The date of this descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, according to the Biblical chronology, must be B.C. 1875.[11]

As the Hyksos monarchs, as a rule, resided at Avaris or at Tanis,[12] it was probably from one or other of these towns that *Joseph made ready his chariot and went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen.*[13] The LXX says that he met him "at the City of Heroes," that is, Heroöpolis.[14] The advice which he gave to his brethren as to what they should say to the King was eminently wise, *When Pharaoh shall call you and shall say "What is your occupation?" ye shall say "Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen." For every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.*[15] It was a measure of precaution, lest the prejudices of the native Egyptians should be shocked; for while the Hyksos themselves had originally been shepherds, they had by this time become so Egyptianized that the native Egyptian antipathy to keepers of herds of cattle had been taken over by them. Cowherds and swineherds were scorned by the proud Nile dwellers,[16] for while cows were venerated, and much attention was paid to cattle-rearing, those who personally attended to animals of this sort were regarded with aversion. Living in reed huts in the swamps they were styled "marshmen," and on the monuments they are depicted as dirty and unshaven, with tattered garments, and even as dwarfs and deformed.[17]

[1] Isa. 19.[18] [2] Gen. 44.[2, 5] [3] Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxiii. 46: Plutarch, *de Iside*, lxi., lxiv.: Horapollo, i. 39: Iamblichus, *de mysteriis*, iii. 14. [4] See Foucart in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, iv. 792. [5] Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 814, art. DIVINATION (JEWISH). [6] Gen. 44.[15] [7] Gen. 45.[8] [8] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt* (1891), pp. 101, 357: Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 774. [9] Gen. 45.[27] [10] עֲגָלָה [11] See Appendix, page 515. [12] Another proof that the arrival of Jacob in Egypt occurred during the time of the Hyksos kings is seen in the fact that both under the XIIth Dynasty (which preceded the Hyksos) and under the XVIIIth (which succeeded), the Court was resident at Thebes as a rule. Here the narrative presupposes that Joseph was residing at a Court not far from Goshen, where he could see his father and brethren frequently, and yet be in attendance on the King. Tanis answers the conditions exactly. [13] Gen. 46.[29] [14] The bearing of this on the question of the date of the Exodus will be discussed later. See page 138. [15] Gen. 46.[33, 34] [16] Herod. ii. 47. [17] Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 439: Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch* (1890), p. 371.

The herdsmen and shepherds of the eastern Delta were regarded as unclean Bedouins, and were looked upon as gipsies are with us. It was, therefore, a wise policy on Joseph's part to settle his brethren in Goshen, a district round about Saft-el-Henneh. Qesem or Qos (LXX, "Geshem") was the capital of the "Arabian Nome," so that Goshen embraced the territory in the Wady Tumilât, south of Tanis, along the line of the Freshwater Canal, bounded on the east by Tell el Maskhuta, the ancient Pithom, and on the west by Belbes and Zagazig.[1] Goshen was, therefore, a very convenient spot for the family of Israel to settle in. It was near the capital, Zoan or Tanis, where the Court resided; it was not occupied to any extent by the Egyptians themselves, and therefore, while on the one hand the Israelites did not offend Egyptian susceptibilities, on the other hand they were less exposed than in other parts of the Delta to the influences of Egyptian polytheistic idolatry. Goshen had been canalized, and to some extent cultivated by the later Kings of the XIIth Dynasty—Senusert III and Amenemhat III.[2]

It is striking to find, in later centuries, history exactly repeating the request made by Joseph's brethren to Pharaoh, *To sojourn in the land are we come: for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks: for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now, therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen.*[3] An inscription of Horemheb at the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty mentions how a group of "Mentiu" or "Shepherds" from Sinai and the Hauran, who had been expelled from their homes, came bowing before the Pharaoh, requesting him to grant them land in which to pasture their cattle, "as was the custom of the father of their fathers from the beginning," since "their lands hunger," and they had nothing to live on.[4] Similarly in Merenptah's reign (XIXth Dynasty) permission was granted to "Shashu" or Bedouin to enter Egypt and to settle in Goshen.[5] The mention of *Rameses* has been explained as a proleptic anachronism—*Joseph placed his father and his brethren . . . in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses* [6]—as implying that it was the land which later was associated with the name of the great despot of the XIXth Dynasty. But the inference is not warranted.[7]

The results of the great famine upon the system of land tenure in Egypt, as described in Genesis, are fully borne out by the monuments. *Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh: for the Egyptians sold every man his field . . . and the land became Pharaoh's.*[8] In the days of the Old Kingdom, the land had been owned by an aristocracy of feudal nobles, the governors of the nomes possessing large estates, and enjoying considerable independence. Under the Hyksos regime this system was overthrown. When the XVIIIth Dynasty comes on the scene, we find the nobles a negligible quantity, and the whole land absorbed in the person of the King who rules as autocrat. The feudal aristocracy is displaced by a crowd of royal officials. The successors of the Hyksos were absolute despots, ruling over a nation of slaves, unchecked save by the power of the priesthood, and by the slow and cumbrous working of the bureaucratic machine of Government.[9] For there was one important exception.

[1] For the limits and the characteristics of Goshen, see Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh* (1888), pp. 14–20: and Duncan, *The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament* (1908), ch. iv.–ix.: A. H. Gardiner, *Jo. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918), 218. [2] Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl. ii. 1, 12. [3] Gen. 47.[4] [4] Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 551: *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, 1889, p. 125: Tomkins, *op. cit.*, p. 81. [5] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ch. v. [6] Gen. 47.[11] [7] See further regarding this point, page 241. [8] Gen. 47.[20] [9] Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: wherefore they sold not their land.[1] This entirely agrees with what the monuments declare as to the special privileges of the priesthood. At a later age, Diodorus[2] stated that the land in Egypt belonged to the King, the priests, and the mercenary troops. The land other than that owned by the priests was rented from the Crown on a payment of 20 per cent. *It shall come to pass at the ingatherings that ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own*[3] . . . *and Joseph made it a statute concerning the land of Egypt unto this day that Pharaoh should have the fifth: only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's.*[4]

The prayer of the dying Jacob for his grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh, suggests Egyptian rather than Canaanite imagery. When he prayed, *Let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth,*[5] he compared the multiplication of his progeny, not to the stars of the Chaldæan heavens, nor to the sand of the Syrian shore, but to the countless *fish* swarming in the great Egyptian river.[6] Similarly in the blessing on Judah, when he said *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,*[7] it may be that the reference to the feet rather than to the hands is due to the fact that it was not a short ornamental sceptre that the Patriarch had in view, but a long staff reaching to the ground. The Egyptian hieroglyph for a "great man," a "chief," a "king" (*ura*) is a human figure holding a staff precisely in this way.[8]

Embalming was a practice so well established in Egypt,[9] that it is quite what we might expect when we are told that *Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel: and forty days were fulfilled for him, for so are fulfilled the days of embalming.*[10] Herodotus,[11] at a time when embalming had been much elaborated, says that the usual period was seventy days: Diodorus[12] gives thirty. Strictly speaking, they were not "physicians" who performed the task, but a special guild of workers[13] who were regarded by their neighbours as unclean. It is not said that the Israelites mourned for their father for any lengthy period, but *the Egyptians wept for him three score and ten days.*[14] Diodorus[15] remarks that the usual period for such mourning was seventy-two days.[16] That Joseph with all his Egyptian culture was at heart still a true Palestinian is evidenced by the fact that he did not personally approach the King during the period of mourning. *When the days of weeping for him were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying: "If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh*

[1] Gen. 47.[22] [2] Diod. i. 73 f.: Herodotus asserts that every priest and soldier in Egypt possessed 12 ἄρουραι, about 9 acres of land, free of taxes (ii. 168). See also Prášek, *Expos. Times*, xi. 208. [3] Gen. 47.[24] [4] Gen. 47.[26] [5] Gen. 48.[16] [6] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 72. The word "grow" is דְּגָה from דָּג a fish. [7] Gen. 49.[10] [8] Ball in *S.B.O.T., ad loc.* [9] See Professor Elliot Smith's (*Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i. Pt. iii. (1914), p. 191) article on Mummies, in which step by step he traces the art of embalming back as far as the IInd Dynasty. [10] Gen. 50.[2 3] [11] Herod. ii. 86–89. [12] Diod. i. 91. [13] παρασχευισταί, Egyptian *Khatfu*. The relationship between them and the ταριχευταί has been unravelled by Revillout, *Æg. Zeit.*, 1879–80. On the whole subject of embalming, see Pettigrew, *A. Hist. of Egyptian Mummies*, 1834: Wilkinson, iii. 470 f.: Comrie in *Edinb. Med. Journ.*, ii. (1909), p. 17: Macalister in *Journ. of Anthropol. Instit.*, xxiii., 1894, p. 115. Budge, *The Mummy* (1893), p. 160 f. An interesting treatise on *Preservative Materials used by the Ancient Egyptians in Embalming*, by A. Lucas, has been issued by the Ministry of Finance, Cairo, 1911. [14] Gen. 50.[3] [15] *Ib.* [16] A striking illustration of what an Egyptian mourning was like is given by Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 119, from a wall painting in an Egyptian tomb.

for me." In accordance with Canaanite custom, he had permitted his hair and beard to grow long in token of grief: by the etiquette of the Court, therefore, he was excluded from personally approaching Pharaoh.

The strange fact that *when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said "This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians," wherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is beyond Jordan,* has been a subject much discussed.[1] It is remarkable (if it be the case) that the funeral did not go straight to Hebron, either by the "Way of Shur" or by the "Way of the Philistines," but instead went round the southern end of the Dead Sea, up through Moab, down to the Jordan fords, and up again to the Hebron plateau. Dillmann[2] found the difficulty insuperable of unravelling the problem of the reason for this. Winckler[3] proposed to find the *Abel-mizraim* at the Nahal Mizraim, which he transliterated Nahal Muzri, the "river of Egypt," the present Wady el-Arîsh. Stanley's[4] picturesque explanation may need some correction, but is, nevertheless, interesting. "They came, not by the direct road which the Patriarchs had hitherto traversed on their way to Egypt by El-Arîsh, but round the long circuit by which Moses afterwards led their descendants, till they arrived on the banks of the Jordan. Further than this the Egyptian escort came not. But the valley of the Jordan resounded with the loud shrill lamentations peculiar to the ceremonial of mourning, and with the funeral games with which, then as now, the Arabs encircle the tomb of a departed chief. From this double tradition the spot was known in after times as "the 'meadow'[5] or the 'mourning' of the Egyptians," Abel-mizraim, and as Beth-hogla, "the house of the circling dance."[6] For all we know, there may have been political reasons making it prudent for the *very great company*[7] to adopt this circuitous route.[8]

It is of interest to note that the massive substructions of the Haram at Hebron may in all likelihood be attributed to Egyptian workmanship. It was not likely that a patriotic and wealthy governor like Joseph would leave uncared for and unprotected the sepulchre of his great ancestors, Abraham and Isaac, and his father, Jacob. Now that Canaan was no longer the home of the Israelites, there were no friendly hands to guard the sacred resting-place of the dead. What more probable than that Joseph would give orders that the cave-sepulchre should be enclosed and built over with strong, mastaba-like courses of masonry, to protect the mummy case of his father, and the revered dust of his ancestors? Anyone visiting the Haram to-day must note the difference between the lower masonry, so simple, massive, and colossal, and that of the upper works, so comparatively insignificant, erected by the hands of monks and Moslems. In these solid and substantial blocks of stone, so monumentally fitted together, we recognize the same expert craftsmanship as is revealed in the vast Egyptian pyramids and other Nilotic structures seemingly built for

[1] See Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. xlii. f. [2] *Die Genesis*, p. 470. [3] *Altorient. Forschungen* (1893), p. 36. [4] *Jewish Church*, i. 65. [5] There is a play on the words אָבֵל (meadow) and אֵבֶל (mourning). [6] Conder explains the word rather to mean the "place of the partridge" (in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 280), now Ain Hajlah, S.E. of Jericho. The place was identified with Abel-mizraim by Jerome. [7] Gen. 50.[9] [8] *Cf.* what is said regarding the funeral of Jacob's sons later on p. 121. If Jacob's mummy case was deposited in the Cave of Machpelah, it may be still there. In the "Diary of David, the Reubenite" (Neubauer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1895, ii.) the mediæval traveller (A.D. 1523) states that he saw inside the cave likenesses of the patriarchs and of their wives. This may be a reminiscence of the fact that on the outside of Jacob's mummy case his portrait may perhaps have been painted. What may we not discover when access is at last obtained to the *penetralia* of that wonderful cave!

eternity. The tomb of the ancestors of the Hebrew race is protected from violation by the splendid architecture of Egyptian workmen.[1]

It is remarkable that Joseph attained to the age which Egyptian sentiment regarded as the ideal term of years for a man's life on earth. *Joseph lived an hundred and ten years.*[2] It is the age which suppliants desired from the gods. The *Instruction of Ptah-hotep*, which we have already considered as a specimen of early Egyptian *hochma* literature, ends with these words: "If now thou attain my position, thy body shall flourish, the King shall be content in all that thou doest, and thou shalt gather years of life not fewer than I have passed upon earth. I have gathered even five-score and ten years of life . . . this because I wrought truth and justice for the King unto mine old age." [3] Similarly, another early Papyrus[4] says: "Fulfil 110 years on the earth, whilst thy limbs are vigorous." A granite statue at Vienna preserves a prayer to Isis to grant health and felicity for 110 years.[5] Once again, the statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapi, the seer and grand vizier in the reign of Amenhotep II, which was discovered at Karnak in 1901 by Legrain, bears an inscription expressing the hope that the old man, then eighty years of age, may live to be 110.[6] Like his father, at Joseph's death, *they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.*[7] The word for "coffin" [8] signifies a mummy-case, or sarcophagus, so familiar a feature in Egyptian funerals.[9]

Such are some of the striking touches of graphic verisimilitude in the story of Apepi III, and in that of his vizier, Joseph, regarding whom a late Hebrew psalmist sang:—[10]

The King sent and loosed him:
Even the ruler of peoples, and let him go free.
He made him lord of his house,
And ruler of all his substance.

The Hyksos monarchs seem to have had at least three capitals, Memphis, Bubastis,[11] and Tanis or Zoan.[12] In Tanis, Petrie discovered a remarkable series of Hyksos sphinxes which are now in the British Museum. They are of black granite, with flat, massive faces, short whiskers and beard, shaven lips, and hair in a mat of short locks descending over the whole chest.[13] The inscriptions are always in a line down the right shoulder, never on the left, the Semitic custom being to honour the right side more than the left.[14] This tendency is seen perpetuated in the Semitic ritual of the Tabernacle of later days in which the right shoulder always enjoys

[1] See Ritter, *Comp. Geog. of Pal.*, iii. 308. [2] Gen. 50.[22] [3] Edit. Battiscombe Gunn (1912), § 44. [4] *Papyrus Anast.*, iv. 4. [5] Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 775. [6] Sayce, *P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), p. 86: see further on this point Jacoby, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxiv. 9. [7] Gen. 50.[26] [8] אָרוֹן [9] Al Beidâwi, a Muhammadan author, records a legend that there arose such disputes among the Egyptians regarding the burial of Joseph that they were like to come to blows. At length they put his body into a marble coffin, and sank it in the Nile, to induce good harvests, and to ensure a plentiful "flood." Moses at the Exodus took up the coffin again, and carried the bones of Joseph into Canaan, where they were buried (Sale's *Koran*, p. 180 n.). [10] Psa. 105.[16 22] [11] Naville (*Bubastis* (1887–89), p. 22) says that Bubastis was one of the chief residences of the Hyksos Kings, equal to Tanis, their capital. Joseph must frequently have been at Bubastis, as it lay at the entrance to the land of Goshen. [12] Where the A.V. in Psa. 78 [12] reads *in the field of Zoan*, the LXX reads ἐν πεδίῳ Τάνεως. [13] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 11. [14] Thus, Apepi II inscribed his name and titles on the *right* shoulder of two black granite statues Mermasha u, already placed in the temple.

greater prominence and distinction.[1] But the fact that the Hyksos sphinxes are all of black or dark grey granite, brought either from the Wady Hammâmât, or more probably from far-off Sinai, is an evidence of the divided state of the country. The red granite quarries in the neighbourhood of Assuan, which had contributed their massive blocks to so many temples in Lower Egypt in the days of the previous dynasties, were now in the hands of the Theban rebels, who were gathering their forces for a great attempt to sweep Egypt clear of the "filthy Shasu foreigners." The red granite was consequently unobtainable.

An interesting reminiscence of the residence in the neighbourhood of Tanis of the Hyksos Kings is seen in the physiognomy of the present dwellers in the modern village San, the Biblical Zoan. The inhabitants are in feature quite distinct from the rest of the Nile peoples. They style themselves *Melakiyin*, that is Melekites or Royalists, an early Christian sect. But in ancient times they were known under the name of "*Pi-shemer*," corrupted to "Bashmurites," and also by the title *Pi-amu*, corrupted to Biamites. Pi-amu is just the familiar "Amu," the name under which the Hyksos "shepherds" went when they first invaded Egypt.[2]

It was during the reign of this Apepi III, the Pharaoh of Joseph's time, that the final revolt of the South broke out. The Theban princes, who constitute Manetho's XVIIth Dynasty, raised the standard of rebellion against the hated Hyksos, and the long War of Expulsion began. The story of the origin of the quarrel is described in an historical romance of the XIXth Dynasty, given in the First Sallier Papyrus.[3] Though details have been worked up, the body of it is doubtless based on facts handed down by tradition. It will be referred to more particularly in the next chapter when the XVIIth Dynasty is dealt with.[4]

After Apepi III there seems to have reigned another famous Hyksos monarch named NUBTI, who is immortalized on the celebrated "Stele of Four Hundred Years." This granite slab was discovered at Tanis by Mariette in 1865, and after its exquisitely engraved inscription had been read, it was again buried, for security, in the sand. But the burial has been so effective that subsequent digging has never revealed its hiding-place. Yet the stele evidences that Nubti established what came to be regarded as a new era in the Egyptian calendar, like the era of Nabonassar or that of Seleucus.[5] The monument, which professes to have been erected at the command of Rameses II, is not dated by any year in the long career of that XIXth Dynasty monarch; it states, on the contrary, that it was set up in the 400th year of the Hyksos King, Nubti. The Semitic people who inhabited Tanis seemingly discarded the old methods of computing the passage of time, and their new era survived for centuries later.

Manetho's statement that the XVIth Dynasty consisted of thirty-two "Hellenic" Kings has been much criticized and misunderstood. His

[1] The following instances may suffice, Ex. 29,[22] *Thou shalt take of the ram the* RIGHT *shoulder . . for consecration*: Lev. 7,[32] *The* RIGHT *shoulder shall ye give unto the priest for an heave-offering*: Lev. 7,[33] *He among the sons of Aaron that offereth the blood of the peace-offering, and the fat shall have the* RIGHT *shoulder for his part*: Lev. 8,[25 26] Aaron and his sons were consecrated *upon the* RIGHT *shoulder*: Lev. 9,[21] *The* RIGHT *shoulder Aaron waved for a wave-offering*: Numb. 18,[18] To Aaron it was said *The wave breast and the* RIGHT *shoulder are thine*. The persistency of Semitic practice is thus testified to. [2] Duncan, *The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament*, p. 78. [3] *T.S.B.A.*, iv. 263: Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 238. [4] See p. 124. [5] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 214: de Rougé *Rev. Archéolog.* ix (1864): Mariette, *ib.*, xi. 169

veracity, however, has now been established by Petrie.[1] Petrie has shown that in the troublous times which succeeded the fall of the XIIth Dynasty, the Semites who poured down into Egypt from Syria, and who constituted the XVth Dynasty, might suitably be called "Phœnicians." But while the "Phœnicians" subdued Egypt, their rear was cut off by the rise of Assyria in the upper regions of their old homeland. Yet, they still retained command of the sea: and six of the Kings of the XVIth Dynasty applied to themselves the title of "Sea-Kings." What they specially prized in their naval supremacy was the possession of Cyprus with its unfailing supplies of copper. As rulers of Cyprus, they would be styled *Ha-nebu* or "Lords of the North." The term survived till much later times. We find *Ha-nebu* used in the days of the Ptolemies as an equivalent for "Hellene," the Cypriotes being to Egyptian view the nearest representatives of the actual Hellas. So that when Manetho in the Ptolemaic age wrote of the thirty-two "Hellenic" Kings, he was entirely accurate.

The XVIth Dynasty in its closing days was in death-grips with the Theban princes of the XVIIth Dynasty. Fierce, long and bloody was the struggle, but finally the native Egyptians triumphed, and the loathed "shepherds" were expelled from the soil of the Nile Valley. It may be that to the early stages of this protracted war we must refer (if there be any truth at all in the tradition) the legends regarding the burials of the patriarchs at Hebron, recorded in the *Book of Jubilees*. This work, compiled by a Pharisee somewhere between B.C. 135–105, is a midrashic expansion of the early narratives of the Pentateuch in the interests of orthodox Judaism.[2] In the process of re-editing his material, the author has incorporated a great mass of traditional lore, which had been orally transmitted from previous generations. What stress ought to be laid upon such traditions will always be a matter of varying opinion, but the legends in some cases seem to embody ancient details which had flourished alongside of the written story, and which were originally based on fact. Now, it is curious that in describing the decease of the sons of Jacob, the *Book of Jubilees* mentions that when Joseph died, "he made his brethren swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mâkamârôn, King of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the King of Egypt, and slew him there, and pursued after the Egyptians to the gates of Ermon.[3] But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become King of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. And Joseph died in the 46th jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and all his brethren died after him. And the King of Egypt went forth to war with the King of Canaan in the 47th jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Judah save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the field in the double cave[4] in the mountain. And the most of them returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and Amram remained with them.[5] And the King of Canaan was victorious over the King of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt."[6]

[1] *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 12: *Man* (1906), No. 75, p. 30. [2] Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii. 1. [3] Heroöpolis. [4] *i.e.*, Machpelah. [5] This is mentioned here alone: see, however, Josephus, *Antiq.*, ii. 8, 2. [6] *Book of Jubilees*, 46.[6-11]

Similarly, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,[1] a work composed between B.C. 109–106, a corresponding legend is preserved. There it is stated that " they laid Simeon in a wooden coffin to take up his bones to Hebron ; and they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians " : [2] as regards Benjamin, that " in the ninety-first year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war ; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt." [3] In like manner it is affirmed that Gad also was buried in Hebron.[4]

It seems thus to have been the view of the authors of both these books, embodying a more or less trustworthy tradition, that the bones of all the patriarchs,[5] except those of Joseph, were carried from Egypt to Hebron, and buried there in the ancestral resting-place, on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. This war may have been connected with the revolt in the Thebaid, the native Egyptians conspiring with the peoples of Palestine to drive out the hated Hyksos.

As for Joseph himself, it is remarkable that the most ancient tradition to the effect that *the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt* (after the Exodus) *buried they in Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem*,[6] has recently received curious verification. A little to the east of Balata, a *tell* a few hundred yards west of the well of Jacob, Professor Sellin along with Drs. Præschniker and Grohmann in 1914 discovered an Egyptian sarcophagus which is thought to have been that of Joseph. The sarcophagus is now in the Museum at Munich.[7]

[1] See Charles, *op. cit.* [2] *Testament of Simeon*, 8.[2] [3] *Testament of Benjamin*, 12.[3] [4] *Testament of Gad*, 8.[5] [5] *Test. of Levi*, 19.[5] *Test. of Zebulon*, 10.[7] *Test. of Dan.* 7.[2] Josephus adopts the same view (*Antiq.*, ii. 8, 2), though he omits reference to the war. So also Stephen adopted the current tradition, Ac. 7,[16] *Jacob died himself, and our fathers, and they were carried over into Shechem and laid in the tomb that Abraham bought*, where " Shechem " is substituted for " Hebron " as the place of sepulture. [6] Jos. 24.[32] [7] Geo. L. Robinson in *Harvard Theol Rev.*, viii. (1915) 544, and *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, xxi. (1917), 84.

CHAPTER XI

The War of Liberation and the New Kingdom

1. *The XVIIth Dynasty* (B.C. 1731–1580)

The subjection of Egypt to the rule of the Hyksos had not been effected without much fierce fighting. The Theban princes, remembering the glories of the Senuserts and Amenemhats, would not readily submit to the dominance of the swarms of Asiatics who poured into the land and submerged the ancient Royal House. They had kept up for some time a semblance of regal dignity, and had defied the Hyksos sovereigns.

One of these Theban Kings, Antef-aa V. Nub-kheper-Ra, in an inscription at Coptos, has left us a memorial of the fierceness of the struggle.[1] He dismissed from office with curses a certain Teta, who seems to have been commander of the fortress-temple of Coptos, for having entered into traitorous correspondence with the Hyksos. He assumed for himself the title of "Sopdu, Lord of the Deserts," thus claiming the sovereignty of the very territory from which the myriad hordes of "Shepherds" had emerged. But with his death and burial at Thebes, the power of the native princes oozed away, and his successors had to submit to the galling yoke, and the ever-increasing might, of the Hyksos monarchs of the XVIth Dynasty.

It is likely that during the entire course of the Hyksos domination, the South indulged in periodic revolt in the hope of expelling the hated foreigners. The struggle reminds us of the history of the Manchu-Tartar despotism in China, which lasted 269 years, from A.D. 1643 to 1912, during which time repeated attempts were made to obtain freedom, and which was overturned at last only after a final bloody revolt. Similarly, in Upper Egypt, the Sebekemsafs, Antefs, and Sequenen-Ras exercised for a while a more or less shadowy independent rule; and though always repressed after each rebellion with rigorous cruelty, they kept alive the hope, and nourished the ambition, of one day being successful in freeing their fatherland from the invader. According to Manetho, these Theban princes constitute the XVIIth Dynasty, which lasted 151 years, and embraced 43 kings. But the majority of these Theban rulers must have been subject to the will of their contemporaneous Hyksos sovereigns: their dominion must have been nominal; and even their names have largely perished.

At last, however, the final revolt against the Hyksos broke out in the

[1] Petrie, *Koptos*, Pl. viii.: Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p. 100

reign of the Theban King, SEQUENEN-RA III.[1] The Sallier Papyrus I,[2] an historical romance of the XIXth Dynasty, professes to relate the story of the origin of the struggle. Apepi III—the Pharaoh of Joseph's time—picked a quarrel with his Theban rival. He sent an envoy to him with an insulting message complaining that he could not sleep at Tanis because of the noise made by the hippopotami kept by Sequenen-Ra in the sacred lake at Thebes! He ordered his vassal to destroy them, and counselled him to serve no other god besides Sutekh. If the romance is based on any substratum of fact, it is small wonder that Sequenen-Ra flew to arms on receiving such a summons. But in the war that ensued he was not successful. His mummy, recovered from the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, was unrolled in 1886 by Maspero, and the remains show him to have been a man in the prime of life who must have met his death in battle. His head was covered with ghastly wounds, his face was smashed in, his tongue was bitten in two in his death agony, his brains were protruding, while on his countenance there still remained a look of fury.[3]

He was succeeded by his son, KAMES, a boy of twelve, concerning whom a new historical tablet was recently discovered by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter.[4] It tells how in Kames' seventh year, the Hyksos with Avaris as their capital controlled the Delta and Middle Egypt as far as Cusæ. Kames with his headquarters at Thebes governed Upper Egypt as far as Assuan. Ethiopia was in the hands of a third prince, whose name is not given. By command of the god Amen, Kames went down the Nile to drive back the Asiatics, having with him an army of Nubian mercenaries. He was successful in capturing in the city of Nefrus the Crown Prince Teta, son of the Hyksos Apepi III. Lord Carnarvon found at Thebes the tomb of a prince of this period, named Teta-ky (literally "the other Teta"), which seems to imply that there must have existed some sort of (perhaps matrimonial) connection between the Theban Royal Family and their Hyksos suzerains.[5]

In the 20th year of his reign, Kames resumed the old struggle. It was probably he who captured Memphis, thus inflicting a crushing blow on the tottering Hyksos cause. His father had evidently married a Nubian princess, for Kames' features are of a pronounced Ethiopian cast and hue, and the fierceness of his African blood was shown in the vehemence with which he carried the war into his enemy's territory. He was ably assisted by his wife, the celebrated Queen, Aah-hetep I (from Hermopolis, where Aah, the Moon-god, was specially worshipped), who seems to have been a woman of remarkable force of character. Her colossal coffin was discovered by Mariette in 1859 in the sand at Thebes, and the articles it contained for long constituted the most splendid of all Egyptian royal relics.[6] The

[1] Hall (*Near East*, p. 244) thinks that the war must have commenced under one of the earlier Sequenen-Ras, probably Sequenen-Ra I. [2] *T.S.B.A.*, iv. 268: Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 238: Goodwin, "Hieratic Papyri" in *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 243: Lushington in *R.P.*, 1st Ser. viii. 1–4. [3] The mummy is now in the Cairo Museum. [4] The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 1912, p. 36: summarized by Newberry in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), p. 117. The genuineness of the tablet as really historical has been defended by A. H. Gardiner, *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916), p. 95 f., and v. (1918), 45, against Weill (*Journal Asiatique*, 11th Ser. i. (1913) 536–44), who regarded the narrative as embodying a mere legend of a romantic character. [5] Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 119. [6] Described by Birch, *Archæol. Journ.*, xx. 166: and *Facsimiles of the Egyptian relics discovered at Thebes in the tomb of Queen Aah-hetep*, 1863: for an account of this famous lady, see Miss Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt*, p. 47 f. and for a discussion as to her parentage, see Newberry, *P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), 285.

most beautiful were two models of boats, one of gold mounted on a carriage of wood and bronze, bearing the name of Kames, the other of silver being plain.

On the death of Kames, either his son or his younger brother, SENEKHT-EN-RA, succeeded him,[1] and after his decease there followed another brother, AAHMES, the heroic Liberator of Egypt from the Hyksos, and the founder of the great XVIIIth Dynasty.

II. *The XVIIIth Dynasty* (B.C. 1580–1322)

AAHMES [3] or AMASIS I, the first King of the famous XVIIIth Dynasty, ruled from about B.C. 1580 to 1559. From an inscription [4] found at El Kab in the tomb of one of his admirals, also called Aahmes, we get glimpses of the last terrific struggle of the native Egyptians to drive out the Hyksos. Step by step the hated foreigners were forced down from the higher regions into the swamps of the Delta. City after city fell into the hands of the Theban troops, till a final stand was made at the vast entrenched encampment of Avaris.[5] Josephus [6] quotes Manetho as his authority for an extraordinary statement that Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis,[7] with 480,000 men besieged Avaris, a place that contained 10,000 acres. Unable to take it by storm, he obtained the surrender of the fort on the stipulation that the Hyksos would evacuate Egypt. Thereupon the "Shepherds," to the number of 240,000, marched out from Egypt to Canaan, and for fear of the Assyrians, built Jerusalem. What slender basis of truth there is in all this we cannot say. But the aforementioned inscription of the admiral, Aahmes, rather leads us to believe that the attack on the last stronghold of the Hyksos went on by land and water for a long period; that at the fourth attempt the fort was stormed; that there was a wild slaughter of the "filthy people," and that the remnant (at least so far as the fighting element amongst them was concerned) were finally driven back to the desert whence their ancestors had come. Even this remnant, Aahmes pursued with merciless ferocity. The fugitives had seized the fortified town Sharuhen, in the south of Canaan, a city long afterwards allotted to the tribe of Simeon,[8] and for three years Aahmes sat down and besieged his foe.[9] With the fall of this fortress, the last remains of the Hyksos domination perished. Aahmes then passed rapidly through Zahi (Phœnicia) leaving a trail of blood behind him. Next he paid a flying visit to Sinai to subdue its Bedouin population, and to re-annex the turquoise mines to the Egyptian crown. An alabaster vase with his name, and that of his queen, Nefertari, along with other articles, testify to his presence

[1] Batt. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner question this (*J. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 48). [2] The dates of the XVIIIth—XXth Dynasties have been worked out by Lehmann, *Zwei Haupt-probleme der altorientalischen Chronologie*, 1898, and Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreich* (1900). They have been re-examined by Hollingworth in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911), p. 46, who places them all half-a-century earlier, but I have not found myself able to adopt his revised chronology. [3] Aah-mes="the Moon-god has brought forth." [4] The best edition of this famous inscription is that by Victor Loret, "L'Inscription d'Ahmès fils d'Abana," in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Études*, iii. (1910), pp. 1–24. Other translations will be found in Renouf *R.P.*, 1st Ser., vi. 5–19: Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 21 f.: Wiedemann, *Gesch. von Alt-Ægypten*, p. 72: A. H. Gardiner in *J. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918), 48 f. [5] See Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), p. 9, for a full account of his excavations of this site: and consult what has been said on p. 100. [6] *c. Apion*, i. 14. [7] Petrie (*Hist.*, i. 236, ii. 20) conjectures that this is a corruption of "Aahmes-pa-her-nub-thes-taui." [8] See Jos. 19,[6] probably now Tell-esh-Sheriâh, N.W. of Beersheba. [9] Sethe (*Zeit. f. Ægypt. Spr.*, xlii. (1905), 136) has shown that this siege of Sharuhen occupied *three*, not five or six years, as had hitherto been supposed.

at Serabit-el-Khadem, where Petrie discovered them.[1] He then returned in triumph to the Delta.

But his work was not yet done. His absence from Egypt had been seized on by the Nubians as an opportunity for revolt.[2] Aahmes had, therefore, to march 1,000 miles up the Nile, and to subdue these invaders, who had swarmed down the river, laying waste all the shrines and temples belonging to the gods of Thebes. No sooner was this task successfully accomplished than, on descending the Nile, Aahmes found himself face to face with a fresh invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos under a King named Aata. It was a reckless and despairing attempt to regain the Delta while Aahmes was occupied far up beyond the Cataracts. But the attempt failed. The last Hyksos king and all his army were annihilated or captured by the victorious Thebans. One more enemy remained. Teta-'an, an Egyptian noble, jealous of this Theban supremacy, tried to wrest the sovereignty from Aahmes. The revolt ended in Teta-'an and all his followers being put to death. At last Egypt was free and at peace.[3] The War of Liberation was over, and the sword sheathed.[4]

There was now, throughout the whole of Egypt, a call for architects, builders, sculptors, and painters. Centuries of neglect of all but temples reared to Semitic divinities had brought the public edifices of the land into a pitiable condition. But now the dilapidated temples of Amen at Thebes, and of Ptah[5] at Memphis rose again from the ground, while the Royal Quarries at Tura[6] supplied the whitest limestone for the cutting of delicate inscriptions and exquisite bas-reliefs. More than ever Thebes was recognized as the capital of the whole of the Nile Valley, situated, as it was, midway between the Delta in the north and the remote Egyptian possessions, so recently subdued, lying far to the south beyond the Cataracts.

A people whom the monuments style the *Fenkhu*[7] were set to quarry the stones for all this building activity, and to act as serfs in the brick-fields. The word has been construed as meaning "Phœnicians," but in the strict sense they were not so much "Phœnicians" as Asiatic or Canaanite prisoners in general.[8] They constituted the remaining portion of the "Shepherds," who being non-combatants had not been expelled from Egypt, and amongst them, in all likelihood, we must reckon the children of Israel, who had been settled by Joseph in Goshen. Of kindred race with the Hyksos, the Israelites had enjoyed prosperity under the dynasty that had now expired. Family tradition kept alive the fact that some of the descendants of Judah had even married into the Royal House. *These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.*[9] Which Hyksos Pharaoh this was is quite unknown, but the name "Bithiah," "daughter (*i.e.*, worshipper) of Jehovah," implies that the Egyptian

[1] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 102. [2] "Inscription of El-Kab" in *R.P.* 1st Ser., vi. 5–10, lines 17–21. [3] By reckoning that the War of Liberation began under Sequenen-Ra I instead of under Sequenen-Ra III, *i.e.* in B.C. 1618, instead of in B.C. 1591, Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 227) computes the length of the war as 45 years, off and on. [4] Naville (*Trans. Vict. Instit.*, July 1889) thinks that the Expulsion of the Hyksos was not finally accomplished till the time of Thothmes III. [5] It was "of good stone and white" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 3). [6] Opposite Memphis; *cf.* Perring and Vyse, *Operations at the Pyramids*, iii. 90. [7] Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, § 180, 190) derives the name "Phœnicia" from these Fenkhu. Müller, however (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 208), has pointed out that the latter word is only an *Egyptian* term, used in a general sense for the Northern barbarians, *i.e.*, all the peoples whom the Egyptians reckoned as "filthy foreigners." The derivation of "Phœnicia" is still uncertain. It may be that we must go back to the old view that it was taken from the *φοῖνιξ*, the palm-tree. The etymology *φοινὸς*, "brownish-red" (*cf.* Latin, "*Pœnus*," Punic) seems doubtful (Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, p. 13). [8] Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–212. [9] 1 Chr. 4.[18]

princess had become a convert to the Hebrew faith. Intermarriages between the Israelites and the Egyptians seem to have been not infrequent. The example of Joseph in wedding the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis was followed by Sheshan, a descendant of the ninth generation from Judah. *Sheshan had no sons but daughters. And Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha, his servant, to wife.*[1]

But with the re-establishment of the native Egyptian rule, the lot of the Israelites had changed indeed. The opinion is now steadily gaining ground amongst scholars that the theory, so tenaciously held and diligently preached, that the Oppression of the Israelites and the Exodus took place under the XIXth Dynasty, breaks down completely when it is closely examined. The view has been so assiduously propagated, and it is reiterated with such a persistent want of investigation, that many have come to regard the statement that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son, Merenptah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, as amongst the ascertained and unassailable facts of Egyptological research.[2] The theory, however, is entirely inconsistent with monumental evidence ; it does violence to many a passage of Scripture, and it throws the chronology of the Bible, otherwise consistent with itself, into inextricable confusion. All the most recently discovered facts make it increasingly imperative for us to return to the belief once current, and foolishly abandoned, that the Oppression and the Exodus both occurred during the XVIIIth Dynasty.[3]

Abraham, as we have seen, visited Egypt in the earlier days of the Hyksos period : Joseph, Jacob, and his descendants came in during the latter portion of the same age. Had the Israelites entered Egypt while the XVIIIth Dynasty was in power, their reception would have been inether cordial nor pleasant. The remembrance of the indignities they had endured under the Hyksos was too recent and sore for any gracious welcome to be accorded by the Egyptians to a new influx of Semites from Canaan. Still less would the newly-freed Egyptians have granted a settlement in Goshen to a fresh band of loathed foreigners, within the bounds of the Delta itself. So cogent are these facts that practically all authorities (with some trifling exceptions afterwards referred to[4]) agree that the Israelites entered Egypt under the XVIth (Hyksos) Dynasty. But while that is so, it is equally impossible to believe that throughout the whole of the XVIIIth Dynasty—a period which lasted 258 years—no attempt was made by the triumphant Egyptians to tyrannize over the remnant of the "Shepherds" (the non-combatant section of them, among whom must be reckoned the Hebrews in Goshen), and that only when the XIXth Dynasty arose did the Oppression break out. On the contrary

[1] 1 Chr. 2.[34, 35]. [2] Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 408) says "We have all been hypnotized by the Merenptah-theory, except Lieblein (*Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte* (1910), ii. 279)." [3] Neither the theory that the Oppression took place under the XIXth Dynasty will hold water, nor the old one that it occurred under the Hyksos. A typical example of the old and completely antiquated reasoning that the Hyksos were the oppressors of the Israelites will be found in the Marquis Spineto's *Lectures on the Elements of Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Antiquities*, London, 1829. [4] One of these exceptions may be mentioned here. Prof. Eerdmans of Leyden argues that the "Hebrews" were distinct from the "Israelites," that the former (known as the "Aperiu") entered Egypt under Thothmes III, the latter under Siptah, about B.C. 1205. He places the Exodus at the end of the XXth Dynasty, about B.C. 1125—much too late for any adequate space of time to be allotted for the period of the Conquest and of the Judges before David comes on the scene as King of Judah, about B.C. 1000 (*Expositor*, Sept. 1908)

there is every reason to believe, and contributory evidence from the monuments proves, that the change for the worse in the lot of the Semitic dwellers in Goshen began as soon as the vast majority of their Hyksos compatriots had been driven out of Egypt by Aahmes I. On their hapless heads descended the wrath and the vengeance of the victorious Egyptians when the new dynasty was inaugurated. *There arose a new King over Egypt which knew not Joseph.*[1]

The mummy of Aahmes I was discovered in 1871, and unrolled in 1886. That of his sister-wife, Aahmes-Nefertari, was opened in 1885. She was a lady of such force of character that for many succeeding centuries she was revered as a divine being, and adored as the venerated ancestress and co-founder of the great XVIIIth Dynasty.[2]

Their son, AMENHOTEP I[3] (*c.* B.C. 1559–1539) followed in the footsteps of his father. So long as his famous mother lived and ruled conjointly with himself, no wars were waged. Mother and son were worshipped as living representatives respectively of the goddess Isis and the god Osiris, and there are many inscriptions revealing the lavish adoration offered them.[4] The queen-mother is usually depicted with a blue or even black skin, not thereby signifying that she was a negress, but that she represented Isis or Hathor, the mistresses of the nether world.[5]

In his later years, Amenhotep I had to repeat his father's Nubian campaign, and to penetrate up the Nile as far as the Third Cataract.[6] An expedition had also to be undertaken against the Libyan tribes inhabiting the country between Memphis and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.[7] When these were successfully accomplished, he turned his attention to building, and extensive restorations and new constructions at Karnak and Deir-al-Bahari, and in Sinai, where he repaired the sacred cave at Serabit-el-Khadem,[8] attested his zeal for architecture. When he died, after a useful reign of twenty years, the grateful priests of Amen, of whom he had been a munificent supporter, buried him with royal pomp in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings.[9] His sister-wife, Aah-hetep II, was a queen of similar royal dignity to her namesake and predecessor, Aah-hetep I. A scarab bearing her royal cartouche was discovered by Bliss[10] at Lachish, showing that her influence reached over the land of Palestine which her father, Aahmes I, had traversed. Her coffin, of gigantic dimensions, stands in the Cairo Museum.

In THOTHMES I (*c.* B.C. 1539–1514), son of Amenhotep I by a secondary and non-royal wife, Sen-seneb, we come across the first of the great

[1] Ex. 1.[8] [2] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 279. [3] Though he is known as Amenhotep I, Newberry (*P.S.B.A.*, xxv. (1903), p. 358) records the discovery of the name of another early prince of the name of Amenhotep on a small limestone stele in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. He must have belonged to the XVIIth Dynasty, and have been the son of one of its kings. [4] A list of these inscriptions is given by Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 313, and by Petrie, *Hist.*, ii. 38–39. [5] In 1908, the Earl of Carnarvon discovered a figure of this celebrated queen at Thebes in the tomb of Teta-ky. She was depicted as of fair complexion, and not black, as in her later portraits (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, 1912, p. 3). [6] Reisner (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* (1920), p. 27) has now been able to compile a complete list of 23 successive Egyptian viceroys of Ethiopia from *c.* B.C. 1548 to *c.* B.C. 1080. [7] For an exhaustive account of the military system of the Egyptians during the XVIIIth Dynasty, by which these and other campaigns were carried out, see Wilkinson, vol. i., and Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 211–28. [8] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 102. [9] Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter discovered the lost tomb of Amenhotep I at Thebes in 1914 at Dra' Abu 'l-Nagga (*op. cit.*), and *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916), 147: H. E. Winlock, *ib.* iv. (1917), p. 11. The statue of Amenhotep I in the Turin Museum is a wonderful work of art. [10] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 131.

Egyptian military conquerors. His warlike career opened with an invasion of Nubia. Sailing up the Nile with a flotilla of vessels, he experienced great difficulty in forcing his way through the rapids of the Second Cataract, but in spite of lack of water he succeeded. There followed a naval encounter with the enemy in mid-stream. Thothmes pierced the heart of the Nubian King with his javelin, sunk many of the opposing ships, and pressed on up the ever-shallowing river. Reaching Tombos near Kerma at the head of the Third Cataract, he erected a fort (part of which still remains) and garrisoned it with troops. On Tombos he set up a stele recording in grandiose language his achievements. The country as far as Dongola having been thus annexed to the Theban Empire, Thothmes returned in triumph to his capital, with the body of the Nubian King dangling head downwards from the bows of his Royal ship.[1]

Flushed with these comparatively easy victories, Thothmes I looked round for new worlds to conquer. His imagination began to be excited with the thought of what lay in the wider regions beyond the narrow parallel lines of hills that hem in the Nile. For centuries his country had suffered untold ignominy and miserable slavery at the hands of the Hyksos. Now was the opportunity and the season for revenge! As the Asiatics had done to Egypt, so would Egypt now do to Asia. Never before had an Egyptian sovereign planned an expedition such as Thothmes I now led forth. Other Pharaohs had paid flying visits to Canaan, but their appearance in Palestine had led merely to a temporary payment of tribute, not to a permanent conquest of the land. Nor had more than a few spots in Syria known the presence of an Egyptian army. The Negeb, the Shephelah, and the main trade routes as far perhaps as Galilee had from time to time been raided by Egyptian troops, as we have seen; but since the invasion of Palestine by Senusert III, a change had ensued in the fortunes of Canaan, and for some centuries Syria had been reckoned as belonging to the Kingdom of Babylon.

When the great XIIth Dynasty passed away, and the weakness of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties was manifest, first Ur-nina of Lagash, and later Lugalzaggisi of Erech, swept across from the Euphrates Valley, and achieved the suzerainty of Palestine, wresting the overlordship from the powerless hands of the Pharaohs.[2] The Sinai Peninsula was similarly invaded and passed under Chaldæan influence, the very mountains taking on a Babylonian name, *Sin*ai, from the Chaldæan Moon-god, *Sin*.[3] The continued ignominious condition of Egypt made it possible for Sargon I of Agade,[4] a little later, to invade Syria four times,[5] and in token of the conquest of Canaan, to set up a statue of himself "at the setting of the sun." His son, Naram-Sin, claimed to be "King of the four quarters of the earth," and his rule over Palestine was unquestioned. Gudea of Lagash[6]

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 5: Birch, *P.S.B.A.* (1885), vii. 121. [2] Radau, *Early Babylon. Hist.*, p. 135. [3] The "Sin" is seen in many names, *e.g.*, *Sin*-muballit. For traces of Chaldæan influence in the West, see Eckenstein, "Moon-cult in Sinai" in *Ancient Egypt* (1914), pt. i. 9. [4] *i.e.*, the Biblical Accad., Gen. 10.[10] [5] Thureau-Dangin, *Comptes Rendus*, 1896, p. 355, and *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv. 3. [6] That Gudea had dealings with Egypt is evident from his expression, "I used strong wood brought from the land of Upper Egypt, brought from the fortress of Zoan" (Conder in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 172). Again (*ibid.*, p. 176), "I, Gudea, having received a sceptre, for the Lord of the Pyramid have raised tribute of the land of Magan (Sinai) and of the land of Melukha (=Upper Egypt according to Conder: =Western Arabia, according to Paton (*Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 20) of the land of Chub (=Gubi or Ethiopia), land belonging to the country of Zal (=Zoan ?). See Winckler, *Altorient. Forsch.*, ii. 2, p. 398: Amiaud, *R.P.*, new Ser. ii. 79 f.

enjoyed such political supremacy over the West that instead of his having to wage wars in Canaan, he indulged in great commercial exploitation of the territory which no one dared to dispute. When simultaneously with the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, Chaldæa was submerged by an Arab horde, who set up the First Dynasty of Babylon, the sovereignty of Palestine passed from Babylon to Elam. *Chedorlaomer of Elam* [1] as the paramount monarch, compelled his vassal Kings, *Amraphel of Shinar*,[2] *Arioch of Ellasar*, and *Tidal of Goiim*,[3] to accompany him on an expedition to enforce his overlordship of Canaan. Defeated by Abraham [4] and bankrupt in military reputation, it was not long before Chedorlaomer had to acknowledge the suzerainty of his former vassal, Amraphel. The famous Hammurabi, sixth King of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon, threw off the Elamite yoke, united all Babylonia under his sway, ruled with glory and splendour, and bequeathed to mankind his magnificent Code of Laws which has revolutionized our ideas in regard to ancient jurisprudence.[5] We have every reason to believe that the principles of this body of legislation, so singularly advanced and enlightened, were in force throughout a large part of the territory which owned the sway of Babylon, and were therefore practised in Canaan, which belonged to Chaldæa. With the rise, however, of the new Kingdom of Mitanni, intermediate between Babylonia and Palestine, the Kassite Dynasty, which succeeded the IInd Dynasty of Babylon, was unable to retain its hold on Canaan. The steady growth in military power of this buffer state effectually barred the road from the lower plains of the Euphrates to the highlands of Syria. The whole of Canaan, which for so many centuries had been subject to the civilization of Babylon, passed out of Chaldæan influence, and the way was, therefore, clear for the strong pushing XVIIIth Dynasty to restore the ancient Egyptian supremacy over Palestine.

In a spirit of revenge for the injuries inflicted on his country by the Hyksos, Thothmes I now blazed a track through Syria as far as the Euphrates, a trail which was only too frequently followed by his successors in the centuries to come. His route lay from Gaza to Megiddo, from there to Kadesh on the Orontes, and on to Carchemish on the Euphrates on the confines of Naharaina.[6] Here he met the King of Mitanni in battle, vanquished him, and set up a memorial stele as the mark of the extreme eastern limit of his empire.[7] Never before had Canaan witnessed within her bounds a foe so powerful, so merciless, or so greedy. He despoiled the cities of Palestine of their treasures, and swept off to Egypt

[1] Gen. 14.[1 2] [2] The identification of these kings with others named on contemporary Babylonian clay tablets may now be considered established. That "Amraphel of Shinar"=Hammurabi of Babylon, "Arioch of Ellasar"=Eriaku of Larsa, etc., scouted by so many as linguistically impossible, has been exhaustively examined, answered, and maintained by Pilter, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), pp. 171, 244: xxxvi. (1914), pp. 125–42, 212–50. Surely the matter may now be left to rest. [3] Goiim=probably the non-Semitic "nations" of the North, such as the Hittites. [4] The names of the Canaanite Kings over whom Chedorlaomer and his companions enjoyed a temporary triumph (Gen. 14 [6]) have been submitted to a thorough linguistic investigation by Pilter, *ibid.*, pp. 205–66, who strenuously upholds their authenticity as being "not Northern Amorite, but the purer Arabian Amorite, which befits their geographical origin." [5] See Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, 1903, and especially art. CODE OF HAMMURABI in Hastings' *D.B.*, v., pp. 584–612. [6] Naharaina=Aram-naharaim (Psa. 60 title)=Mesopotamia (Jud. 3 [10])=Paddan-Aram (Gen. 28 [2]). [7] The stele was seen by Thothmes III when he followed the same track in later years. The Egyptians, on this first occasion of viewing the Euphrates, were greatly amused and puzzled by the fact that the river flowed *southwards*! They were even accustomed to joke at the necessity of reversing the terms used in Egypt to express sailing up and down the Nile. It shows how provincial in their ideas in many respects the Egyptians till now had been (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 211).

an enormous amount of gold. When the tide of conquest rolled back, and the Egyptians had returned home, the Syrian cities which had experienced his cruelty and rapacity began at once to build huge fortifications, fearing further attacks. A specimen of these massive ramparts and battlements Bliss uncovered at Lachish.[1]

The immense treasure gathered on this plundering expedition Thothmes I devoted to the embellishment of the temple of Amen at Thebes, to whose divine power he attributed his successes. To this shrine he added a court, 240 feet long and 62 feet broad, surrounded by colonnades of square pillars each with a statue of Osiris in front. He also erected two giant granite obelisks, 76 feet high, on a pedestal 6 feet square. One of these still stands, bearing an inscription testifying to the King's piety and devotion towards Amen-Ra. Many other buildings throughout Egypt, especially up the Nile, owe their erection to him. The frontier fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh were restored, and there are records of his conquests in Nubia as far as Argo.[2] His interest in his Sinai dominions is attested by his sending thither offerings of alabaster, glazed pottery, vases, *menats* of himself and of his queen Aahmes, wands and other objects, all discovered by Petrie.[3]

The domestic relationships of Thothmes I are exceedingly complicated and difficult to unravel, and their intricacy and uncertainty have given rise to many ingenious reconstructions[4] of the available data. It is unnecessary

[1] *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 137. Bliss conjectures that the walls may be dated from this period, but they may have been of earlier date, built to resist local foes. [2] *P.S.B.A.*, vii. 121: Wilkinson, *Thebes*, p. 472. [3] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 102. [4] As an example of such re-arrangements of history, see Breasted, *Hist. of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1908, p. 214 f. Breasted's view is that on the 30th anniversary of Thothmes I's heirship to the throne, his claim to it was weakened by the death of his queen, Aahmes, through whom alone he had any valid title to the crown. Her only surviving child being her daughter, Hatshepset, the legitimists forced Thothmes I to proclaim her as his successor. But Thothmes I, by other wives, had other children, who in later years ruled as Thothmes II and Thothmes III. Thothmes III was originally made a priest in a Karnak temple. He married Hatshepset, and through her obtained a claim to the throne. The Amen priesthood supported his cause, and in B.C. 1501 he was dramatically made King, Thothmes I being allowed to live on. Then Thothmes III shook off the legitimist party, and partly disowned Hatshepset. Those, however, who supported the royal claims of the latter would not allow her to be treated after this fashion. Thothmes III was forced to acknowledge the co-regency of his queen. More and more the latter gained power, and Thothmes III fell into the background as a mere puppet. Suddenly a third party arose, headed by Thothmes II. who took up the cause of the aged dethroned Thothmes I. He succeeded in thrusting aside both Hatshepset and Thothmes III, and in seizing the crown. Then Thothmes I and Thothmes II began a bitter persecution of Hatshepset, cutting out her name from every monument, and putting their own in its place. News of these domestic revolutions reaching Nubia, an insurrection there had to be put down by one of Thothmes II's generals. Another insurrection in Southern Palestine occurred simultaneously, and was similarly quelled. But the death of the aged Thothmes I at this juncture weakened the rule of Thothmes II, who was feeble and diseased in body. He became reconciled to Thothmes III, and for a brief period they reigned conjointly. Then Thothmes II died after a reign of not more than three years at most. Thothmes III was again on the throne, but the friends of Hatshepset forced him to recognize the claims of the latter. Once more the old tactics were repeated. Hatshepset came to the front, and Thothmes III was relegated to the background. They both numbered the years of their joint reign from the first accession of Thothmes III, as if it had never been interrupted by the short reign of Thothmes II. Hatshepset then launched out on those building exploits which have made her name famous. At last she died, and the sole rule of Thothmes III began again. He spent his energies in trying to deface the memorials of his hated half-sister and wife, who had so long kept him in subjection. This theory outlined here is virtually that of Sethe, *Untersuch.*, i. (1896), pp. 1–58, and *Ægypt. Zeit.*, xxxvi. 24 f.: *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1897, p. 26: Steindorff, *Blütezeit d. Pharaonenreichs*, pp. 28–40, adopts its main lines as authentic. Naville, however, will have none of it, and utterly disowns it in *Ægypt. Zeit.*, xxxv. 30–67: xxxvii. 48 f. Another working out of the intricate genealogical tree is given by Maspero, *P.S.B.A.* (1892), xiv. 170, and by Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, p. 13.

to enter into particulars, for all conjectures are more or less uncertain. What seems, however, to be established is that Thothmes I married his sister, Aahmes, the daughter of Amenhotep I and Queen Aah-hetep II. The beauty of Queen Aahmes was renowned. Her lovely face is shown carved and painted in the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, with an inscription in which the god Thoth (after whom Thothmes was named) describes to Amen Egypt's Queen, in these words, "Aahmes is her name, she is more beautiful than any woman." [1] By Aahmes, Thothmes I had seemingly two sons and two daughters. Both of his sons, after being associated with their father on the throne, died young, and Hatshepset, his favourite daughter, was assumed as co-regent. But by another wife, Mut-nefert, Thothmes I had another son, who was probably married [2] to his half-sister, Hatshepset, and he (whether independently, or in a co-regency with his father and sister, we cannot definitely fix) reigned as Thothmes II.

During his brief reign (*c.* B.C. 1514–1501), THOTHMES II carried out some punitive expeditions against the rude tribes far up the Nile, once again subdued Nubia which had revolted,[3] quelled some disturbances in the Delta, and harried some of the restless tribes of Bedouins in the south of Canaan. One of his generals records in an inscription that he had captured alive of the "Shasu" or Asiatic Bedouins, more prisoners than he could count.[4] But the records of Thothmes II's short occupancy of the throne are inglorious. He was completely overshadowed by the personality of his strong-minded half-sister. Whether reigning conjointly with her, or governing alone, Hatshepset's was the dominant mind and will. Beyond adding to the great dynastic temple of Amen at Thebes and restoring other shrines throughout the land, the reign of Thothmes II does not count for much. He was merely the husband of Hatshepset. His mummy, unrolled in 1886, revealed a youth of thirty, with the marks of a blotchy skin disease, a low forehead, and a deformed nose.[5]

On the death of Thothmes II, there succeeded (at least nominally) Thothmes III, his son by a lady Aset, not of royal pedigree. But during at least 21 years of his reign, Egypt was really governed by the extraordinarily vigorous Queen HATSHEPSET (*c.* B.C. 1514–1493). Daughter of Thothmes I, and perhaps associated with him on the throne; of royal descent through her mother also; the half-sister and probably the wife of Thothmes II; the aunt and the stepmother of Thothmes III, this marvellous woman deserves to be remembered as one of the most remarkable sovereigns the world has ever seen.[6] Soon after her accession she summoned a council of her nobles, and announced her intention of reigning like a man.[7] On the Theban monuments, accordingly, she is depicted in male attire, with

[1] Naville, *Tomb of Hatshôpsitû*, p. 2. [2] Naville believed that Thothmes II married Hatshepset: Sethe denies this. A lintel discovered by Petrie at Abydos in 1902 proves that at one time Thothmes II and Thothmes III were reigning jointly, regardless of Hatshepset. Each bears the same titles (*Abydos*, i. 30). The palace intrigues and the many revolutions among the Thothmidæ cast a lurid light on the evils of polygamy, and the dire results of the Egyptian practice of marriages between brothers and sisters, uncles and nieces, etc. [3] The Inner Temple at Wady Halfa was begun by him. It was excavated by Scott Moncrieff and Crowfoot in 1905 (*P.S.B.A.*, xxix. (1907) p. 39). [4] Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments*, Pl. 4: *Ægypt. Zeits.*, 1883, p. 78. [5] The mummies of all these kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty are described in detail by Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Deir-el-Bahari*, p. 534 f. [6] Maspero, in preface to Miss Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt*, p. vi., says "For over half-a-century, Hâtshopsitû has wrongly borne the name of 'Hatasu,' a name still used by those who prefer its sound." [7] "Whether as infant, youth, or adult, she is always represented as belonging to the male sex" (Naville, *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1893–4, p. 5).

a false beard attached to her chin.[1] Under her strong, masculine rule, Egypt enjoyed peace. The only expedition of note which she despatched was one to Punt, to secure incense and aromatic gums for the temple worship. The details of this voyage are most vividly portrayed on the walls of her exquisite temple in Thebes. We see there her fleet sailing down the Nile, emerging by a canal across the Delta into the Red Sea, and speeding their course southwards. Then we observe the beehive huts of the Somaliland natives, the profound obeisance of the prince of Punt and his queen (who has a figure of extraordinary obesity), the presents offered, types of the tropical fauna and flora of the country, including apes, strange fish and incense trees, and lastly, the return home of the galleys laden to the gunwale with ivory, gold, ebony, cassia, myrrh, leopard skins, greyhounds, slaves, and other products of a barbaric civilization.[2] It is not to be supposed that Hatshepset personally accompanied this expedition: doubtless she was afraid of a domestic insurrection had she quitted Egypt for so long a period. But with the fleets she sent a statue of herself which was duly erected in Punt that the natives might gaze on the countenance of a warlike Egyptian Queen.[3]

The riches acquired in this great trading venture were spent by Hatshepset on the funerary temple at Deir-el-Bahari, which she was erecting in memory of her father, Thothmes I. It is the most perfect structure of its kind in Egypt. For upwards of thirteen years the Egypt Exploration Fund spent great sums in the complete excavation of this magnificent building, and to-day it stands forth, cleared of all sand and rubbish, the most lovely creation in stone which the Nile Valley can show.[4] The old belief held by the IVth Dynasty Kings that the body of a deceased monarch must be buried within an enormous pyramid had long been discarded. The sovereigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty followed an entirely different plan. They burrowed far into the interior of a cliff wall,[5] excavated there a long gallery which terminated in a tomb chamber, and erected outside, at the door of the gallery, a mortuary temple. Yet, such was the fear lest robbers should rifle the tomb that Thothmes I inaugurated the practice of having the actual tomb altogether separate from the mortuary chapel. The permanent resting-place for the coffin might, therefore, be a couple of miles away from the exquisite temple erected for the worship of the departed sovereign. The shrine now erected by Hatshepset was of this character. It was enclosed by a wall and approached by an avenue of sphinxes, all portraits of the Queen, which led to the pylon at the entrance with its twin obelisks. The building, 800 feet long, rose in three platforms up the slope of the hill against which it was built. Flights of steps ending in a portico or colonnade united the terraces; and far in the interior of the mountain, hewn out of the solid rock, was the sanctuary itself.[6] The

[1] Newberry (*Anc. Egypt*, 1915, pt. iii. 101) seeks to show that Hatshepset, in adopting male attire, was following a Libyan custom, where the chief's women were clothed in masculine dress. [2] *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xlii. 91. [3] Some have expressed doubts whether this expedition ever really took place. The discovery in 1903 of an XIth Dynasty temple at Deir-el-Bahari, which was evidently the model on which Hatshepset built her own lovely shrine, has raised the question in some minds as to whether her Punt reliefs are not merely beautified copies of reliefs in this older XIth Dynasty building which similarly depict an expedition to Punt (see Hall in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1903–4, p. 9). But the doubt seems unwarranted. [4] Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, i.–vi. (1895–1908). [5] It would seem that Hatshepset in her early years prepared for herself a romantic and lonely tomb, perched like an eagle's nest, far up the face of a cliff, 367 feet high. It was discovered by Howard Carter in 1916–7, and described in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1917), iv. 107. The tomb was never used. [6] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 12.

lowest of the three platforms was made into an orchard or garden where the 31 incense trees from Punt were planted in square trenches dug in the rock and filled with earth.[1] Thus Hatshepset created a dream of beauty in stone. With the salmon-red ground in front, the long lines of white colonnades, the terraces and flights of stairs rising up and standing out in bright contrast to the dark red cliffs behind, the greenery of the trees, harmonizing with the carvings, and over all the Egyptian heaven's perennial turquoise blue, the temple of this most famous Queen excelled any other in the Nilotic land of wonders.[2]

Another of Hatshepset's great accomplishments was the transport from Assuan of two gigantic red granite obelisks which were floated down the Nile to Thebes, erected in Karnak, and covered with splendid and elaborate hieroglyphics. One has fallen, but the other still proudly rears itself aloft 98 feet in height, after the vicissitudes of over thirty centuries. Naville[3] states that each obelisk weighs 374 tons, or unitedly 748 tons. The boat which conveyed them down the Nile was 200 feet long, and 69 feet wide. On the obelisks themselves it is recorded that their quarrying, transport, erection, and the cutting out of their inscriptions, were accomplished within seven months, a feat which, if true, speaks volumes for the marvellous organization and the high efficiency of labour at the period.[4] But in designing and carrying out these great works, Hatshepset was guided by the technical wisdom and skill of one of the most gifted men of antiquity, the architect, Senmut.[5] Of humble parentage, this man rose by sheer natural ability step by step, till he occupied the highest place in the State, as " Chief of the Granaries of Amen," and principal Royal Architect. He had also been Hatshepset's tutor when she was a girl.[6]

Senmut's tomb is in many respects very remarkable. To begin with, the architect must have had a keen eye for the loveliest landscape near Thebes, for he constructed his " eternal " dwelling-place at one of the most beautiful view points on the western side of the river. But what is of special note is that though Thothmes III afterwards defaced his tomb, and obliterated from it every trace of his name as far as he could, inasmuch as the famous architect had been Hatshepset's friend, the tomb, nevertheless, contributes a vivid picture of Ægean connections, testifying to a renewal of intercourse between Egypt and Crete.[7] From right to left on the wall we see a procession of Ægean gift-bearers, carrying massive cups of gold and silver, shaped like the famous gold vases of Vaphio, and ewers of gold and silver which closely resemble those discovered by Evans at Knossos. The bearers wear the well-known Cretan high boots and kilts, their hair is long and partly tied in a pigtail, with a dandy curl on the brow. They stand out a distinct type from the hook-nosed Semite, the long-robed Asiatic, or the native of the Nile Valley. Their narrow waists and richly embroidered loincloths evidence their identity with that wonderful

[1] Maspero, *New Light on Anc. Egypt*, p. 79 : Naville, *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1895–6, p. 1. [2] King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 345. In Ptolemaic times, the upper terrace of this temple was given up to the worship of Amenhotep, son of Hapi, and of Imhotep. It became a place of resort for invalids, for Imhotep was identified by the Greeks with Asklepios : see J. G. Milne in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, i., pt. ii., p. 96. [3] An interesting account of the transport of these obelisks is given by Naville, *ibid.* pp. 6-13. [4] For the question of the mode of erection of the obelisks see Borchardt, " Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak " in Sethe's *Untersuchungen* V. [5] A famous statue of Senmut stands in the Berlin Museum with an inscription which tells us much of his life. [6] W. Max Müller, *Egyptolog. Researches* (1904), i. 12. [7] Another Ægean connection of this same era is seen in the vase found in the tomb of Mentu-her-Khepeshef at Thebes (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (1913), p. 7).

pre-Hellenic race which was destined to be immortalized through the fame of their exploits in the Trojan War.[1]

The vigorous rule of Hatshepset made Egypt very prosperous. The silted up canals of the Delta she diligently cleared out, and much of the damage inflicted by the Hyksos Kings she carefully repaired.[2] The commerce of the land was encouraged in every way. A very interesting example of the widespread ramifications of trade in her day is afforded by the discovery in barrows at Stonehenge of beads of Egyptian faïence, coated with Egyptian blue glaze. From this circumstance, Professor Sayce has dated the erection of the Stonehenge monoliths to the time of Hatshepset.[3] In Sinai there are inscriptions and stelæ of the indefatigable Queen, stretching over a period of eighteen years, which reveal her pious care for the divinities of the Wady Maghârâ.[4] And while this peace-loving sovereign waged no great wars, and spent most of her days at home, it is possible to believe, from an inscription of her reign that has survived, that at least on one occasion she made a triumphal tour through the territory of Canaan which had been overrun by her father, Thothmes I. The inscription makes the gods refer to her in these terms:[5] "Thou makest thy way through mountainous lands innumerable, and makest thyself master of them: thou seizest the lands of the Thekennu: thou smitest with thy weapons the devilish Anti, and cuttest off the heads of their soldiers: thou art master of the nobles of Retennu (Syria) with slaughterings after the manner of thy father: thou hast tribute from the people and takest prisoners by hundreds of thousands." Unless this is just grandiloquent nonsense, it seems to tell us the singular fact that the greatest of Egypt's queens marched through the Holy Land, and with her own eyes witnessed the territory which was afterwards to prove so famous in the annals of mankind.

But the main fact which renders the personality of this Queen of engrossing interest to all students of Scripture is that there are many cogent reasons for believing that she is to be identified with *the daughter of Pharaoh*[6] who was the means of preserving the life of the infant Moses.[7] I have already pointed out that modern thought is more and more tending to discard the once widely received opinion which identified Rameses II with the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and rather to revert to the old view that both the Oppression and the Exodus took place under the XVIIIth Dynasty. The fresh evidence which has induced this change of view is not so much any single fact, as rather a multitude of scattered details which collectively make the case for the Rameses II theory quite untenable. While the evidence against that theory contributed by the famous Merenptah stele will be referred to in its proper place,[8] it may be well at this juncture to point out another fact dealing with the whole scheme of the Bible Chronology.

[1] See on these Egypto-Cretan connections, Hall, *Ann. of Brit. School at Athens*, viii. 162–75: x. 154: *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 1901: and *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i., Pt. iii. (1914), p. 201, where he discusses the identity of the "Keftiu" with Crete, as against Wainwright's view (*Liverpool Annals of Arch.*, vi. (1913), p. 24 f.) that by "Keftiu" is meant Cilicia. [2] This she herself asserts on the front of the rock cut temple at Speos Artemidos near Beni-Hasan. See Golénischeff, *Rec. de Trav.*, iii. 1–3. [3] *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i. 1, 18 (1914). Hall (*The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir-el-Bahari*, iii. 17) and *op. cit.*, p. 19, corroborates the identity of the British beads with Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty types. On the other hand, Ludovic M. Mann (*Glasgow Herald*, Jan. and Feb. 1920) maintains that the Stonehenge beads were of purely British workmanship, and that it is therefore impossible to deduce from them any Egyptian connection. [4] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, pp. 84, 89, 102–5, 142, 147, etc. [5] Naville, *Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, p. 3, pl. 57. [6] Ex. 2.[5] [7] I am indebted for some of the following remarks to an admirable paper by the late Professor Orr in the *Expositor*, 5th Ser., v. 173. [8] See p. 244.

If the Chronology of Scripture is of any value, it decidedly favours the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, rather than the XIXth, as that wherein the Oppression and the Exodus took place. It should be carefully noted with what extreme particularity the Exodus date is given. In the case of the founding of Solomon's temple, it is stated, *In the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Ziv, which is the second month, he began to build the house of the Lord.*[1] The date was a great era in the history of Israel, and it is a very important one for our purpose, for from it we can calculate backwards many other chronological details.[2] Professor Curtis, as a result of careful investigation, has shown [3] that Ussher's date for the founding of the Temple—B.C. 1015—is too high, and that either B.C. 973 (based on the synchronisms of the Assyrian eponyms), or B.C. 965 (based on the synchronisms of the two Kingdoms of Judah and Israel) are nearer the truth. For our present purpose, it matters not which of these two latter dates be the correct one. For if to both of them we add 480 years, then for the date of the Exodus we get in the one case B.C. 1453, and in the other, B.C. 1445. Now, both these dates fall within the XVIIIth Dynasty, which lasted from B.C. 1580 till B.C. 1353, and not in the XIXth Dynasty when Rameses II ruled. More than that, Moses was 80 *years of age*[4] at the time of the Exodus, so that, if we take the latter of these two dates (B.C. 1445+80=B.C. 1525), the birth of Moses may be placed about B.C. 1525.[5] But it was at this very period that Hatshepset was a princess, the favourite *daughter of the Pharaoh*, Thothmes I.

The *new King over Egypt which knew not Joseph*[6] evidently refers to the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty after the expulsion of the Hyksos, during whose regime the Israelites had been made welcome. As of kin with the hated "Shepherds," the Hebrews, who had remained on in Goshen after the departure of their Semitic compatriots, were now subjected to an iron rule. Their steady multiplication excited the jealousy and apprehension of the Egyptians, for *the land was filled with them.*[7] Repressive measures were adopted. *The Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field.*[8] We have already seen [9] that this was the case with the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, for Aahmes I forced the "Fenkhu" thus to toil as slaves in the prosecution of his great building schemes, and Amenhotep I had continued the oppression. But if the chronology I follow be right, it would seem that it was Thothmes I who was the author of the inhuman command,[10] *Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river.*[11] And possibly Hatshepset would have followed the same cruel policy, had not her womanly instincts been

[1] 1 Ki. 6.[1] The LXX has 440 years, but in this it stands alone: 480 is found in Aquila, Symmachus, the Peshitto, etc. (Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.*, i. 242: ii. 36–39). [2] Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, ii. 140) says, "This statement approves itself as perfectly accurate, whether we look to the sources whence it is apparently derived, or compare it with all other landmarks of history and chronology among the Hebrews and other nations." [3] Art. CHRONOLOGY OF THE O.T. in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 401. [4] Ex. 7.[7] [5] See further details in chronological Table in Appendix, p. 517. [6] Ex. 1[8]. [7] Ex. 1.[7] [8] Ex. 1.[13 14] [9] See p. 126. [10] This is apparent from the fact that Thothmes I reigned from B.C. 1544 to probably B.C. 1515, and Moses was born in B.C. 1525. [11] Ex. 1.[22] The *birth stools* to which reference is made (Ex. 1 [16]) have been discovered in Egypt in large numbers, and similar articles have been found in many parts of the world (Ploss, *Das Weib*[2] ii. 35, 179 f.). It is uncertain whether the names of the two midwives, Pual and Shiphrah, are of Hebrew or of Egyptian origin.

roused at the sight of the infant's pathetic situation. When the *ark of papyrus* [1] containing the child was opened, and *the babe wept, she had compassion on him.*[2] It should be noted that the Bible does not describe her as "queen." She did not begin to reign till B.C. 1514, and, as we have seen, Moses was born in B.C. 1525. Had she been spoken of as "queen," the discrepancy would have been manifest. But she is referred to merely as *the daughter of Pharaoh.*[2] Nevertheless, as the favourite daughter, and latterly the co-regent of her father, Thothmes I, this remarkable princess, even at an early age, wielded very considerable authority, and it was therefore appropriate that she should be able to defy the royal order, and in the face of the law, carry out her own scheme of saving Moses alive.

It is significant also that Josephus [3] gave this princess the name of "Thermuthis," which may well be a corruption for "Tahutimes" or "Thothmes," the family name of the XVIIIth Dynasty.[4] The name she bestowed on the Hebrew child—*he became her son and she called his name Moses* [5]—linked the adopted boy with the Royal Family. Her own name being "Thermuthis," or "Tahutimes," her father, husband and nephew all bearing the names "Thothmes" or "Thutmosis," it was appropriate that she should call the child "Moses" or "Mosis" also.[6]

While these facts fit in admirably with the events of the XVIIIth Dynasty, it is hard to reconcile them with the state of matters under the XIXth Dynasty, as is so often attempted. The main argument used in support of the theory that the Oppression took place under the latter dynasty is supplied in the statement that the Hebrews *built for Pharaoh store cities Pithom and Raamses,*[7] which has been advanced as the clearest proof, inasmuch as, it is alleged, the last mentioned city could only have been named after Rameses II. Yet, the reasoning is fallacious and inconclusive.[8] Pithom, now Tell-el-Maskhuta [9] in the Wady Tumilât, was the religious name of the city whose civil title was Succoth, and whose later Greek appellation was Heroöpolis.[10] It is the same as Patumos, one of the cities of the "Arabian nome," [11] whose capital was Qesem or Goshen,[12] now Saft-el-Henna.[13] Raamses also was in the land of Goshen, and seems to be the modern Tell-er-Retabeh.[14] It is situated, like Pithom, in the

[1] Ex. 2.[3] The ark (תֵּבָה *tebhah*) in which Moses was preserved was made of papyrus reeds. It is an Egyptian word = "hollow"; perhaps connected with Heb. *ob*, which appears in the name for a ventriloquist (Macpherson in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 148). The Hebrew words for "pitch" and "slime," with which Jochebed daubed the ark, are also akin to Egyptian equivalents (Cook in *Speaker's Comm. on Exodus*, p. 484). [2] Ex. 2.[5 6 7 8 9 10] [3] *Antiq.*, ii. 9, 5. [4] See Lesueur, *Chronologie des rois d'Egypte*, p. 183, for an attempted identification of Thermuthis with some Egyptian princess. [5] Ex. 2.[10] [6] The modern tendency is to derive the name "Moses" not from the Coptic *mo*, "water" and *ushe*, "saved," but from the Egyptian *mes*, *mesu*, "son," "child," seen in Thoth*mes*, Ra-*mes*-su (see Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 438: *One Volume D.B.*, p. 632). It may be observed that Thermuthis was bathing in the Nile in a branch free from crocodiles. This suggests the locality of Zoan or Tanis. Heliopolis is not near the river: Memphis was crocodile haunted: but *the field of Zoan* (Psa. 78 [12]) answers all the particulars necessary. [7] Ex. 1.[11] [8] The British Museum possesses bricks stamped with the name of Thothmes I, showing straw mixed with clay in order to bind the materials together, centuries before Rameses II. [9] Chabas was the first to make out this identification. [10] On the name "Atum," contained in "Pithom," and its connection with Canaan, see Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1919, p. 182. [11] Herod. ii. 158. [12] Gen. 46.[34] [13] Naville, *The Store City of Pithom*, has proved that Saft-el-Henna was the city whose name in hieroglyphics was Pa-Sopt. In the time of the XXXth Dynasty it was known as Kes (in Greek, Pha-cus-a), in the LXX as "Kesem," in the O.T. as "Goshen." [14] So Petrie, but Lieblein identifies it with Tell-el-Kebir. He quotes the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* of the Lady Silvia, p. 39 (A.D. 385–8) to prove his point. Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands* (1913), p. 76, considers its identification still uncertain, and A. H. Gardiner (*J. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 267) says "We may feel certain that Tell-er-Retabeh is *not* Raamses."

Wady Tumilât, 20 miles from Ismailia. But neither Pithom nor Raamses needed to be "built" for Rameses II, for both of them had been in existence long before the time of the XIXth Dynasty. Petrie dug into the foundation deposit of Raamses, and discovered a small arched brick tomb of an infant buried at full length with its head to the East.[1] Now, this is proof of the non-Egyptian foundation of the city. It points to a connection with the similar revolting Canaanite practice of sacrificing a child at the foundation of a city, or castle, or house, of which Macalister found many traces at Gezer in Palestine. From this, Petrie has assigned the date when Raamses was founded to possibly the time when Syrian invaders entered the Delta subsequent to the downfall of the VIth Dynasty. In any case, the site was a very ancient one, for the explorer came across stone vases of the Old Kingdom, and weights and scarabs of the IXth to the XIIth Dynasties at a depth of 12 to 15 feet below the level of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty buildings. These discoveries prove the antiquity of the city, and make it manifest that the "building" by the Israelites was not *ab initio*, but in actuality the rebuilding on a foundation already hoary with age.

That the city existed long ere this "building" by the Hebrews is still further evidenced by the testimony of the Bible itself. In the Hyksos regime, centuries before the time of Rameses II, it is stated that *Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses.*[2] Still further, the Septuagint says that Jacob *sent Judah before him unto Joseph to meet him at Heroöpolis in the land of Ramesses.*[3] This shows that Heroöpolis (that is Pithom, as the Coptic Version has it) was regarded as in existence in Joseph's day. And once again, the Septuagint affirms that, in addition to Pithom and Raamses, the children of Israel were forced by Pharaoh to build also *On, which is Heliopolis.*[4] If the reading embodies a true tradition, it shows that "built" cannot mean literally "founded," for Heliopolis had been a great city since the time of the earliest dynasties.[5] As thus Heliopolis was merely rebuilt by the Hebrews, there is nothing to hinder us from understanding that Pithom and Raamses were similarly dealt with by the command of Thothmes I.

It is remarkable also that at Saft-el-Henna, or Goshen, the cemetery, on being discovered by Petrie,[6] yielded evidence of having been used during this period. It was found that the 1,500 graves which were examined started from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and continued down to Roman times. But it was during the XVIIIth Dynasty that the burials were particularly numerous, many of the dead being interred in slipper-shaped coffins.[7] The fact that these deaths took place in Goshen while the Oppression was in progress gives point to the pathetic cry of the Hebrews at the Red Sea, when at last they thought they saw freedom ahead, *Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?*[8]

[1] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 29. [2] Gen. 47.[11] [3] Gen. 46.[28]
[4] Ex. 1.[11] [5] Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 405) says "The objection to this view (an Exodus earlier than the time of Merenptah) that the names Pithom and Raamses are but little earlier than the time of Merenptah, is easily disposed of. They may perfectly well be the interpretation of a scribe who knew their names as those of Egyptian cities which existed in his time in and near the land of Goshen." This is an alternative supposition, but one which I do not find it necessary to adopt.
[6] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1906, p. 25: *Hyksos and Israelites' Cities*, p. 35.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [8] Ex. 14.[11]

From these premisses, and from others of an even more cogent character yet to be discussed, it seems to be plain that the Oppression was a feature, not of the XIXth, but of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and that the princess who saved Moses from destruction, and brought him up in her house, to become the future deliverer of his people, was none other than the renowned Hatshepset, who later became one of the most remarkable of Egypt's Queens.[1]

[1] Her tomb, recently discovered, has been described by Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Hatshopsitu*, 1906.

CHAPTER XII

Thothmes III and the Oppression of the Hebrews

The death of the famous Queen Hatshepset, whose reign of peace had brought prosperity and glory to Egypt, was followed by the long and strenuous reign of Thothmes III (*c.* B.C. 1515–1461), who on the decease of his aunt, assumed full control of the reins of government. His first act was to vent his rage against the powerful woman who had so long imposed her will as a check on his. Every inscription and figure of the late Queen which he could find he chiselled out, and he sought to obliterate her memory altogether. In the defaced cartouches he placed either his own name, or that of Thothmes II.[1]

Through a widespread revolt of the nominally subject provinces of Canaan, Thothmes III was led to embark on a path of conquest absolutely unprecedented in the annals of Egypt. For the next twenty years almost every spring found him engaged in some vast plundering expedition, whereby he ravaged Syria and Palestine from end to end. The story of his achievements he carved on stone slabs in the temple of Amen at Karnak.[2]

In the 22nd year of his reign, he tells us he was at Zar or Zaru,[3] the frontier outpost of Egypt. The date was about 17th April, B.C. 1494. Nine days later he reached Gaza,[4] on 26th April, the anniversary of his accession to the throne. Amid the almost universal defection, he had found only two cities that were loyal—Sharuhen [5] and Irtcha. On the 8th May he reached Yehem, a little south of Mount Carmel, where he learned of a formidable Canaanite coalition which was intending to bar his advance at Megiddo.[6] His council of war advised either one or other of two

[1] Occasionally, however, it happened that his masons were not very careful in this thankless toil. Amongst many other instances which might be cited of strange forgetfulness on their part, that at the temple of Buhen may be mentioned. This temple in many places bears a cartouche, which has evidently been engraved over the erased cartouche of the deceased Queen. "But the epithets 'Beloved of Horus,' and 'giving life for ever,' which follow the names of Thothmes II, have feminine terminations, which betray the secret that the titles were originally not those of a king, but of a queen! It is evident then that the cartouches were originally those of Thothmes II and Hatshepset, but were deliberately altered to Thothmes II and Thothmes III, and that the royalty whose figure has been consistently cut out or erased was Queen Hatshepset, the principal builder of the temple." (Randall Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen* (1911), p. 10). [2] See Birch, *Archæologia*, xxxv. 116–166: *R.P.*, ii. 35: Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 103: Brugsch, *Gesch. Ægypt.*, pp. 295–305: Osburn, *Monum. Hist. of Egypt*, i. 233–52: Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1876, pp. 87, 140, and *Tell-Amarna Tablets*, pp. 232–46: Tomkins in *T.S.B.A.*, ix. 223–254: Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 281–92. [3] The Zoar of Gen. 13,[10] see p. 103. [4] This is the first mention of Gaza found in the Egyptian monuments: for the rise of the town before this, see Martin A. Meyer, *Hist. of the City of Gaza*, New York, 1907. [5] Now Tell-esh-Sheriah, 12 miles N.W. of Beersheba (*cf.* Jos. 19 [6]). Its capture by Aahmes I may have taught it the lesson of loyalty to the Egyptian crown. [6] According to G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 386) to be identified

safer routes—by Taanach [1] or by Zephath. Thothmes scorned the idea, and cried for volunteers to force the dangerous pass *via* Aluna.[2] The gorge was rushed in face of the ambuscades, and that night the royal tent was pitched to the south of Megiddo. Next morning (13th May) there was a bloody battle. Thothmes, riding in his polished bronze war-chariot like the flashing god Horus, struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, who, abandoning their gold and silver chariots, fled to the city. The inhabitants shut their gates, and pulled up the fugitive leaders by ropes made of clothes let down over the wall. The Egyptian troops flew upon the immense loot of the stricken battle-field, and cut off a hand from every corpse. But the city had next to be captured. It was closely invested, and at length starved into absolute surrender.

The King of Kadesh, the head of the rebellious coalition of petty dynasts, had escaped, but all his companion chieftains prostrated themselves at Thothmes' feet. They were treated with the clemency which was so marked a feature with Egyptian Kings, and which offered such a contrast to the inhuman barbarities with which the Assyrian monarchs tortured their captives. Such was the renown of this battle, and the fear of Egypt's prowess aroused by it, that, soon after, ambassadors arrived from Assyria, bringing presents to the Pharaoh from the King of Nineveh. The booty from the battle was enormous, and revealed how wealthy Canaan was. It comprised 2041 mares, 191 foals, 1,949 oxen, 2,000 goats, 296 bulls, 20,500 sheep, 200 suits of armour, 502 bows, 892 chariots, 32 chariots plated with gold, 7 silver-plated tent poles belonging to the prince of Kadesh, and 3,401 prisoners.[3] From the rest of Canaan,[4] which now lay prostrate before him, Thothmes carried off 1,796 male and female slaves, 87 sons of chiefs, 97 swords, 1,784 pounds of gold rings, silver rings weighing 966 pounds, cups, vases, ivory and ebony ornaments, a golden plough, thrones and footstools, a statue with a head of gold, cedar wood tables inlaid with gold and precious stones, golden sceptres, richly embroidered garments, etc., besides 208,000 measures of corn.[5] Incense also is frequently mentioned as part of the spoils from Canaan,[6] and even the town of Lebonah [7] ("frankincense") is mentioned in a list of Thothmes III. Incense burners have been found in the mounds of Palestine.[8]

This Canaanitish civilization with which the Egyptians thus came in contact was in some respects far in advance of that of the conquerors.[9] While Egypt might excel in the vastness of her engineering works, in the exquisite finish and enormous solidity of her buildings, Canaan easily beat her in the delicacy of the arts of refinement and culture. The evidences of luxury are so abundant, while skill in craftsmanship is revealed in so many directions, that it is plain that Egypt had much to learn in technique from the peoples of Palestine, whom she crushed. These little towns, some of

with Lejjun. Conder, however (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1877, p. 13), urges that the true identification is with Mujedda. Breasted (*P.S.B.A.*, xxii. (1900) 96) thoroughly investigates the rival claims of these two cities, and decides for Lejjun. Hall (*Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 235) places it at Tell-el-Mutesellim.

[1] Now Ta'annuk on S.E. edge of plains of Esdraelon, *cf.* Judg. 5.[19] [2] Derived from Hebrew, Elyon=high. [3] See Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 36. [4] For the military operations of Thothmes, subsequent to the capture of Megiddo, see Passykinn in *Rec. de Trav.*, 1903 (xxvi.), p. 169. [5] On the lavish luxury of Canaan during this period, see Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 156. [6] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* Index, s.v. "Incense." [7] Judg 21.[19] [8] Schumacher, *Tell-el-Mutesellim* frontispiece. [9] See Stanley A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 1–12.

which—Gezer, Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Tell Zakariya,[1] Megiddo, Taanach, Jericho—have recently been unearthed by modern exploration, evidence a state of culture which is surprising. Their lavish wealth and their arts and crafts show how deeply they were influenced by that Babylonian civilization which had once been predominant throughout the West. The jurisprudence of Hammurabi had been the law of Syria since the days of Abraham: the astronomy of Chaldæa had taught the Canaanites much star-lore: the sciences of language, writing, and of mathematics were well developed; and Babylonian cuneiform was the tongue of diplomacy in which the Palestinian "Kings" conducted their correspondence. Canaan was no land of barbarism, tenanted by rude pastoral tribes. It was peopled by a race who were among the foremost then living in all the arts, refinements, and luxuries of a highly technical civilization. While the cities and towns were full of treasure—gold, silver, bronze, and iron ornaments, and precious stones which seem to have been exceedingly abundant—the agriculture of the country districts was far advanced. Their glorious cornfields, their sunny orchards, their smiling vineyards and oliveyards betokened the enormous productiveness of the soil, insomuch that Thothmes says he found grain in Canaan "more plentiful than the sand of the shore."

On one of the pylons of the temple of Karnak, the King carved a "list of the princes of Upper Ruten (*i.e.*, Syria) whom His Majesty shut up in the miserable Maketa (Megiddo), and from whom His Majesty led living captives to Thebes on his first victorious campaign." The list originally contained 270 names in 10 rows, but it has now only about 119 that are legible. The names of many of the towns are very familiar to us in later days when the Hebrews had conquered Canaan. The list[2] includes such places as Kadesh,[3] Megiddo,[4] Tibhath,[5] Dothan,[6] Merom,[7] Damascus,[8] Hamath,[9] Beirut,[10] Shimron,[11] Kanah,[12] Ashtaroth-Karnaim,[13] On of the Rephaim[14] (or Raphana), Laish,[15] Hazor,[16] Pella, Chinneroth,[17] Adami or Adam-nekeb,[18] Kishion,[19] Shunem,[20] Mishal,[21] Taanach,[22] Ibleam,[23] Accho,[24] Carmel,[25] Anaharath,[26] Shemesh-Atum or Beth-Shemesh,[27] Ophrah,[28] Nekeb,[29] Anem,[30] Joppa,[31] Gath,[32] Lydda,[33] Ono,[34] Socoh,[35] Migdol,[36] Harel,[37] Naamah,[38] Gerar,[39] Carmel of Judah,[40] Ekron,[41] Rabbah of Judah,[42] Maarath,[43] Adoraim,[44] Gezer,[45] Sirah,[46] Beeroth,[47] Bethel,[48] Beth-Anath,[49]

[1] Bliss (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 108) found at Tell Zakariya, among many other Egyptian remains, a scarab of bone, bearing the cartouche of Thothmes III. [2] An analysis of the list, with probable identifications of the localities indicated, will be found in Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1876, pp. 86–97: 140–148: Tomkins *R.P.*, 2nd Ser. v., and *P.S.B.A.*, 1887, p. 162: *T.S.B.A.*, ix. (1893), pp. 255–280: *Trans. of Victoria Institute*, 1886, p. 297: Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 157, and especially *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1907: Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 320-332: Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 225 f. [3] Kadesh on the Orontes, Jos. 12.[22] [4] Jos. 12.[21] [5] 1 Chr. 18.[8] [6] Gen. 37.[17] [7] Jos. 11.[7] [8] Gen. 14.[15] [9] Num. 13.[21] [10] Mariette and Maspero (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1881, p. 123) recognize Beirut in the hieroglyphic *Bartu*. [11] Jos. 19.[15] [12] Jos. 16.[8] [13] Gen. 14.[5] [14] Gen. 14.[5] [15] Jud. 18.[7] [16] Jos. 11.[1] [17] Deut. 3.[17] [18] Jos. 19.[33] [19] Jos. 19.[20] [20] Jos. 19.[18] [21] Jos. 19.[26] [22] Jos. 12.[21] [23] Jos. 17.[11] [24] Jud. 1.[31] [25] Jos. 12.[22] [26] Jos. 19.[19] [27] Jos. 19.[22] [28] Jud. 6.[11] [29] Jos. 19.[33] [30] 1 Chr. 6.[73] [31] Jos. 19.[46] [32] Jos. 11.[22] [33] Acts 9.[32] [34] 1 Chr. 8.[12] [35] Jos. 15.[35] [36] Jos. 15.[37] [37] Ezek. 43.[15] (= Jerusalem ?), see Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 231. [38] Jos. 15.[41] [39] Gen. 10.[19] [40] Jos. 15.[55] [41] Jos. 13.[3] Petrie found at Ekron a large mortar of black trachyte with handles pierced so as to turn it over on pivots to empty it. On one side was a design of apparently the Egyptian *tat*, with the sun and moon on each side, and palm branches above (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, p. 245). This, however, was controverted later (*ibid.*, 1892, p. 128). [42] Jos. 15.[60] [43] Jos. 15.[59] [44] 2 Chr. 11.[9] [45] Jos. 10.[33] [46] 2 Sam. 3.[26] [47] Jos. 9.[17] [48] Gen. 12.[8] [49] Jos. 15.[59]

Helkath,[1] Gibeah of Judah,[2] Zelah,[3] Zephath.[4] Professor W. Max Müller[5] has recently revised the text, and has discovered further references to Tunip, Carchemish,[6] and Pedru or Pethor,[7] the home of Balaam. Another small list,[8] engraved in relief on a sandstone wall not far from the famous large inscription at Karnak, mentions in addition Irpeel,[9] Alam-melech,[10] Edrei,[11] and Jokneam.[12] The nomenclature shows that long before the Israelites entered Palestine, most of the towns and villages of Canaan had received names which survived throughout the later centuries.

There are, however, two names in the list to which special interest attaches. Number 78 reads "Joseph-el" and number 102 "Jacob-el."[13] Their presence in the catalogue of towns in Canaan has given rise to many conjectures. While some, such as Jeremias[14] and Spiegelberg,[15] have denied the identification of the Egyptian ideograms with the names of Jacob and Joseph, others, like Professor W. Max Müller,[16] have as strenuously maintained their connection. It is certainly strange to find certain localities in Palestine in the time of Thothmes III (B.C. 1494) still bearing the names of the two patriarchs who had quitted Canaan, Joseph when a lad of seventeen[17] in B.C. 1897, and Jacob when an old man, in B.C. 1875. Yet, surely, it casts fresh light on the high rank and importance of the wealthy grandson of Abraham, who while still a mere sojourner in Canaan had impressed himself and his religion so strongly on the land, that a locality in the neighbourhood of Hebron ever afterwards bore the name of "Jacob-God."

The other name is more difficult to explain. How could a young man of seventeen give his name to a spot so that, after 400 years, it should still be found clinging to the neighbourhood of what had been his residence for merely a very brief period? I believe it is a possible conjecture that Jacob, after the supposed death of his favourite son, may have erected some monument to his memory in the territory afterwards allotted to Ephraim (the tribe which sprang from Joseph), and that this spot, associated with his pious life, may have retained the name of "Joseph-God" because of its sacred associations.[18] Commemorative pillars were not uncommon, and some monument, erected in the neighbourhood of the place where Joseph was last seen alive, may have given rise to the gradual growth of a village or township which clustered round the holy pillar that bore the name of Joseph-El.[19] It is noteworthy that the two places are not in close proximity, for while Jacob-el is described as being near Hebron, Joseph-el is in the mountainous region of Ephraim.

[1] 2 Sam. 2.[16] [2] 2 Sam. 6.[3] [3] Jos. 18.[28] [4] Jos. 1.[17] [5] *Egypt. Res.*, i. 39. [6] Is. 10.[9] [7] Num. 22.[5] As it was seemingly during his *third* campaign that Thothmes III penetrated as far as these districts, we must understand that merely tribute or presents are referred to in this inscription of his *first* expedition. [8] Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii. 80. [9] Jos. 18.[27] [10] Jos. 19.[26] [11] Num. 21.[33] [12] Jos. 12.[22] [13] Meyer, *Zeit. f. Alttest. Wiss.*, vi. (1886) 8: Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 162: Groff, *Rev. egyptologique*, iv. (1885) 95: Maspero, *Trans. Vict. Instit.*, 1888, pp. 8–10: Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 337. [14] *Das Alte Testament in Lichte des Alten Orients*, 1904. [15] *Ægyptol. Randglossen zum A.T.* [16] Max Müller in *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 396: Prásek, *Expos. Times*, xi. (1900), p. 400. [17] Gen. 37.[2] [18] There are, of course, many other explanations. Some maintain that the words intimate that not all the Bene-Israel descended into Egypt, but that a clan or two remained behind in Canaan. The difficulty attaching to this view will be dealt with later (page 245). I prefer the above much simpler explanation, based on the profound grief of Jacob over the loss of his son. *Jacob rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days . . . he refused to be comforted . . . his father wept for him.* Gen. 37.[34 35] [19] Many a parallel case might be adduced from Arab practice. Not a few Bedouin place-names owe their origin to some long-departed ancestor, it may even be of many bygone centuries, whose memory lingers on in the spot to which he has given celebrity.

The Egyptian supremacy over Canaan having thus been vindicated, Thothmes III in the succeeding year repeated the expedition. This time he fought no great battle, but contented himself with receiving the homage and the tribute of the subject Canaanite princes. His raid through the Palestinian cities again enriched him with enormous spoil. He mentions golden ornaments, 9 chariots plated with gold, 823 incense vessels, 1,718 casks of wine and honey, ivory, rare woods, and droves of oxen and sheep. He established the practice of erecting permanent fortresses in Canaan manned by Egyptian garrisons. The Syrian princes were compelled to repair periodically to these fortresses, and there to adore the images of Amen-Ra, and of the Pharaoh, the god's representative on earth. Thothmes presented three cities in Northern Syria to Amen in acknowledgment of the help his god had been to him.[1] A system of royal couriers was organized to keep the Egyptian Court in constant touch with what went on in Canaan.[2] The sons of the Palestinian dynasts were compelled to live in Egypt as hostages for the good behaviour of their fathers. Even the sword-bearer of Thothmes III, and his brother, a priest, were sons of a tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed Amorite and his wife, Karuna.[3]

In his 25th year, Thothmes III marched a third time through Upper Syria, this time as far as Aleppo and Carchemish,[4] bringing back with him in addition to the customary trophies of a great plundering expedition, plants and shrubs which he introduced into the soil of the Nile Valley. Whether he succeeded in actually acclimatizing them to the aridity of the Egyptian atmosphere is another matter! His 26th and 27th years witnessed similar marauding forays. In his 28th year[5] his raid extended as far as Mitanni,[6] and the spoil of its chief city, Tunip,[7] yielded lapislazuli, gold, silver, copper, vases, lead, emery, and hundreds of captives. On his way home he sacked the maritime city of Arvad.[8] So abundant was the wine in the city that the Egyptian troops were continually drunk, and spent their time anointing themselves with oil, which they were allowed to do in Egypt only during the most solemn festivals.

In his 30th year, Syria was again desolated: fruit trees were cut down and the harvest reaped and carried off. Kadesh on the Orontes and Simyra[9] were captured and Arvad was again despoiled.[10] More hostages were taken, and Syrian maidens in large numbers were carried off to serve as concubines in the harems of the Pharaoh and his nobles. The riches of Canaan were

[1] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* ii., 223. [2] From a papyrus recently published by Golenischeff (*Les papyrus hiératiques, nos*, 1116 A, *de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg*, 1913) we obtain a list of Palestinian ambassadors to the court of Thothmes III, and a statement of the rations in grain and beer allowed them from the governmental magazines, probably at Thebes. W. Max Müller (*Jewish Quart. Rev.*, N.S. iv., 1914, p. 651) has identified the names of the Palestinian cities sending these envoys, as Megiddo, Chinneroth, Achshaph, Shabbathon, Ta'anach, Rosh-el (perhaps =Rosh-qadosh=Holyhead, see p. 233), Daibon (in Judah?), Sharon or Saruna, Ashkelon, Hazor, Hatuma (unknown), and Lachish. See also Müller on these identifications in *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xvii. 103. [3] Sayce in Hastings' *D.B.* i. 85. [4] He actually this time reached the land of Pethor, where in later times Balaam lived (Num. 22^5, Deut. 23^4). The spot is on the "Sajur" or "Pedru" or "Pitru," some 400 miles N.N.E. of Palestine. [5] Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 298) believes that he went by sea with a fleet of transports, and that he landed, first of all, in North Phœnicia. After his successful campaign he returned home also by sea. [6] New details have been discovered on a newly-found obelisk of Thothmes III at Karnak (W. Max Müller, *Egyptol. Res.*, ii. 83 (1910). [7] Probably Tenneb (now Tumb), 18 miles N. of Aleppo: see Hogarth in *Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i. 1, 11 (1914) for an account of these raids. [8] Aradus, now Ruad, *cf.* Ezek. 27.[8] [9] Now Sumra. [10] Breasted (*Anc. Records*, ii. 196) again supposes with strong probability that the Egyptians sailed to Syria. Their great war-galleys were now becoming formidable battleships.

drained off to Egypt, and the annual progress of Thothmes through the subjugated territory was regarded with a kind of hopeless terror by the miserable inhabitants of the land. No man's wealth was secure, no city dare assert its independence or refuse tribute with impunity, no farmer could hope that the harvest he sowed would be reaped by himself. Every spring, as the winter rains passed away, the rumble of Thothmes' bronze chariots, the neighing of Egyptian horses, and the tramp of Theban soldiers were heard in the glens and valleys of Syria from one end of the country to the other. The revenge of Egypt for the humiliation of the Hyksos-Semitic domination was complete. In the 31st year the list of spoils gathered was so extensive that the scribe had no room to detail the various items. He naïvely says: "They are placed on the roll in the palace of the King: an enumeration of them is not given in this list lest there should be too many words."

At the close of this campaign, Thothmes III, on returning to Egypt, found the Nubians coming to him with lavish tribute of gum, cattle, ivory, ebony, lion and leopard skins, giraffes and black slaves. This embassy was the fruit of an important action taken earlier in the reign of Thothmes. Instead of leaving Nubia to be a wild uncivilized territory, inhabited by rude negroid peoples, he had inaugurated a policy of thorough Egyptianizing of this remote province.[1] He had founded castles and forts right up the Nile as far as Gebal Barkal, had filled them with Egyptian garrisons, and had attempted to introduce the refinements of Egyptian culture.[2] Some of his castles have recently been explored. One at Areika, the district between Korosko and Amadeh, was excavated in 1907 by Maciver and Woolley.[3] It was found to be of most unusual architecture and plan, and it yielded multitudes of objects of a thoroughly African character, as well as those of an Egyptian facies. The policy of Egyptianizing the upper waters of the Nile proved successful, and for a certain period Nubia remained quiet. But in the 31st year of Thothmes III's rule, the Ethiopians had again broken loose, and had to be crushed. The lavish tribute was therefore the proof that they acknowledged afresh that they had been subjugated by one of Pharaoh's generals.

This fact opens up a very interesting and suggestive question. Can we discover in this submission of the Nubians any connection with Moses and the Hebrews? If we accept the dates of Lehmann and Steindorff[4] for the reigns of the Kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty,[5] then, seeing that the reign of Thothmes III began in B.C. 1515 and ended in B.C. 1461, his 31st year would coincide with B.C. 1485. Therefore it was in B.C. 1485 that the Nubians submitted to him. But we have already seen that the Biblical chronology gives B.C. 1525 as the date of the birth of Moses.[6] Consequently, Moses would be forty years of age at precisely this same date, B.C. 1485. We are told that Moses was brought up as the son of the Pharaoh's daughter, and that princess, as we have already found, was in all likelihood Hatshepset. Moses would certainly be taught the art of war among the other accomplishments deemed suitable for a prince adopted into the

[1] See Max Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii. 138 f. [2] Many traces of this culture are mentioned in Rosellini's great work, *I Monumenti dell 'Egitto e della Nubia*, Pisa, 1832–44, 9 vols. [3] For full details, see Maciver and Woolley, *Areika* (*Eckley B. Coxe Expedition to Nubia*, vol. i.), 1909. The same explorers a little later excavated temples and tombs at Boôn, near Wady Halfa, and discovered a temple built by Hatshepset, and later modified and remodelled by Thothmes III on the site of a XIIth Dynasty temple which had the same interesting features as at Areika. Woolley and Maciver, *Buhen*, 1912. [4] *Die Blütezeit der Pharaonenreichs*, 1900. [5] I have already stated that I have been led to adopt their scheme as being the most nearly accurate. [6] See p. 136.

Royal Family. Stephen, in his speech, declared that *Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and he was mighty in his words and works.*[1] These expressions, as the context shows, refer to events in Moses' life prior to his flight from Egypt. What, then, were these exploits ?

If we turn to Josephus[2] we find reference to an invasion of Lower Egypt by the Ethiopians or Nubians, who had poured down the Nile as far as Memphis. The country was in terror when Moses came to the rescue. Appointed general of the Egyptian troops, he marched southwards, avoiding the river, and choosing the desert route. Penetrating through a serpent-infested wilderness, he circumvented the venomous beasts by letting loose ibises among them which he had carried to the spot in baskets. These snake-destroyers cleared the ground for his troops. At last he reached Saba or Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, and began the siege. Tharbis, the daughter of the Nubian King, fell in love with him, and offered to deliver up the city if Moses would promise to marry her. The bargain was accepted : Meroe was stormed ; and Moses wedded the Ethiopian princess. So far Josephus.

Is it not possible that, putting aside some of the later legendary accretions, there may remain some substratum of fact ? We have, first, the statement of Stephen regarding Moses' exploits before he quitted Pharaoh's Court ; second, the fact that later *Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Cushite* (*i.e.*, Ethiopian) *woman whom he had married : for he had married a Cushite woman ;*[3] and third, the remarkable way in which the respective dates tally, the year B.C. 1485 (as shown by two entirely independent lines of calculation) being alike that of the 31st year of Thothmes III's reign wherein a successful expedition against Nubia is recorded, and also that wherein Moses attained his fortieth year. Surely, it would be a most natural thing *when* thus *Moses was grown up,*[4] *when he was well-nigh forty years old,*[5] after this splendid addition to his already distinguished military laurels, when he had all the prestige of a victorious general, that he should make a rash and premature attempt to figure as the deliverer of his enslaved compatriots, *for he supposed that his brethren understood how that God by his hand was giving them deliverance, but they understood not.*[6] Thothmes resented this proposed overturning of the settled policy of repression, and Moses had to flee to Midian, where he remained in seclusion for other forty years till Thothmes III was dead.[7] The synchronism is at least interesting and not improbable. It may also be pointed out that there were other traces in Moses' family of Nilotic blood-relationships. His grand-nephew, *Phinehas,*[8] bore a name implying Ethiopic, or even negroid descent. According to Eerdmans[9] it is pure Egyptian, and means " the negro " (*pnhsi*). The grandfather of Phinehas, on the maternal side, was *Putiel,*[10] a name which evidences his half Semitic and half Egyptian extraction.[11] *Hur,*[12] whom Josephus[13] makes out to have been the husband of Miriam, seems to have borne a name which was neither more nor less than " Horus " the young Egyptian god, for as Spiegelberg points out, " Horus " occurs in Egypt as the name of a human individual as well as that of a god.

In this connection it is of interest to note that the genealogies of the tribes of Israel afford evidence of not a few individuals whose names were

[1] Ac. 7.[22] [2] *Antiq.*, ii. 10, 1. [3] Num. 12.[1] [4] Ex. 2.[11] [5] Ac. 7.[23] [6] Ac. 7.[25] [7] Ac. 7.[30] [8] Ex. 6.[25] [9] *Expos.*, Sept., 1908. [10] Ex. 6.[25] [11] Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 293 : De Voguë, *Inscriptions Semitiques*, p. 125. [12] Ex. 17.[10 12] [13] Jos. *Antiq.* iii., 2, 4.

derived from Egyptian divinities. It is precarious to date these names, as the genealogies are notoriously honeycombed with lacunæ; we must be content with tabulating a few of them, without allotting them to any particular epoch. We find derivatives from Horus in *Ashhur*,[1] "man of Horus," the son of Hezron: *Harnepher*,[2] "Horus is good" of the tribe of Asher: *Ahihur*[3] or *Ahishahar*,[4] "Horus is my brother": *Pashhur*,[5] "Portion of Horus," or "Horus apportions." The influence of Ra is acknowledged in *Ahira*,[6] "Ra is my brother."

In the 32nd year of his reign we find Thothmes III penetrating still further into Syria. This time he reached Naharaina,[7] captured 32 towns, razed their walls, and slew 120 elephants in the neighbourhood of the city of Nî.[8] The presence of so many elephants in this region is exceedingly interesting. For it was through this district that Jacob had journeyed 432 years before, and as there is no reason to suppose that the local fauna had materially changed, it follows that in Paddan-Aram he must have been familiar with the appearance of these gigantic pachyderms.[9] At Nî, Thothmes III erected a stele side by side with the earlier one that had been reared by his grandfather, Thothmes I. Tribute also poured in upon him from Sinjar,[10] from Bebru,[11] and from the Hittite Kingdom to the north. In his tomb at Thebes, Amen-em-heb, one of his generals, has furnished a graphic account of these military and hunting expeditions on which he had accompanied his sovereign. He records the capture of slaves and booty in the southern uplands of Palestine; the storming of Aleppo when herds of Asiatic donkeys were seized; and the reduction of Carchemish on the Euphrates,[12] of Sinzara on the Orontes, of Kadesh, and of Ti-kha-si or Tahash. He was also present at the great elephant hunt, and when an infuriated monster charged upon the King, he saved his Royal master's life by cutting off the animal's trunk.[13]

Thothmes' 34th year found him ravaging Lebanon, receiving large donations of copper from Asi (probably Cyprus[14]), and floating timber from Phœnicia to Egypt for his temple and palace building. His 35th year witnessed a victory over a combination of princes of the Euphrates Valley near the city of Areana. The 38th and 39th years were taken up with attacks on Syrian and Bedouin tribes to the west of Mitanni. In his 40th and 41st years tribute was exacted from the Kings of Crete, of Cyprus,[15] of North Syria, and of the Hittites. In the tomb of Rekhmara,[16] prime minister under Thothmes III for many years,[17] there are shown ambassadors arriving from Punt, Nubia, Syria, and from the Keftiu. The latter are now generally believed to be the Cretans, or at least representatives of that

[1] 1 Chr. 2.[24] [2] 1 Chr. 7.[36] [3] Read *Abihur* for *Abihud*, 1 Chr. 8.[7] [4] 1 Ch. 7.[1] [5] 1 Chr. 9.[12] [6] See Cheyne, *Isaiah*, ii. 144: Kerber, *Die religions-geschichtliche Bedeutung der hebräischen Eigennamen*, p. 75. [7] The *Aram-naharaim* of Psa. 60 title, and of Judg. 3[8], Heb. (E.V. *Mesopotamia*). [8] W. Max Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 267) locates Nî at Balis where the Euphrates begins to turn eastward: Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 144), and Petrie place it at Kefr-Naya near Aleppo. [9] Elephant herds are referred to as infesting the same locality 360 years later than Thothmes III, in the time of the Assyrian King, Tiglath-pileser I (Ragozin, *Story of Assyria*, p. 59). [10] Sayce (*Patri. Pal.*, p. 102) identifies Sinjar with Shinar or Babylon, but surely it is more likely a city in the Sinjar mountains. [11] According to Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 304), to be identified with Babylon. [12] On Carchemish see Maspero, *De Carchemis oppidi situ et Historia Antiquissima*, Paris, 1872. [13] Max Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, i. 29. [14] Hall (*Near East*, p. 243 n.) rather favours the identification of Asi or Alashiya with the coast land immediately north of Phœnicia. [15] Possibly the same as in note [14]. [16] Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*, p. 20 (1900): Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 348. [17] Rekhmara survived into the reign of Amenhotep II, for he is represented as an old man paying homage to the young King.

"Ægean" civilization, of which Crete was the typical exponent. The procession on the tomb walls moves from left to right. The first three ambassadors are lifelike Cretans: they show the same brown complexion, the same long black hair, dressed in the same fantastic curling fashion, the same richly variegated kilt, and they carry the same style of vase as the celebrated "Knossian Cupbearer" discovered by Sir Arthur Evans in the palace of Minos in Crete.[1]

Thothmes III's last campaign in Asia was in the 42nd year of his reign. The region round Kadesh, and a portion of Naharaina, groaned under a final experience of his oppressive exactions as he again harried the land, and transported to Egypt immense loot and hundreds of prisoners. His subsequent expeditions were doubtless led by his generals, for the King was growing too old to undertake in person campaigns of this arduous nature. In these eleven[2] invasions of Syria, the total number of slaves captured was 7,548,[3] of whom 400 are mentioned as belonging to the higher ranks of society.[4] A regular tribute of girls was exacted for the Egyptian harems, and in this way the scions of the Theban aristocracy were insensibly Semiticized. The offspring of these unions showed a departure in physiognomy from the old Egyptian stock, and gradually also there supervened alterations in art, dress and manners, which revealed that Canaan was avenging herself on her oppressor for his wanton deportation of the flower of Palestine. Yet, through these expeditions conducted with such arrogance and inhumanity, Thothmes III raised the power of Egypt to its zenith.[5] Not only Canaan and Syria, as far as the Euphrates acknowledged his overlordship, but even the isles of the Mediterranean trembled at his name. The ancient supremacy of the Pharaoh over Sinai is attested by steles, sphinxes, and a hall and cave of Sopdu, the god of the East,[6] at Serabit-el-Khadem, which were all erected during his reign.[7] The Theban Empire now stretched from Nubia to Asia Minor, and from Libya to Mesopotamia.

Modern excavation in Palestine has revealed abundant traces of this Egyptian domination. At Gezer, Macalister discovered a steatite scarab of Thothmes III,[8] while at Tell Zakariya[9] Bliss dug up many similar articles.[10] One scarab had the goddess Sekhet and the god Sebek in the form of the lion and crocodile, with the disc of the Sun-god Ra above. Another bore the cartouche of Thothmes III, followed by the name of Amen and the eye of Horus: a third had the name of Ptah of Memphis, and so on. Most of them were Syrian imitations of Egyptian work, copied by Canaanite workmen for ornamental purposes without understanding what the hieroglyphics actually meant. The cartouche was a thoroughly Egyptian invention, and was introduced into Canaan directly from the Nile Valley. Other finds include a jar-handle with a stamp of the god Set: another with a picture of a horse in the style of the XVIIIth Dynasty: another with a winged solar disk: a mould of blue glass with the representation of an Egyptian chariot and horse careering over a prostrate foe: a figure

[1] *Cf.* also the fragments of a Cretan vase described by Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, p. 7, from the tomb of Amenmes at Thebes, which must be ascribed to this era. [2] Hall (*ib.*, p. 244) counts no fewer than 17 campaigns. [3] Or 8,000, if we reckon in other figures now indecipherable. [4] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 147. [5] For the characteristics of this Egyptian supremacy over Asia, see Sayce, *Pat. Palestine*, pp. 94–122: Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, ch. vi.: Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 271–288. There were 350 towns captured in N. Syria by Thothmes III. [6] Sopdu's emblem was the zodiacal light. [7] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 105. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 224. [9] Probably the town of Azekah, Jos. 10.[10] [11] [10] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, pp. 24, 99, 106, 107, 210.

of Bes: Egyptian alabaster vases, beads, and many other Deltaic importations. Similarly at Tell-es-Safi (Gath) the same Egyptian features were prominent, the spade turning up Nilotic amulets, beads, ushabtis, a fragment of an Egyptian stele,[1] a female seated figure with an Egyptian headdress,[2] twelve paste charms in the forms of eyes, figures of Bes in blue or green paste, statuettes of Horus, Sekhet, and other Egyptian divinities.[3]

At Jericho the excavations conducted by Sellin and others have yielded like signs of Egyptian influence. Under the remains of the gigantic walls, 24 feet high, which ran round the city in the form of a great oval egg, thus confronting the invading Bedouins of the desert with an impregnable rampart, the pottery dug up reveals that the associations of Jericho were altogether with Egypt and the Mediterranean, not with Babylonia.[4] At Beth-shemesh, Mackenzie's excavations have produced the same Egyptian facies. An alabaster pyxis [5] of the XVIIIth Dynasty, stamped jar handles, figurines of Bes [6] and Isis,[7] scarabs and other objects attest the predominance of Nilotic culture, while at Askalon a portion of an Egyptian alabaster vase dug up by the same explorer leads one to the same conclusion. Traces of the worship of the Egypto-Semitic god, *Mithra-Shama*, "Mithra has heard," have also been discovered in Palestine.[8]

In connection with these conquests of Palestine, legend was soon at work. A romance of the XIXth Dynasty [9] gives us a striking account of the capture of the city of Joppa by one Tehuti-a, a general of Thothmes III. The story describes how the general trapped the prince of Joppa, felled him with the stolen royal sceptre, introduced 500 soldiers into the city sealed up in large jars, captured Joppa, and handed over the inhabitants bound in ropes and fetters to the vengeance of his lord the Pharaoh. It is but a romance which some novelist of the succeeding dynasty wove round the exploits of this great general of the mightiest warrior King of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Yet, one item in the narrative is of deep interest to us. The story makes out how Tehuti-a requested the King of Joppa to allow his soldiers to come and feed their horses, and that a man of the "Apure" [10] might be sent as a messenger with the instructions. Long ago, Chabas [11] suggested that these "Apure" mentioned in the romance were Hebrews, but the idea was laughed out of court, as, of course, on the supposition that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, the Hebrews ought to have been still in Egypt in the time of the XIXth Dynasty when the romance was composed. But now that it is increasingly being recognized that the identification of Rameses II with the Pharaoh of the Oppression is untenable, the conjecture of Chabas is by no means improbable. As the Exodus must have taken place during the XVIIIth Dynasty, by the time the romance was written the Hebrews were settled in Canaan. How easy, therefore, for a novelist composing a romance in the time of the XIXth Dynasty (upwards of a century later) to speak of Hebrews in connection with a siege of Joppa, forgetting that he was guilty of an anachronism in imagining that they were already settled in Canaan in the age of Thothmes III!

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, pp. 194, 197. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 328. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 330: 1900, pp. 17–19. [4] Sellin in *Mittheil. u. Nachricht. d. deutschen Paläst. Vereins*, 1907, pp. 65–71. [5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1911, p. 134. [6] *Ib.*, p. 142. [7] *Ib.*, p. 171. [8] W. Max Müller in *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xv. (1912), col. 252. [9] Goodwin, *T.S.B.A.*, iii. 340 f., and *Harris Papyrus*, No. 500, Brit. Mus.: Maspero, *Contes Populaires*, p. 149 f. Böhl (*Kananäer u. Hebräer*, p. 74) thinks the romance belongs to the XXth Dynasty. [10] Otherwise *Apri*, *Aperiu*. [11] *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 1862, pp. 42–54.

Owing now to the revolt against the obsession of the Rameses II theory, the whole question has recently been re-opened as to whether we are to see in these "Apure" traces of the Hebrews.[1] The old objection against the identification of "Apure" and "Hebrews" on the ground of the linguistic impossibility of associating these names together has now definitely been set aside. Parallel cases of transliteration can be satisfactorily furnished, showing that the Canaanite *b* has sometimes been represented by the Egyptian *p*.[2] Hommel,[3] Kellogg,[4] Burchardt,[5] and Böhl,[6] have all pointed this out, and they all admit that linguistically there is no reasonable objection to the identification. It is the historical and chronological difficulties which prevent many from adopting the equivalence of the "Apure" with the "Hebrews."

Now, the "Apure" are mentioned also in two hieratic papyri in the Leyden Museum. One of these is a letter from a certain Kawiser to his master, in which he states that he has obeyed his orders to give provisions "to the 'Apure' who carry stones for the building of the great temple Rameses-meri-Amen." The second letter tells the same, that provisions have been given "to the 'Apure' who carry stones for the Sun, the Sun of Rameses-meri-Amen, the southern in Memphis." Both these papyri belong to the period of Rameses II in the XIXth Dynasty. Another reference to them occurs in a fragment of the Great Harris Papyrus of the time of Rameses III in the XXth Dynasty, wherein it is mentioned that certain "Apure" belonged to the "temple of Rameses the Ruler of Heliopolis."[7] And still a fourth mention of them is met with in the time of Rameses IV of the same dynasty, where a stele in the Wady Hammamat, speaking of a personal visit of Pharaoh to the stonequarriers, adds that he was accompanied by numerous soldiers and workmen, among whom were 800 "Apure."[8]

What are we to make of these scattered references, and how can they be linked to the Hebrews? Putting them all side by side, I think we may legitimately find in them a striking sidelight cast on the Exodus of Israel. When the time came for the hosts of the Lord to march forth, there must have been many in Israel who remained behind, either because they were attached to Egypt by the ties of intermarriage with natives of the Delta, or because, fearing the perils of the desert, they preferred the inglorious yet safe slavery of Goshen. In fact, just as when Zerubbabel led forth his band of returning exiles from Babylon centuries later, many of the Jews declined to leave the land of their captivity where they had attained to ease and comfort, so in the earlier Exodus a section of the Hebrew race seems to have stayed on in Egypt. But Nemesis fell on them. Worse and worse appears their condition to have become under each successive reign wherein they are mentioned. They were steadily reduced in numbers,

[1] See Heyes, *Bibel und Ægypten*, 1904, p. 152 f.: Eerdmans, *Alttest. Studien*, ii. (1908), p. 52 f. [2] *e.g.*, The Canaanite חֶרֶב *hereb*, "sword," is the same as the Egyptian *hurp* (Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte*, ii. 686). [3] *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 259. [4] *Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt* (New York), 1887, p. 152. [5] *Op. cit.* [6] *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, p. 76. [7] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iv. 281. [8] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 219. The "Apure" always have attached to their name the determinative which means "foreign people." Under Rameses III they have, in addition, another determinative, a leg in a trap, meaning that they have been captured and made prisoners in war. Under Rameses IV the second determinative is that representing bowmen. From these signs it may, therefore, be the case that the "Apure" of Rameses III and IV are not so much the remnants of the Hebrews left behind in Egypt after the Exodus, as captives from Canaan in the raids on Palestine made by these two monarchs after the settlement there of the Hebrews.

and the last we hear of them is that they are miserable slaves, toiling in the quarries, erecting heathen temples, and bearing heavy burdens.

The great wealth acquired in Thothmes' Syrian campaigns was stored in the temple of Amen, which thus became the repository of untold millions. Year after year the rich plunder of neighbouring countries flowed into the national bank at Thebes, and the priests grew prouder as their vast stores of gold and silver increased.[1] Annual tribute from Nubia and the Upper Nile was rigorously exacted, and long trains of captives, who were landed on the quays at Thebes with ropes round their necks, were sent to toil as slaves in the erection of gigantic buildings.

Along with the other prisoners, we must also reckon, as we have seen, the now enslaved Hebrews. The Pharaoh of the Oppression, as I have already pointed out, cannot have been Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty, inasmuch as, among other reasons, the latter identification plays havoc with any reasonable scheme of chronology. But there are substantial grounds for accepting the ancient belief witnessed to by Theophilus of Antioch[2] (A.D. 180) that it was Thothmes III who was the oppressor of the Hebrews, and who forced them to build for him Pithom and Raamses. "The greatest oppressor of the Israelites was the greatest of Egyptian conquerors."[3] A series of wall paintings in a tomb at Abd-el-Gûrnah, portraying the building of the temple of Amen at Thebes, shows us the miserable toilers at work.[4] The inscription runs,[5] "The taskmaster[6] saith to the labourers 'The stick is in my hand, be not idle.'" A man is shown emptying a bucket of mud wherewith to make bricks: the taskmaster is sitting alongside with his stick ready to beat the slave. Two men are seen carrying loads of bricks, slung from yokes. In another picture, bricks are being turned out in great numbers, and as fast as they are removed from the mould, they are stacked in rows to harden. Even sunburned bricks, stamped with the cartouche of Thothmes III, have been discovered made without straw, whereas in ordinary circumstances, chopped straw was used.[7]

The condition of the Hebrews in Egypt seems to have been one of mingled severity and comfort. They certainly enjoyed abundance of food, especially of a vegetable nature, for the Delta, where most of the Israelites dwelt, was a veritable garden. Later on, in the desert of Sinai, they complained, *Would that we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the fleshpots, when we did eat bread to the full*;[8] and again, *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt for nought; the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic*[9] . . . *it was well with us in Egypt.*[10] Evidently they had had no stint of food in that fertile land, *where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.*[11] Yet, with all this seeming luxury and abundance, there accompanied it the cruel oppression, the forced labour, the scattering up and down the

[1] The three towns of Anaugasa, Yenoam, and Hurenkaru in the Lebanon were gifted by Thothmes III to the god and his priests, besides countless lands and serfs in Egypt itself (Hall, *Near East*, p. 284). [2] Theophilus, *ad Autolycum*, iii. 20. [3] Conder, *The Bible and the East*, p. 43. [4] It is true that these pictures (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 40–41) representing the building of cities by Semite slave labour, are not pictures of Raamses and Pithom, but of Thebes. Still, the labour is the same; the slaves who toil are Semites: the Egyptian taskmasters are the same. [5] Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 111: Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 375: *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 172. [6] The word for "taskmasters" in the Exodus narrative is *Sare missim*, שָׂרֵי מִסִּים; it is pure Egyptian, for the *mas* is the hateful Egyptian corvée. [7] Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*, i. 194–5, *cf.* Ex. 5.[6–19] [8] Ex. 16.[3] [9] Nu. 11.[5] [10] Nu. 11.[18] [11] Deut. 11.[10]

Nile as far as the Thebaid, the galling sense of wrong, the consciousness that they were retained against their will as slaves in a foreign land. This feeling is again and again referred to. *A stranger shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*[1] *A stranger shalt thou not oppress, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*[2] *Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*[3] It was a great national training school wherein they were taught the divine law of kindness and consideration for the feelings of others. And thus the Israelites were shown at the outset the ugliness of that jealous and exclusive spirit of race hatred which was characteristic of most other nations at that era and subsequently. In the eyes of most peoples, a "stranger" and a "foreigner" were fair game for every form of deception, and ill-treatment, and abuse.

Nevertheless, so galling was the yoke of the Thothmidæ, and so bitter the lot of their slaves, that it seems probable that from time to time abortive attempts were made by the Israelites to escape from their land of bondage. Whether under Thothmes III, or during the early years of his successor, Amenhotep II, it would appear that the tribe of Ephraim in particular made an endeavour to fight their way out of Egypt into the freedom of their ancestral home in Canaan. As descendants of Joseph, the Vizier of Egypt under the hated Hyksos regime, the Ephraimites may have been singled out for special oppression, or their circumstances, changed from a position of dignity and affluence to one of servitude, may have been more galling to them than to the other tribes. In any case, they would seem to have indulged in some premature attempt at an Exodus. The Psalmist evidently refers to this incident when in his narrative he places it before any mention of the actual Exodus and its accompanying wonders. He describes their fathers as *a stubborn and rebellious generation, a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not stedfast with God. The children of Ephraim, being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle. They kept not the covenant of God and refused to walk in his law.*[4] How far they advanced across the desert into Canaan, we do not know. But it may be to this rash attempt the chronicler refers.[5] He mentions certain *sons of Ephraim whom the men of Gath that were born in the land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him.*[6] In this connection, the Jerusalem Targum [7] preserves a curious legend, based on Exodus 13,[17] to the effect that when the Israelites quitted Egypt after the passage of the Red Sea, they were led along the direct coast road to Canaan only a little way. But there they saw a vast multitude of bones, the bleached corpses of those who had prematurely attempted to force their way out of captivity. For "200,000 men of strength of the tribe of Ephraim, who took shields, and lances, and weapons of war, went down to Gath to carry off the flocks of the Philistines, and because they transgressed the statute of the word of God, and went forth from Egypt three years before the appointed end of their servitude, they were delivered into the hands of the Philistines, who slew them. These are the dry bones which the word of the Lord restored

[1] Ex. 22.[21] [2] Ex. 23,[9] Lev. 19.[33 34] [3] Deut. 10.[19] [4] Psa. 78.[8 10]
[5] So Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 202. [6] 1 Chron. 7.[20 23] If "Ephraim" be an individual, then this cattle raid must have taken place while the Israelites were still in Egypt. If "Ephraim" stands for the tribe (on the analogy of Jer. 31 [15] = Matt. 2 [17 18]) then it is possible that the incident may have taken place subsequently to the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan under Joshua. [7] See Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch* (1862), i. 484.

to life by the hand of Ezekiel the prophet [1] in the plain of Dura." Is this midrash utterly unhistorical, or does it not embody some ancient tradition, much distorted, based on a veritable abortive and premature attempt to escape from Egypt? Certainly the fact is stated in Exodus that *when Pharaoh had let the people go, God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, for God said "Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt."* [2]

Possessed of such vast financial resources, Thothmes III embellished with temples over thirty cities throughout Egypt.[3] One of the cities to which he devoted special attention was Memphis. Although the ancient capital had sunk into a subordinate place relatively to the mighty and magnificent Thebes, such, nevertheless, was her venerable sanctity and prestige, that she retained undiminished her hold on the religious sentiment of the country. In the long centuries during which her southern rival enjoyed the glory of being the seat of royal authority, Memphis is again and again mentioned as a spot honoured by the devotion and piety of the Theban sovereigns. The works begun by Thothmes I [4] were carried forward by Thothmes III, who erected a new temple for Ptah,[5] his architect being a certain Amen-em-ant, whose tomb at Abusir bears the title "Prince in Memphis," "Overseer of all the Royal Works." [6]

But the *pièce de résistance* of Thothmes III was his rebuilding of the famous temple of Amen at Thebes. Before the southern pylon he erected colossal statues of his father and grandfather. Then he began to reconstruct the entire edifice. Little by little he transformed it from common stone to granite, always preserving the old design, and thus he rendered it so imperishable that it has endured to the present day. He next built behind it a magnificent colonnade, 150 feet long, 50 feet wide, with a roof of solid slabs of stone resting on 40 granite columns and 32 rectangular pillars. These pillars, nearly all 30 feet high, exquisitely beautiful in their downward tapering form, their capitals made of the inverted cups of flowers, were arranged so as to form five vistas or avenues. The numerous rooms were adorned with reliefs showing the plants and animals brought to Egypt from the Syrian campaigns. This majestic structure, which covers about twice the area occupied by St. Peter's at Rome,[7] is still standing, with two immense granite pillars at its entrance. The numerous obelisks set up by Thothmes III have had a strange destiny. The largest, 105 feet high, is now on the Lateran Hill at Rome; part of a second is in Constantinople; [8] a third is in New York; and a fourth, "Cleopatra's Needle," is on the Thames Embankment in London.[9]

The long reign of Thothmes III, however, drew to an end.[10] He had been co-regent for 21 years with Hatshepset, and for 53 sole monarch, in all 74 years on the throne.[11] His scribes interested themselves so much in the ancient history of the country, while at the same time flattering the glory and vanity of their long-lived sovereign, that they drew up a list of 61 of his

[1] Ezek 37.[1 10] [2] Ex. 13.[7] [3] A long list is given by Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 126–46. [4] Grébaut, *Rec. de Trav.*, vi. 142. [5] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 403, according to an inscription at Sakkara. [6] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 29. [7] Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 102. [8] For the strange story of this fragment of a much larger obelisk, see Petrie, *Hist.*, ii. 132 f. [9] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 60. [10] Thothmes III had occupied such a prominent place in the eyes of his subjects for about three generations that an unknown poet composed a remarkable "Hymn of Victory" in his honour, which is reproduced on a stele in the temple of Karnak. (Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 49–56). [11] This is Naville's reckoning (*La Succession des Thoutmès d'après un mémoire récent*, p. 38), who believes that the 53 years are to be counted from the death of Hatshepset, and must not include the co-regency.

royal predecessors,[1] and represented him on the celebrated "Tablet of Karnak" as adoring their majesty. To history, Thothmes III is known as the greatest military conqueror which Egypt ever produced,[2] but to students of Scripture he is again being very generally recognized as the "Pharaoh of the Oppression," now that the obsession that that unenviable distinction belongs to Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty is gradually being discarded. *It came to pass in the course of these many days*[3] *that the King of Egypt died, and the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God.*[4]

[1] The proper dynastic sequence of these monarchs is not maintained on the Tablet, see p. 15. [2] From a study of the mummy of Thothmes III Maspero describes him as a "fellah of the old stock, squat, thickset, vulgar in character and expression, but not lacking in firmness and vigour" (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 289). But a statue of him as a young man, discovered by Legrain at Karnak, shows him as possessed of a remarkably fine and intelligent face with a Roman nose (see Hall, *Near East*, pl. xvi.). In later years his face became that of an aged warrior, and his mummy shows coarseness and hardness. All this is quite in keeping with the circumstances of his life as the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews. [3] A remarkable expression, and clearly with reference to the long reign of Thothmes III, identifying him as the "Pharaoh of the Oppression." [4] Ex. 2.[23]

CHAPTER XIII

Amenhotep II and the Exodus from Egypt

Thothmes III was succeeded on the throne by Amenhotep II (B.C. 1461–1436) [1] who, with much probability, may be identified with the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." He would seem to have been comparatively young at the time of his father's decease.[2] His mother was Hatshepset II, daughter of the great queen of that name.

Very soon after his accession he led an expedition along the old route to Canaan to subdue a revolt that had broken out among the Palestinian kinglets. On a stele in Karnak [3] he tells how he marched through Syria far to the north. According to the Court annalist, whose duty it was to flatter, Amenhotep by his terrible valour seemed to be as awful as the god Set in his fury and rage, and before him the peoples went down in abject submission. The King states that he personally captured 18 prisoners and 16 chariot horses. He made himself master of Aleppo, and of neighbouring towns such as Takhisa. He advanced to Nî, passed the Euphrates, and penetrated to Mitanni. Here he seems to have deposed the Royal Family, and to have set up another dynasty devoted to Egyptian interests. He was hailed with joy, he says, and at his approach the people sang songs. When he turned to go home, he had reached a spot more distant from the Nile Valley than any King of Egypt had ever before attained to.[4] On arriving in the Delta, Amenhotep displayed a brutal ferocity more Assyrian-like in its revolting cruelty than Egyptian. The seven captured chiefs of Takhisa were hung over the bows of his royal ship, head downwards, and as the river was slowly ascended they were tortured all the way in this fashion till at last Thebes was reached. Here the blood-thirsty Pharaoh himself publicly sacrificed the seven wretched victims before his god Amen. Six of the bodies he nailed up on the walls of Thebes; the seventh was sent up the Nile to Nubia to be hung on the walls of the city of Napata, as a warning of what rebellion against the son of Thothmes III involved.[5]

[1] Griffith (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxi. (1909) 42) argues that the total length of the reign of Amenhotep II was but three years, though he had been associated with his father for some years previously. The untenability of this theory is shown by Hall, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiv. (1912) 107, 143. [2] He is represented as seated on his nurse's knee (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 62). [3] Erman, *Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1889, p. 39 f. [4] There is reason to believe, however, that he met with little real opposition, and that his vainglorious exploits were much "edited." The Bedouin he attacked were not the formidable coalition of well-marshalled foes which his father had met at Megiddo and elsewhere. [5] See Wiedemann, *Æg. Gesch.*, p. 373. These deeds are described on a stele in the temple at Amada: the inscriptions were published by Champollion, *Monuments*, i. 105–107: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 65: *P.S.B.A.*, xi. 422.

In 1903, Legrain[1] discovered at Karnak a small chapel of Amenhotep II bearing the names of 24 Asiatic countries and cities which he claimed to have conquered. Crowds of Asiatic prisoners are represented as driven in fetters before the King. Amenhotep announces to his god Amen that he is bringing to him the princes of the Retennu (Syrians). Below we read 'This is the list of those rebellious foreigners whom His Majesty slew through these valleys, so that they rolled in their blood." The names deciphered[2] contain those of Kadesh on the Orontes, Aleppo, Nî, Sinzar, Tunip, and Hazor in Galilee. At Lachish also, Bliss[3] discovered a stamped jar handle inscribed in hieroglyphic with "The Palace of Ra-aa-kheperu" (*i.e.*, Amenhotep II), showing that the Egyptian overlordship of Canaan was ruthlessly maintained.[4] The King himself was a man of great physical strength, one who could draw a bow which none of his soldiers, nor any of the subject Canaanite princes, could use.[5] This weapon about which he indulged in many grandiloquent vaunts was buried with him in his tomb. It has now been recovered, and is in the Cairo Museum.

Amenhotep II's numerous building operations[6] were executed in the toil and blood of thousands of captives among whom must be included the children of Israel. His possession of Sinai was emphasized by his adding a chamber to the temple at Serabit-el-Khadem,[7] and in the fourth year of his reign he opened a new quarry at Turah near Memphis.[8] Here a limestone stele was cut out by the quarrymaster, and sent with a suitable inscription all the way to Naharaina to be set up beside those placed there by Thothmes I and Thothmes III.

If the Biblical statement[9] that the Exodus took place 480 years before the founding of Solomon's temple in B.C. 965 be accepted, it follows that Amenhotep II is the Pharaoh who figures so largely in the Book of Exodus as the king against whose pride the ten plagues were directed, and during whose reign the Hebrews quitted Egypt in B.C. 1445. As Amenhotep II reigned from B.C. 1461 till B.C. 1436,[10] the appearance of Moses and Aaron at his Court would synchronize with the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his rule. The ferocity of his treatment of the Syrian princes he had captured is in entire correspondence with the harshness and arrogance of his character as sketched in Scripture.[11]

When Moses returned from his forty years' residence in Midian, where he had been since B.C. 1485 in hiding from Thothmes III, he spoke first to the elders of Israel,[12] and then approached the Pharaoh with the demand for a three days' feast for the Hebrews in the wilderness.[13] The request was refused: Amenhotep drove Moses and Aaron from his presence: the Hebrews were oppressed with new forms of cruel forced labour, and *the people*

[1] *Ann. du Service*, v. 34. [2] W. Max Müller, *Egyptol. Res.*, i. 40. [3] *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 89: Sayce, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 30. [4] At Gezer, Macalister discovered scarabs with the cartouche of Amenhotep II. See *Excavation of Gezer*, iii. pl. lxxx. [5] See Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 10. [6] For details, see Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (1897), p. 4: Randall-Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 1911, for description of the temple he erected at Buhen near Wady Halfa. [7] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 107. [8] Vyse, *Operations at the Pyramids*, iii. 94. [9] 1 Ki. 6.[1] [10] The temple erected by Amenhotep II at Buhen in his 22nd year disproves Griffith's theory that he reigned merely "between three and seven complete years and no more." [11] Ex. 3–14. [12] Ex. 4.[29] [13] Ex. 5.[3] "This repeated request," says Petrie (*Res. in Sinai*, p. 203), "is unmeaning to one who does not know Sinai. But the waterless journey of three days to Wady Gharandel impresses itself on anyone who has to arrange for travelling. It is so essential a feature of the road that this may well have been known as the '*three* days in the wilderness' in contrast to the road to Akaba, which is *six* or *seven* days in the wilderness. To desire to go 'the three days' journey in the wilderness' was probably really an expression for going down to Sinai."

were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt.[1] Then followed the famous ten plagues, preceded by the sign which was intended to be a credential of Moses' right to speak with authority as Jehovah's messenger. These plagues have been the subject of much careful research in the light of modern science, and in connection with our vastly increased acquaintance with the past and present social and economic conditions of the Nile Valley. Two facts regarding them have been more and more clearly recognized. First, they are capable of being explained as the supernatural accentuation of otherwise natural phenomena ;[2] and secondly, they were individually directed against the worship of particular Egyptian divinities. These two main features of the plagues are worth examining in detail.[3]

It is possible that the "lepers," of whom Manetho[4] speaks as having been driven out of Egypt, may be a reminiscence, confused and inaccurate, of the story of Moses' sign of his divine commission, whereby his hand was rendered leprous and was again restored.[5]

The sign of changing a rod into a serpent was one imitated with ease by the Egyptian magicians.[6] Serpent-charming of the most extraordinary and elaborate character has ever found a congenial home in Egypt.[7] Professor Macalister vouches for a personal experience of seeing "both a snake and a crocodile thrown by hypnotism into the condition of rigidity in which they could be held as rods by the tip of the tail."[8] The *wise men, the sorcerers, and the magicians of Egypt* were past masters in all affairs of this sort.[9] They *did in like manner with their enchantments.*[10] The *Khartummim*, or "sacred scribes" of whom the narrative speaks, are the same guild which we find existing in Joseph's day four centuries earlier.[11]

The *First Plague*, that of the pollution of the Nile, may have been due to the intensifying of a feature not uncommon still on a small scale. In the third week of June, under normal circumstances, the river becomes discoloured as the waters rise for the annual inundation. Sometimes it turns green, or later red, and the water becomes unwholesome and unsavoury. The pollution is due to the multiplication of minute organisms, both vegetable and animal, through the bursting of the *Sudd* above Khartoum.[12] If therefore the plague was a miraculous intensifying of this natural discoloration until *all the waters that were in the river were turned to "blood,"*[13] it must have taken place in the height of summer, and have caused intense suffering to the people who for seven days could not drink of it. The blood-like water was found not only in *their rivers*, but in *their canals, their pools,*[14] *and all their ponds,*[15] *in their tanks of wood and tanks of stone.*[16] The destruction of the fish[17] was a very serious blow, for the fisheries of Egypt constituted a large part of the food of the population.

[1] Ex. 5.[12] [2] This has been worked out by Bryant, *On the Plagues of Egypt.* [3] For many of the following facts, I am indebted to Prof. Macalister's admirable article on THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 888 f. [4] In Cory's *Anc. Fragments.* [5] Ex. 4.[6] [6] Their traditional names were *Jannes and Jambres* (2 Tim. 3[8]). Paul may have quoted from Hebrew tradition, or from the still lost *Book of Jannes and Jambres*, of which Origen twice makes mention. See Marshall in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 548, for the strange mass of legendary accretions which grew up round their names. [7] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xx., and Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. xviii. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 889. [9] *Cf.* Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris* (Chalons-sur-Saone), 1860, and A. H. Gardiner, "Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt," *P.S.B.A.*, xxxix. (1917), 31. [10] Ex. 7.[11] [11] Gen. 41.[8] [12] Ehrenberg ascribes the red tincture to the presence of myriads of microscopic bacteria known as *Sphæroplea annulina*, Agardh. [13] Ex. 7.[20] [14] The sheets of stagnant waters left by the inundation of the Nile. [15] Reservoirs for the storage of water as contrasted with the stagnant waters. [16] Ex. 7.[19] [17] Ex. 7.[21]

I have mentioned that in the case of each of the Ten Plagues, the second main feature noticeable was the direct challenge involved in them on the part of Jehovah to abase and humiliate the gods of Egypt to whom the Nilotes were fanatically attached. The Plagues thus form a series of victories on the part of the God of the Hebrews over all the vaunted divinities of Egypt. Through the incidence of each plague, some particular deity worshipped by the Egyptian populace was attacked, or some portion of their complex religious ritual was assailed, or some superstitious notion trampled upon. We see this conspicuously in the case of the *First Plague*. It was not an ordinary river that was turned to " blood." It was the sacred beneficent Nile, whose waters were deified and worshipped as divine. Numerous hymns in praise of the god Nilus are extant engraved on rocks on the banks, and detailing lists of offerings to him.[1] In his honour, temples were erected, such as those at Nilopolis near Memphis and at Heliopolis. He is hailed as the " giver of life to all men, bringer of joy, creator, nourisher of the whole land." [2] In the first Plague, Jehovah made this god Hapi [3] disgusting: the deified stream stank, its " life-giving " waters were made putrid and undrinkable.

The *Second Plague*, that of the *Frogs*, was, once again, a miraculous intensifying of a well-known feature in Egyptian natural history. Every canal and every pond, besides the great river itself, swarmed with frogs, and the Plague here consisted in their extraordinary multiplication through the favourable antecedent conditions created by the first Plague, until they penetrated into every *house, bed-chamber, bed, oven*, and *kneading-trough*, and *covered the land of Egypt.*[4] Their loathsome appearance, their incessant croaking at night, their destructive properties—*He sent among them frogs which destroyed them* [5]—made their presence everywhere abominable; and when the Plague passed, their carcases constituted a menace to health, for *the frogs died out of the houses, out of the courts, and out of the fields, and they gathered them together in heaps, and the land stank.*[6] Plagues of frogs have not been unknown in other parts of the world, as Pliny,[7] Orosius,[8] Aelian,[9] Diodorus,[10] Athenæus,[11] Justin[12] and Appius [13] have testified. But this Plague made Hekt, the frog-headed goddess, an object of loathing. The " Queen of the Two Worlds " sitting on the sacred lotus leaf became to the Egyptians a hideous nightmare, when the frogs penetrated everywhere with their loathsome touch, and the stench of the heaps of the carcases of their divinities, piled at the roadside, must have been a striking blow at their grovelling superstition.[14]

The *Third Plague* consisted of swarms of lice, or rather *Mosquitos* [15] which had been bred in myriads from the putrid carcases of the frogs. As the inundation waters begin to subside in August, the frogs may have appeared in September, and now the pestilential clouds of mosquitos filled the air in October. The word *kinnim*, which the A.V. and the R.V. translate " lice," and the R.V.m as " sandflies " or " fleas," may equally well signify mosquitos,[16] whose larvæ lived in the pools of the receding waters until

[1] Stern, *Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 129: Maspero, *Hymne au Nil* (1868), also new edition in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, v. (1912), pp. 1–112. [2] Wiedemann in art. Religion of Egypt in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 189. [3] For details of the worship of Hapi, see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 42 f. [4] Ex. 8.[3 6] [5] Psa. 78.[45] [6] Ex. 8.[13 14] [7] *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 43. [8] *Hist.*, iii. 23. [9] *De Nat. Anim.*, ii. 36, 56: xvii. 41. [10] Diod. iii. 29. [11] *Deipnosoph.* [12] Justin xv. 2. [13] *De rebus Illyricis* 4. [14] " The cult of the frog is one of the oldest in Egypt, and the Frog-god and the Frog-goddess were believed to have played very prominent parts in the creation of the world " (Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 378). [15] Ex. 8[16 19] [16] So Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 330, art. Medicine.

the fully hatched insects came forth when the floods were dried up. They brought fever and misery by their ceaseless attacks, for *there were mosquitos upon man and upon beast.*[1] The plague of mosquitos has been in all ages endemic in Egypt, and only now is modern science seeking to extirpate the malaria by deodorizing, or by filling up the shallow breeding pools. In Moses' day it was an abnormal multiplication of these pests, with all the fever resulting from their virulent attacks, which constituted the Third Plague. The magicians confessed themselves beaten, and said to Pharaoh, *This is the Finger of God.*[2] The mosquitos rendered their pedantic rules of cleanliness and purification a dead letter, and thus they, the inventors of these punctilious regulations on which they laid great stress, had to admit the superiority of the Hebrews' God.

The *Fourth Plague* was that of swarms of *Flies*[3] (so A.V. and R.V.). But the Hebrew text reads simply " swarms " or a " mixture." In these circumstances it is best to regard the Plague either as consisting of " dog-flies,"[4] or better still, " beetles." There is a beetle which gnaws both man and beast, destroys clothes, furniture, and plants, and even now they are " often seen in millions."[5] Pratte[6] in describing their ravages, says " In a few minutes they filled the whole house . . . only after the most laborious exertions, and covering the floor of the house with hot coals, they succeeded in mastering them. If they make such attacks during the night, the inmates are compelled to give up the house, and little children, or sick persons who are unable to rise alone, are then exposed to the greatest danger of life." We may well understand, then, the consternation when *in all the land of Egypt the land was corrupted by reason of the swarms of beetles,*[7] which, appearing in November, were still the horrid fruit of the masses of decomposing animals with which the ground was encumbered.

Through this Plague, moreover, an even more remarkable blow was struck by Jehovah at Egyptian pride. If there is one thing by which Egyptian relics can be everywhere identified it is the scarab or sacred beetle. The beetle was regarded as an emblem of royalty and adored as a god. It adorns the head of Ptah-Osiris, and Khepera was a scarab-headed god. More than that. From the time of the XIIth Dynasty, or even earlier, the place of the material heart in all mummies had been taken by an amulet through the influence of which, it was supposed, the dead man would be secured against all the dangers and inconveniences attending the loss of his heart until the day of resurrection.[8] This amulet was in the form of a beetle or scarab, the emblem of " becoming " or of transformation. Here, then, was a blow struck at one of the most cherished superstitions of the priesthood. The beetles, revered as a sign of royalty and as a charm of singular sanctity,[9] became a curse, and a source of pestilence to their devotees.

In December came the *Fifth Plague*, that of the *Murrain of beasts.*[10] Modern bacteriological research has revealed how great as factors in the spread of disease are insects such as those which had swarmed in every corner of the land. Cattle plagues have not infrequently swept over Egypt, but this murrain attacked not only cattle, but also *horses, asses, camels, herds, and flocks.*[11] It was a very sweeping and grievous rinderpest.

[1] Ex. 8.[18] [2] Ex. 8.[19] [3] Ex. 8.[20 22] [4] LXX. and Symmachus, κυνόμυια. [5] Munk, *Palestine*, p. 120, quoted in Chadwick, *The Book of Exodus*, p. 138. [6] *Abyssinia*, p. 143 in Kalisch. [7] Ex. 8.[24] [8] Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 65. [9] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 334 (1904), has a coloured picture of the beetle-god, Khepera, sailing in his sacred boat: for his worship, see p. 355 f. In the Egyptian texts Khepera is called the "father of the gods": he also represents the resurrection of the body: see also ii. 379. [10] Ex. 9.[17] [11] Ex. 9.[3]

But it was more. Through it, polytheism and idolatry received a still deadlier thrust. The murrain attacked not only ordinary domestic cattle, but those sacred animals to the worship of which the Egyptians were abnormally addicted. The calf of Ur-mer, or Mnevis, was adored at Heliopolis as an incarnation of Ra. At Erment, or Hermonthis, near Thebes, Mentu, the god of the nome, was worshipped in the form of the bull, Bakis. At the Serapeum of Memphis one can still see the catacombs where the sarcophagi of the numerous Apis bulls, the embodiment of Ptah, exhibit the lengths to which an aberrant fanaticism will carry an intellectual people.[1] There was a representation of the Sun-god as "Horus the Bull": the heavens and the sky were worshipped under the semblance of the great Cow-goddess Nut:[2] the Libyan goddess Sati was depicted with cow's horns, and was regarded as "queen of heaven, of Egypt, and of all the gods"; while Hathor, the goddess of joy, the patroness of mirthful gatherings, was venerated under the form of a cow, or in human form with a cow's head.[3] At Mendes it was not a bull but a ram that was the object of worship, the priestly doctrine being that he was an embodiment of Ra; while similarly, at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, it was a ram under whose aspect the chief of the gods was figured. Criophorous sphinxes lined the avenues of Thebes and other cities, and still further emphasized the excessive devotion paid by the Egyptians to the worship of animal forms.

But perhaps the most striking feature of Egyptian religion relative to this Fifth Plague is seen in the fact that it was Amenhotep II who, above all his predecessors, showed a fanatical attachment to the worship of animal, and particularly of bovine, forms. In 1906, Naville discovered at Deir-el-Bahari a gigantic Hathor-cow in a large vault constructed of slabs of sculptured and painted sandstone.[4] The cow was hewn out of yellow sandstone, with a small head, narrow chest, thin shoulders, long thin legs, and red-brown coat speckled with black spots. A solar disc, flanked by two ostrich plumes, shone between its horns. Two figures stood beside the divine cow, and by the cartouche, engraved among lotuses on her forepart, it is seen that both of them represent Amenhotep II, the Pharaoh of the Plagues. The chapel was built by his father, Thothmes III, as a wall-inscription testifies, but the monarch adoring the cow is the king who declared *Who is Jehovah that I should hearken unto His voice? I know not Jehovah.*[5] The first figure shows the king clothed in royal garments leaning with his back against the cow's chest, and his head under hers. The second figure depicts the king kneeling naked under the cow's belly, pressing the teat, imbibing the divine milk, and thereby becoming adopted as her child. It is a striking revelation of the abject and grovelling superstition of the Pharaoh in which he glories in showing himself to all time as the whole-hearted slave of the Cow-goddess. Tremendous, therefore, must have been the blow inflicted on the king and his favourite divinity, when those sacred cows, typified in this splendid statue adored by Amenhotep II himself, fell victims to the ravages of the murrain of beasts.

The *Sixth Plague* was probably a direct result of the fifth, and became prevalent in the end of the same month. It was that of *Boils breaking forth*

[1] For the devotion of the populace to Apis, see N. W. Thomas in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 507 (1908), art. ANIMALS. [2] See striking pictures of this cow-divinity in Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 369, 424, and of the Cow-goddess, Meh-Urit, i. 422. [3] See a picture in Budge, *ib.*, i. 426. [4] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1905–6, p. 4 f.: Maspero, *New Light on Anc. Egypt*, p. 272 f. Visitors to Egypt may now have an opportunity of studying this unique statue for themselves, for the entire chapel with its extraordinary bovine divinity has been removed from Thebes and rebuilt in the Cairo Museum. [5] Ex. 5^2.

with blains upon man and upon beast.[1] As the cattle died, their putrid bodies became centres of horrible pestilence infecting both persons and creatures, and producing a form of plague which attacked all classes without distinction. Egypt has ever been the home of some of the most loathsome skin diseases which can afflict mankind, and in many cases these evils have been the direct result of the carelessness wherewith infection has been allowed to spread from decaying vegetable and animal matter, from lack of sanitary precautions, and from disregard of the pestilential effects of permitting carcases to pollute the air and streams.[2] After the Exodus, it was part of Jehovah's gracious promise to his redeemed people that *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God . . . I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I have put upon the Egyptians, for I am the Lord that healeth thee.*[3] And later, it was part of the threatened punishment for apostasy that was held forth as regards Israel, *The Lord shall smite thee with the boil of Egypt, and with the emerods, and with the scurvy, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed . . . the Lord shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore boil, whereof thou canst not be healed, from the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head*[4] *. . . and he will bring upon thee again all the diseases of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of, and they shall cleave unto thee.*[5] Meanwhile, however, this Plague of boils and blains was another grave assault on the elaborate ceremonial of the priestly caste. *The magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils, for the boils were upon the magicians and upon all the Egyptians.*[6] The very ministrants of the gross polytheism of the land were incapacitated from fulfilling the minutiæ of their sacerdotal functions, being handicapped by the torture of the boils on their own skins.

The *Seventh Plague* was that of the *Hail*[7] *and fire mingled with the hail, such as had not been in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.*[8] Thunderstorms of this severity, with lightning and hail, are exceedingly rare in the Nile Valley. But such as have been witnessed are as remarkable for their terribleness as for their infrequency.[9] That the visitation took place towards the end of January is evidenced by the note, evidently by one who knew the details of Egyptian agriculture with great minuteness and accuracy, that *the flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was bolled: but the wheat and the spelt were not smitten, for they were not grown up.*[10] This meant the ruin of the first portion of the Egyptian harvest.

The destruction of the second portion was accomplished by the *Eighth Plague,* that of the *Locusts.*[11] It came through Amenhotep's obstinacy in the face of the indignant and despairing cry of his servants, *Knowest thou not yet that Egypt is destroyed?*[12] The arrival of the locusts was caused by *an east wind* which blew *all day and all night, and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.*[13] There had before this been devastations of Egypt caused by these creatures, but the special characteristics of this eighth Plague were the size, the voracity, and the incredible numbers of the swarms which now invaded the land. *They covered the face of the whole earth so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left, and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field, through all the land of Egypt.*[14] This

[1] Ex. 9.[9] [2] See Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iv. 749 (1911), art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (EGYPTIAN). [3] Ex. 15.[26] [4] Deut. 28.[27 35] [5] v.[60] [6] Ex. 9.[11] [7] Ex. 9.[13 35] [8] Ex. 9.[24] [9] See Macalister, *l.c.*, p. 891. [10] Ex. 9[31 32] [11] Ex. 10.[1 20] [12] v.[7] [13] v.[13] [14] v.[15]

fixes the month wherein the locusts arrived as February. On the temporary repentance of Amenhotep they were removed: *an exceeding strong west wind took up the locusts, and drove them into the Red Sea.*[1]

The special significance of the seventh and eighth Plagues lies in the character of the land which was devastated by them. Egypt was a country regarded by its inhabitants as sacred. It was the garden of the East, the granary of the world, and its long line of green meadows and corn-fields, of palm, sycamore, and fig trees, from the Cataracts to the Delta, formed an ideal of earthly felicity all the more striking because of the death-dealing desert which hemmed it in on either side. Yet, here was Jehovah of Israel declaring his sovereignty over this sacred land, smiting its products, and displaying his power to destroy this territory which its inhabitants revered as holy soil.

The *Ninth Plague,* that of *Darkness,*[2] lasted three days in the month of March. The description in the Bible suits admirably that of the well-known phenomenon known as the *Khamsin.*[3] The *Khamsin* wind is like a blast from an open furnace door, charged with so much fine sand and dust as to turn day into night. The air is filled with an intensely black and impenetrable fog wherein respiration is difficult, *even darkness which may be felt.*[4] It has been known to travel over certain portions of the land enshrouding them in utter gloom while leaving other parts in bright sunshine.[5] Thus it happened that while *there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days: they saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.*[6] In this ninth Plague, however, we observe Jehovah's direct attack on the King of the Egyptian pantheon. The mighty Sun-god, Amen-Ra, whom every Pharaoh worshipped as his divine father, while he styled himself in his royal cartouche as "Son of the Sun," had his light extinguished for three days by a darkness which might be felt. It was a colossal blow to the prestige of the principal divinity of the Theban cult.

The culminating Plague was the *Tenth,* the *Slaying of the First-born.*[7] While the fever and death-producing effects of the *Khamsin* are well known, the miraculous element in the last Plague consisted in the particularity with which the disease singled out merely the first-born, *from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on the throne unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the first-born of cattle.*[8] It occurred at the end of March or the beginning of April. From the mention of the death of the first-born of the King, one naturally enquires if Egyptian records afford any confirmation of this extraordinary and tremendous tragedy. It would appear that the evidence is not altogether awanting. The distinguishing feature of the reign of Thothmes IV, the son and successor of Amenhotep II, was his clearing away of the encroaching sands of the desert from the Sphinx at Gizeh. On an immense red granite slab, 14 feet in height, Thothmes IV describes[9] how, long before his father died, he was one day hunting gazelle in the desert. Tired and worn out with the heat, he took a siesta under the shadow of the Sphinx, and the Sun-god (with whom the Sphinx was

[1] Ex. 10.[19] [2] 10.[21 29] [3] This explanation of the darkness as being the result of a *Khamsin,* is much more tenable than that of Mahler, who believes it to have been due to a solar eclipse. The date he fixed for it is 27th March, B.C. 1335, which would fall in the reign of Rameses II (B.C. 1347–1280). The premiss is not only at the outset inadmissible, but the deduction lands us in this hopeless confusion, that even granting for the moment that the Exodus took place during the XIXth Dynasty, it was *under Merenptah and not under Rameses II* that the Plagues occurred! [4] Ex. 10.[21] [5] Denon, *Voyage dans l'Egypte* (1802), p. 286. [6] Ex. 10.[22 23] [7] Ex. 11, [4-10] 12,[21 36] 13.[14 15] [8] Ex. 12.[29] [9] *R.P.,* xii. 43; ii. (N.S.) 45 f.

identified) spoke to him in his sleep.[1] He promised that one day Thothmes would be king, and when that day arrived, he must remove the sand from the feet of the god who had foretold to him his succession to the throne. It is evident from Thothmes IV's own narrative that his right of succession was remote. He was the son of Amenhotep II, but not by a mother of royal rank. His elder brother, the offspring of a union with a royal princess, was the legal and destined heir to the throne. Why then did that legitimate Crown Prince not actually succeed his father? Is it not another link in the chain of evidence identifying Amenhotep II as the Pharaoh of the Plagues and of the Exodus, that here we have indisputable evidence that his eldest son did *not* succeed him, but that it was a son by an obscure woman who actually stepped on to the throne? That eldest son by the queen was *the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*,[2] whose violent death in the tenth Plague forced at last from the proud lips of Amenhotep II the words, *Rise up, get you forth from among my people!* [3]

The tenth Plague was more than a punishment inflicted on Pharaoh. It was a direct attack by Jehovah on the alleged sovereignty of Ptah, to whom the Egyptians looked as the giver and sustainer of life, and from whose very name their land received its title of Egypt (Ha(t)-ka-Ptah). The wholesale destruction of the first-born was a proclamation to all that Ptah was powerless to protect those who invoked or trusted in his name. Thus, from the first Plague to the last we can recognize that they were all designed to be a signal demonstration to Amenhotep and to the Egyptians of the absolute superiority of Jehovah over all the so-called divinities before whom the people grovelled in abject fear. *Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments: I am the Lord.*[4] Naturally, no mention of these disasters is to be found on the Egyptian monuments. It was not diplomatic to record such terrible visitations. But it is ominous that no monuments of Amenhotep II are dated above his fifth year;[5] and though he reigned for other twenty years, the later portion of his rule may have been darkened by the calamities that crowded on him during the period preceding the departure of the Israelites.

The tenth Plague was followed immediately by the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt.[6] The route [7] was from Rameses (probably Tell-er-Retabeh [8]) to Succoth, otherwise known as Pithom, and now recognized in the mounds of Tell-el-Mashkhuta in the Wady Tumilât.[9] *The children of Israel went out with an high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians, while the Egyptians were burying all their first-born.*[10] Their next camping-place, *Etham in the edge of the wilderness*,[11] is identifiable with the Egyptian Khetam or fortification, the *Shur* [12] which is so frequently referred to in the Bible, and which we have seen mentioned in the story of Sinuhit.[13] Then came

[1] Erman (*Berlin Akad. Sitzb.*, 1904, p. 428) argues that this dream story is fabulous, and that the stele was really erected after the time of Rameses II. Spiegelberg, however (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, vii. 288), defends its authenticity, pointing out that the stele bears marks of mutilation under the Akhnaton heresy, and must, therefore, belong to the XVIIIth Dynasty. [2] Ex. 12.[29] [3] Ex. 12.[31] [4] Ex. 12.[12] [5] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 153. [6] Lagarde (*Orientalia*, ii. 20: *Mittheilungen*, i. 54) suggests that the *mixed multitude which went up with the Israelites* were the Levites, who attached themselves to (Heb. *lavah*) the Hebrews, and therefore, like Moses, that they were all Egyptians! Surely a remarkable straining, of history! [7] For discussions on the route, see Daressy, *Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien*, Vth Ser., v. 1 (1911): Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 123–128, 186–191: Conder, *P.E.F.Q.* 1883, p. 86: Clarke, *ibid.*, pp. 94, 225 f. [8] See p. 137. [9] See Rendel Harris and Chapman in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 803, art. EXODUS TO CANAAN. This is controverted by Daressy in *Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.*, 1911. [10] Num. 33.[3 4] [11] Ex. 13.[20] [12] See Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*, pp. 44–58. [13] See p. 77.

the turning back to *Pi-hahiroth*,[1] a name signifying "a place of reeds,"[2] which was probably near the embouchure of the Sweet-Water Canal. It is recognizable in the Egyptian name, "Paqaheret," of which Osiris was god,[3] and it lay between Migdol[4] and Baal-Zephon.[5] The latter seems to have been a Semitic sanctuary on an eminence on the eastern side of the Bitter Lakes, an isolated place of worship where the Semitic Baal was adored.[6]

The exact locality of the crossing of the Red Sea will doubtless always remain undecided. But there is more or less of a general consensus of opinion that the passage did not take place at the modern town of Suez, but rather over what are now the Bitter Lakes which at that era were connected with the sea.[7] Sir J. W. Dawson has shown that within historic times there has been a kind of "see-saw" movement of the isthmus of Suez. The pivot is the central elevation of the isthmus, known as El Gisr, the "bridge," immediately north of Lake Timsah (the "lake of crocodiles"), an elevation which in some places attains a height of 90 feet. This has been a link connecting Africa with Asia since Pleistocene times. But to the north of this pivot Egypt has been sinking down, while to the south the coast line has been rising. The proofs are evident and abundant. Lake Menzaleh to the north has already submerged many ancient sites: Tanis is periodically an island, and the Mediterranean now flows over several spots where once stood proud cities. On the other hand, at the Suez end of the isthmus the land is made up of recent deposits holding modern Red Sea shells which have been gradually raised up from sea-levels by the slow secular movements of the earth's crust. The fact that the Red Sea must have penetrated in Moses' time as far north as the Bitter Lakes explains how Pithom or Heroöpolis, now far inland, was able to give its name to the Heroöpolitan Gulf. The channel at that period was navigable as far as the latter city. It also explains why, when Pharaoh heard that the Israelites had turned southward from Etham, he exclaimed *They are*

[1] See Selbie in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 875. [2] The Spiegelberg Papyrus as interpreted by Daressy would make it out to be "the lake of Kharta" (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 204). The Papyrus mentions Pi-ha-hiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon in the same order as we find them occurring in Exodus. [3] Naville, *Pithom*, Pl. 8. [4] Migdol means "watch-tower," and in the Egyptian form, *Makîl* occurs frequently in the inscriptions: but which of the many "Migdols" is meant, we cannot decide: see Trumbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 364–379. [5] See Chapman in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 211. [6] So Linant, *Mémoire sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Egypte*, p. 137, and Lieblein, *Handel u. Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere*. Dawson identifies Baal-zephon with Jebel er Rabah=Jebel Muksheih (*Egypt and Syria, their physical features in relation to Bible History*, p. 65). Trumper (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1915, p. 22) with Jebel Ghebrewet to the W. of Migdol and the Bitter Lake. [7] Dawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–74: Hull, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1884, p. 140, believes that the channel was 20–30 feet deep, and perhaps a mile wide. Petrie (*Res. in Sinai*, p. 204) firmly maintains the same view. If Osiris was specially worshipped at Paqaheret (Pi-ha-hiroth), the only shrine of that divinity (or a Serapeum) in that region is the one about 10 miles S. of Ismailia, described in the Antonine Itinerary as 18 miles from Pithom-Ero. The ruins of this Serapeum, on the hill known as Gebel Mariam, may be the "Migdol" of the passage. Graetz (*Gesch. d. Juden*, i. 378–390) places the crossing N. of Lake Timsah, at the highest point of the Isthmus. De Lesseps (see Bartlett, *Egypt to Palestine*, p. 146 f.) suggests a spot a little S. of Lake Timsah. Brugsch's theory (*Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 363 f.) making the Israelites go along the borders of the Serbonian Bog on the narrow strip of land between the lake and the Mediterranean has been thoroughly exploded and discarded (see Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 111, 526: Renouf, *P.S.B.A.*, 1882, p. 13: Greville Chester, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 150: 1881, p. 104: Conder, *ib.*, 1880, p. 231: 1883, p. 79). Canon Scarth's theory making the camp of the Hebrews to have been near Port-Said, and the "Red Sea" to be the Mediterranean (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, p. 235) is equally fantastic and untenable (see Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, p. 86). Against the view that the crossing took place near the present Bitter Lakes, see Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ægyptens*, 1911.

entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.[1] Behind them lay the desert hills which formed the eastern flank of Goshen and Egypt, before them lay the broad arm of the Heroöpolitan Gulf.

The deliverance, which was effected through the *strong east wind*[2] blowing back the shallow waters, thus *making the sea dry land*, was reckoned by every Jewish writer as the most signal and outstanding event in the national history of Israel.[3] In all the Scriptures, no incident is more frequently referred to :[4] the cadence of the song of rejoicing rings from Exodus to Revelation ; and the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea is taken in the Apocalypse as a symbol of the final conquest of Christ and his people over all their foes. *I saw them that had gotten the victory over the beast . . . .and they sing the song of Moses the servant of God.*[5] The Exodus became the starting-point of the Hebrew calendar. *Remember this day in which ye came out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, for by strength of hand the Lord brought you out from this place.*[6] *It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt : this is that night of the Lord to be much observed by all the children of Israel throughout their generations :*[7] *This month shall be unto you the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you.*[8] The sense of exultation on the part of the Israelites was so great when, after their own triumphant passage and the destruction of Amenhotep's army, they *saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore,*[9] that from that moment they felt themselves a redeemed people ; and in future ages when the Israelites were tempted to forsake Jehovah, nothing had a more powerful influence in rallying their hearts to Him than the plea so often repeated by the prophets to remember that they were the nation *whom the Lord brought up out of Egypt.* It was indeed the foundation on which the Ten Commandments were based, *I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have none other gods before me.*[10] A redeemed people must be a grateful and a holy people.

[1] Ex. 14.[3] [2] Ex. 14.[21] [3] See Hutchinson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 239 f.
[4] The prominence of this deliverance from the slavery of the XVIIIth Dynasty is attested by the extraordinary number of references to it in the Bible. Thus Ex. 13[8 9 11 15 16 18], 16[1 6 32], 17[3], 18[1], 19[1], 20[2], 23[15], 29[46], 32[1 4 7 8 11 23], 33[1], 34[18] ; Lev. 11[45], 19[36], 22[33], 23[43], 25[38 42 55], 26[13 45] ; Num. 1[1], 3[13], 8[17], 9[1], 14[19 22], 15[41], 20[16], 21[5], 22[5 11], 23[22], 24[8], 26[4], 32[11], 33[1 38] ; Deut. 1[27 30], 4[20 21 37 45 46], 5[6 15], 6[12 21 23], 7[8 18], 8[14], 9[7 12 26], 11[3 4 10], 13[5], 15[15], 16[1 3 6], 20[1], 23[4], 24[9 18 22], 25[17], 26[8], 29[2 25] ; Jos. 2[10], 9[9], 24[5 7 17] ; Judg. 2[1 12], 6[8 13], 10[11], 19[30] ; 1 Sam. 8[8], 10[18], 12[6 8] ; 2 Sam. 7[6 23] ; 1 Ki. 6[1], 8[9 16 21 51 53], 9[9] ; 2 Ki. 17[7 36], 21[15] ; 1 Chr. 17[21] ; 2 Chr. 5[10], 6[5], 7[22] ; Neh. 9[9 18] ; Psa. 78[51], 80[8], 81[5 10], 105[33], 106[21], 114[1], 135[8], 136[10], Isa. 10[24 26], 11[16], 43[3] : Jer. 2[6], 7[22 25], 11[4 7], 16[14], 23[7], 31[32], 32[20 21], 34[13] ; Ezek. 20[6 9 10] ; Dan. 9[15] ; Hos. 2[15], 11[1], 12[9 13], 13[4] ; Amos 2[10], 3[1], 9[7] ; Mic. 6[4], 7[15] ; Hag. 2[5] ; Matt. 2[15] ; Acts 7[40] ; Heb. 3[16], 8[9], 11[29] All this array of passages makes Winckler's theory that the Israelites never were in Egypt, but in a hypothetical *Musri*, look very dubious. Kittel's verdict (*Hist. of the Hebrews*, i. 185) will commend itself much more readily to the vast majority of Bible students, " There is no event in the entire history of Israel that has more deeply imprinted itself in the memory of later generations of this people than the abode in Egypt and the Exodus from the land of the Nile. Samuel, Saul, Solomon, almost David himself, stand in the background compared with the Egyptian house of bondage, and the glorious deliverance thence. Evidently we have here no mere product of the legends of the patriarchs, but a fact which lived deep down in the consciousness of the people in quite early times, from Hosea and the Book of Samuel onwards, a fact graven deep in their memory. It would betoken a high, a more than normal degree of deficiency of historical sense in the Israelite national character, if a purely mythical occurrence gave the key-note of the whole national life, and formed the starting point of the entire circle of religious thought as early as the days of the first literary prophets."
[5] Rev. 15.[2 3] [6] Ex. 13.[3] [7] Ex. 12.[42] [8] Ex. 12.[2] [9] Ex. 14.[30]
[10] Ex. 20.[2 3]

As the mummy of Amenhotep II was discovered in 1898 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes,[1] it is certain that he himself did not fall a victim to the fate which overtook his troops.[2] Indeed it is never stated in the Bible that he was drowned : [3] rather *Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath He cast into the sea, and his chosen captains are sunk in the Red Sea.*[4] There is, however, still another link in the chain of evidence connecting Amenhotep II with the Exodus, in that Manetho[5] associates the expulsion of the "lepers"[6] from Egypt with a King Amenophis or Amenhotep, who had at his Court an adviser bearing the same name. Now, this adviser can be none other than the celebrated Amenhotep, son of Hap or Paapis, one of the most distinguished ornaments of the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty. He must have been in his prime during the reign of Amenhotep II, for he was an old man in the time of Amenhotep III.[7] From a mutilated statue we learn that he was renowned as an orator, an administrator of justice, a supervisor of taxes, and a master magician, to such a degree that later ages revered him as a god.[8] If the "lepers" were the Hebrews, as seems probable, we have another proof that the Exodus took place during the lifetime of Amenhotep II. It is noteworthy also that Chæremon[9] associates a certain King Amenhotep with the Exodus, so that ancient tradition, with almost unanimous consent, linked the Exodus with the XVIIIth Dynasty.

It is unnecessary to follow the Israelites through their tragic forty years' sojourn in the region of Sinai.[10] Their route has more or less thoroughly been explored by many travellers, in particular by Palmer,[11] Trumbull,[12] Harper,[13] and Flinders Petrie.[14] The last named, during his investigation of the region of Serabit-el-Khadem, made certain remarkable discoveries.[15] He found a number of rocks carved roughly to simulate eight Egyptian stelæ, which were, nevertheless, covered with a script that was neither hieroglyphic nor hieratic Egyptian. A figure of the god Ptah was evident, but not a word of ordinary Egyptian. The marks were not mere scribbles, but showed some organized attempt at orthography, for they were found at mines a mile and a half distant from the Sphinx near the temple of Serabit, where similar markings are to be seen. The direction of the writing is from left to right, contrary to the later Semitic, and most Egyptian, script. Judging by the fragments of pottery found near, the

[1] For an account of this tomb, see Maspero, *Ancient Sites and Modern Scenes* (1910), pp. 111–117. [2] The Arab tradition is otherwise. The grumblings and mutterings heard at the mouth of the cavern at the hot springs of Hammam Far'un (=Pharaoh's Hot Bath) are reckoned to be the groans uttered by Pharaoh and his dead host writhing in the place of the damned. The sea at this point is called Birket Farun (=Pharaoh's Pool). See Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, i. 39 : Thompson, *Semitic Magic* (1908), p. 59. [3] This important point is enforced with much learning by Palmer (*Egyptian Chronicles*, 1861, p 193). [4] Ex. 15.[4] [5] Quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 26. [6] See p. 157. [7] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 423 : Petrie, *Hist.*, ii. 196 : Budge, *Hist.*, iv. 106, 110. [8] Maspero, "How an Egyptian statesman became a god," *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p. 189 f. See also Sir Herbert Thompson, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913) 95, for a demotic ostrakon containing the answer given by the priest of the god Amenhotep to the supplication of a sick man. The sick person was to be treated with two Syrian figs. [9] Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 32. [10] I have no space in which to discuss Sayce's view that the route taken by the Israelites was across the desert straight to Akaba. In my judgment, it involves improbabilities and difficulties that are insuperable (Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 186 f.). Nor can I stay to investigate the recent theory (a resuscitation of Beke's old one in *Mount Sinai a Volcano*, 1873) of Prof. E. Oberhummer ("Die Sinaifrage" in *Mittheil. d.k. k. Geograph. Gesell. in Wien* (1911), vol. 54, pp. 628–641) in virtue of which he would locate Mount Sinai among the now extinct volcanoes of Harrat-al-Awêrez in Midian to the S.E. of Akaba. [11] *The Desert of the Exodus*, 2 v. 1871. [12] *Kadesh-Barnea*, 1884. [13] *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, 1895. [14] *Researches in Sinai*, 1906. [15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130–132.

date of the inscription must be ascribed to the XVIIIth Dynasty, and probably to the reign of Thothmes III. Petrie considered the writing to be one of the many alphabets in use in the Mediterranean lands long before the fixed alphabet selected by the Phœnicians. Some of the workmen employed by the Egyptians, probably the Aamu or Retennu (Syrians), had this system of linear signs mixed with hieroglyphs borrowed from their masters.[1] He sums up his discovery in these striking words :—" Here we have the result, at a date some five centuries before the oldest Phœnician writing that is known. The ulterior conclusion is very important, namely, that common Syrian workmen, who could not command the skill of an Egyptian sculptor, were familiar with writing at B.C. 1500, and this a writing independent of hieroglyphics and cuneiform. It finally disproves the hypothesis that the Israelites, who came through this region into Egypt, and passed back again, could not have used writing. Here we have common Syrian labourers possessing a script which other Semitic peoples of this region must be credited with knowing." [2]

[1] See *Corp. Inscript. Semit.* (1906), tome ii., part ii. [2] A very important use is made of these Sinaitic scripts by A. H. Gardiner (*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916) 12) in an article on "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet." He regards these Sinaitic characters as "the long-sought proto-Semitic script." See also S. A. Cook in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1917, pp. 190-192.

The Geography of the World as Known During the XVIIIth Dynasty

In the tenth chapter of Genesis we have an extremely interesting chart of the world as it was known at the period of its composition. It is a document, written by some unknown scribe, which stands by itself, and which was afterwards incorporated into the Pentateuch. The antiquity of certain portions of it, and their relative date, are evidenced by the position assigned to Canaan Canaan is described as a " son " of Ham, and therefore a " brother " [1] of Mizraim or Egypt.

Now, there was but one period in history when this description could have been possible or appropriate. It was when Canaan was part of the Egyptian Empire, and was reckoned as belonging absolutely to the Pharaohs of the Nile Valley. The only time when this was the case was during the XVIIIth Dynasty. Under the XIXth Dynasty, Israel was already in possession of Canaan, and we have to pass on to the time of the Ptolemies before we again see the conditions realized. Neither before the XVIIIth Dynasty, nor after it (till the Ptolemaic period) do we come across an historical epoch during which Canaan, strictly speaking, was a province of Egypt : but during the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the great raids of Palestine by Thothmes I, Thothmes III, and Amenhotep II, took place, and when in the reign of Amenhotep III the tribute from Syria flowed in peacefully and unceasingly as from a thoroughly subjugated region, we find realized the exact state of affairs which is revealed in this chart in Genesis. It is true that the mention of Gomer, Magog, and Madai [2] indicates an editing process by a later hand, for these peoples emerged into the light of history many centuries subsequent to the Exodus · but the position assigned to Canaan is so emphatically that of a fief of the Egyptian Crown that we are forced to ascribe the Egyptian details of the chapter to the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

This is a theory much more tenable than that of Jastrow,[3] who submits that the grouping of the Canaanites with the Hamites is "not to be taken as an indication that in the mind of the writer the Canaanites came from the South, but is due to the hostility which existed between the Hebrews and Canaanites, and which prompted the writer, in obedience to popular prejudices, to place the Canaanites with the ' accursed ' race." The objection to this view is the historical fact

[1] Gen. 10.[6] [2] Gen. 10.[2] [3] In Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 81.

that the Jewish race never maintained a bitter feeling against the Egyptians. Their law forbade it: *Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land.*[1] Nor do we ever find the Jews regarding Egypt with that aversion which the theory demands. On the contrary we have numerous tokens of the kindly feeling which subsisted between the two races. Egypt was for centuries the asylum of all who required protection from oppression in Canaan.[2] Indeed the fondness for Egypt displayed by the Jews was again and again the subject of earnest expostulation and rebuke by the more religious of the Hebrew prophets. The lists in this chapter are not ethnological but geographical. There was no ethnological affinity between Javan (the Ionian Greeks) and the peoples of Tubal and Meshech:[4] nor can we trace any family association between Elam with its agglutinative language and Asshur, which was purely Semitic.[5] But all is clear if we read the chapter as the expression of the views of a writer surveying the ancient world geographically, as it was parcelled out amongst various races, and dealing with them according to their mutual propinquity in the time of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty.

It would seem that the author of this primitive document had access to sources of information that were thoroughly Egyptian in origin. In 1894, Sayce[6] and de Morgan discovered at Kom Ombo near Assuan a small temple choked up with sand. On clearing away the débris, the wall of the south external corridor revealed cartouches containing the names of countries supposed to have been conquered by Ptolemy Auletes. In reality the list was a compilation based on an ancient catalogue of lands and peoples surrounding Egypt in the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties.[7] The list contains the names "Kaptar" and "Kasluhet" which at once suggest the Biblical "Caphtor" and "Casluhim."[8] It would seem, therefore, that the writer of the tenth chapter of Genesis used some similar list, and that his outlook is that of one writing in the Nile Valley, and surveying one by one the nations by which he is surrounded.

After disposing of the descendants of Japheth[9] who were Aryans, this geographer turns next to the countries occupied by the Hamites. *And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and Canaan.*[10]

Ham, in all probability, is the Egyptian name for Egypt, equivalent to *Kem* or *Kemi*, "black,"[11] with reference to the blackness of the alluvial soil of the Delta,[12] rather than the swarthiness of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley. It is possible, however, that the name may be derived from the god Khem, or Chnum, or Min, the principal priapic divinity of the Egyptians, whose image is found amongst the oldest sculptures. The people who worshipped this god would to incomers and foreigners be known as the Khemites or Hamites.[13] In later days, Ham became a synonym for Egypt as a whole.[14] *Israel came into Egypt, and Jacob sojourned in the land of Ham.*[15] *They set among them his signs and wonders in the land of Ham.*[16] *He smote all the first-born of Egypt, the chief of their strength in the tents of Ham.*[17] *They forgat God their Saviour which had done great things in Egypt, wondrous works in the land of Ham.*[18]

Cush[19] is the "Kesh" of the Egyptian monuments, meaning Ethiopia[20] or Nubia, which was placed by Thothmes I under a governor with the title of "Prince of Kesh" (*seten-si-en-Kesh*). There was another "Cush" in Mesopotamia,[21] represented as the "father" of Nimrod, the name being derived from the *Kashshu* or *Cossæans*, a tribe of warriors who held the mastery of Babylonia between the 16th and the 13th centuries B.C.[22] The similarity of the names may perhaps be looked on as another piece of evidence testifying to

[1] Deut. 23.[7] [2] *e.g.*, 1 Ki. 11.[40] Jer. 26.[21] Jer. 42.[14] Matt. 2.[4] [3] *Cf.* Isa. 19, 30[2 7], 31[1-3]; Jer. 37[7], 43[8-13], 44[1-30] 46[1-26]; Ezek. 19[1-14], 23[1-18], 31[1-18], 32[1-32]. [4] Gen. 10.[2] [5] Gen. 10.[22] [6] Sayce in *Academy* (1894), i. 314. [7] This is criticized by King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 438. [8] Gen. 10.[14] [9] Gen. 10.[1-5] [10] Gen. 10.[6] [11] See Margoliouth in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 288. [12] Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* 33. [13] This is Griffith's view, in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 289. [14] It must be distinguished from "Ham" in 1 Ch. 4,[40] where for מִן חָם of the text we should probably read מנחם, or "peaceful," "easygoing" (so Margoliouth in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 289): and also from Ham in Gen. 14,[5] where "Ham" is some unknown place, perhaps Rabbath Ammon (Dillmann, *Comm. in loco*). [15] Psa. 105.[23] [16] v.[27] [17] Psa. 78.[51] [18] Psa. 106.[21 22] [19] Gen. 10.[6] [20] For full particulars, see Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique*[2] (1873), p. 130. [21] Gen. 10.[7 8] [22] See Margoliouth in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 536.

the close connection which subsisted between Egypt and Babylonia during the Tell-el-Amarna period.

Mizraim,[1] the Semitic name for Egypt, is perhaps a dual—the "two Mazors"—although Crum thinks the termination is merely locative, and not a dual.[2] In the Old Testament, Mazor is the name for the Delta. *The canals of Mazor shall be minished and dried up*:[3] *with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Mazor*.[4] The eastern fortification, the "Mazor," which confronted the Semitic invaders of the Delta, gave the name to the whole country which they defended.

Put[5] is the "Punt" of the Egyptian inscriptions, answering to the modern Somaliland,[6] and including the whole African coast of the Red Sea from the desert east of the Thebaid as far as the modern Somali country.[7] It is frequently mentioned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Canaan[8] is, of course, the lowlands of Palestine, especially the Shephelah, but including also the Ghor or Jordan Valley.[9] As already pointed out, it is because the list here is geographical and not ethnological that we find it linked with Cush, Mizraim, and Put. These were all situated in Africa and legitimately therefore might be styled "sons of Ham." But Canaan, being situated in Asia, was regarded as another "son of Ham" only when it became an integral part of the Egyptian Empire during the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, "Canaan" stands for the whole of Palestine.[10]

After a digression[11] relating to the Chaldæan Cush, the writer resumes the geographical distribution of the Hamitic group of nations. *And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim* (*whence went forth the Philistines*) *and Caphtorim*.[12] The identity of these nations may be recorded as follows:—[13]

The *Ludim* are an Egyptian race quite distinct from *Lud*,[14] the fourth "son" of Shem. They have as yet not been satisfactorily identified.[15] Sayce believes the name is an equivalent of the Egyptian *lodu*, "men," more especially the "members of an Egyptian family."[16]

The *Anamim* have been identified by Ebers with Aamu,[17] or cowherds, who are frequently represented as reddish men with a Semitic cast of countenance. This, however, is uncertain.

The *Lehabim* may with probability be identified with the Lubim or Libyans.[18]

The *Naphtuhim* have been linked etymologically with the god Ptah, and have been allocated to the region round Memphis which was the centre of the Ptah cult. Ebers sees in the name an Egyptian *Na-Ptahu*, "the (people) of Ptah," or *Nu-Ptah*, "the city of Ptah," *i.e.*, Memphis.[19] Napata, the capital of Nubia, has also been proposed. Spiegelberg suggests that the name is *Na-p-Atoh*="people of the Delta marshes."[20]

The *Pathrusim* are the inhabitants of Pathros, the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt.[21] They represent the old Kingdom of the South which was amalgamated with the Kingdom of the North to form the Ist Dynasty. The name "Pathros" is common in the writings of the later Hebrew prophets.[22]

The *Casluhim* seem to have been a race well known in Egypt, as is evidenced by the Kom Ombo inscription referred to above, where the equivalent of the name as "Kasluhet" has been discovered.

The *Caphtorim* are the peoples of Crete, and possibly of Cyprus as well.

[1] Gen. 10.[6] [2] Crum in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 653. For various conjectures regarding the origin and meaning of the name, see Reinisch, *Uber die Namen Ægyptens in der Pharaonenzeit* (Vienna), 1861, p. 33. [3] Isa. 19[6] (Heb.). [4] Isa. 37.[25] (Heb.). [5] Gen. 10.[6] [6] Jastrow (in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 81) identifies it rather with Libya, following Josephus. Sayce (*Expos. Times*, xxviii. (1917), p. 214) agrees with Jastrow on this point, and equates Put with Cyrene. [7] W. Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 177, and *Asien u. Europa*, p. 111. [8] Gen. 10.[6] [9] Cf. *The Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the side of Jordan*, Num. 13.[29] [10] Egyptian names for Canaan were *Khal*, which embraced the whole country from Pelusium to N. Syria: and "*Rutennu*" or "*Lutennu*." [11] Gen. 10.[7-12] [12] Gen. 10.[13 14] [13] See Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. 299 f. [14] Gen. 10.[22] [15] See Johns in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 160. [16] *Expos. Times*, xxix. (1917), p. 71. [17] Or Naamu=Anamaima represented as tribes ruled by Pharaohs of 15th and 14th centuries B.C. They preceded the Hyksos in settling in the Delta on the Bucolic arm of the Nile. [18] So Jastrow, *l.c.*, v. 81: Müller, *l.c.*, iii. 94, 158. [19] Johns in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 487: Sayce, *Expos. Times*, viii. 181. [20] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, ix. 276. [21] W. Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 693. [22] Jer. 44[1]; Ezek. 29[14], 30[14]; Isa. 11.[11]

The *Philistines* [1] may be regarded as of Cretan origin, and their identity with the *Cherethites* may be assumed.[2] Curiously enough, Tacitus [3] avers that the Jews were fugitives from Crete, and he connects their name (Ἰουδαῖοι) with the Cretan Mount Ida. It is strange that in Crete there is also a Jordan, for Homer [4] mentions the river Jardanus.[5]

[1] The clause in Gen. 10^{14} regarding the Philistines seems misplaced: it should come after the mention of Caphtorim, as is seen from Deut. 2^{23}, Jer. 47^{4}, Amos 9^{7}, which show that the motherland of the Philistines was Caphtor: see Sayce, *l.c.*, viii. 182. [2] Sayce in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 352. [3] *Hist.*, v. 2. [4] Hom. *Odys.*, iii. 292. [5] See Prof. Rendel Harris, "Crete, the Jordan, and the Rhône," in *Expos. Times*, xxi. 303.

CHAPTER XIV

Traces of Egyptian Influence in the Wilderness Narrative

Ere I proceed to discuss the fortunes of the liberated Israelites when they re-emerge to view as the invaders of Canaan, it is of interest to note how strongly marked the narrative of their sojourn in the wilderness is with traces of their long residence in Egypt. Whatever be the literary dates of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, it is evident to every careful student that the local colouring of these Books is Egyptian rather than Babylonian, and in any discussion as to their place of origin and the time in which they were composed, this fact must not be overlooked. Not only does the influence of the Nile Valley appear in the likenesses and similarities between the rites and customs of the Egyptians and the Hebrews respectively, but even the strange and emphatic dissimilarities and unlikenesses in the usages of both nations are equally eloquent of the ancient contact of the two peoples. The fact that Israel was forbidden to copy certain institutions fashionable in Egypt speaks forcibly in favour of some former association of the two races; and in almost every case the reason for the prohibition is due to the necessity of avoiding idolatry on the part of the Chosen People. It will, therefore, be instructive to go over in some detail (approximately in the order of their occurrence in the Bible) these watermarks of Egyptian influence which are scattered throughout the last four books of the Pentateuch.

The discrepancy between the fact that the Passover was ordered to be kept *in the month Abib*,[1] while the feast was in reality ever after observed in the month Nisan, is explained when we remember that "Abib is the Egyptian name of the month corresponding at the time of the Exodus to Nisan, and the same month is called Abib among the Egyptians to this day, although the two months no longer correspond. Abib is still in the summer, but Nisan has shifted about three months in 3,000 years."[2]

It is, perhaps, too much to say that the institution of the *eldership* was derived by the Hebrews from Egypt, for the custom of aged men assuming control and leadership of a tribe, or clan, or family, goes back to the roots of human society. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that though we only once hear of an "elder" in the time of Abraham—*Abraham said unto his servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had*[3]—in the time of the Exodus the office was well recognized, and much importance and prominence were accorded it. It was to *the elders of Israel*[4] that Moses was sent by Jehovah with his message of approaching

[1] Ex. 13.[4] [2] Butcher in *Expos. Times*, xii. 191. [3] Gen. 24.[2] [4] Ex. 3.[16 18]

deliverance, and all through the wilderness journeys it was through the elders that Moses gave his commands [1] to the people. The new prominence given to the ancient office suggests that the Hebrews had developed this domestic institution in line with what they found obtaining in Egypt. There the eldership was a well-established body entrusted with important duties. It had been *the elders of the land of Egypt* [2] who accompanied Joseph to Canaan on the occasion of his father's funeral.

Many of the *musical instruments* used by the Hebrews were borrowed from Egypt. The Hebrew *kinnor*, or harp (equivalent to the Greek κιθάρα) may be seen in an Egyptian tomb of the XIIth Dynasty, where a Semitic immigrant is depicted playing on one of eight strings. Yet, Egypt was not the homeland of the harp. The oldest known representation of a stringed instrument is from Telloh in Southern Babylonia.[3] It seems to have been introduced into Egypt at a very remote era, perhaps at the time when the Nile Valley received her earliest culture from Chaldæa. After being domesticated in Egypt, it was carried off to Canaan by another branch of the same Semitic race.[4] The *timbrels*,[5] or tambourines, with which Miriam and the Hebrew women led the praises of Israel, are frequently represented on the Egyptian monuments.[6] They were of three kinds—circular, square or oblong, and two squares separated by a bar. They were all beaten by the hand, and used as an accompaniment to the harp and other instruments. The fact that the men and the women danced apart, in separate companies, points to Egyptian custom, and even the mention that it was the women, and not the men, who used the tambourine, indicates that the Hebrews here were following Egyptian fashions in music.

The *quails that came up and covered the camp at even* [7] are well known migratory visitants to the shores of the Red Sea.[8] Thousands of them annually attempt flight across the sea, and those which survive the journey are, like those in the narrative, excessively fatigued.[9] When migrating, they arrive at night, and in the morning are discovered in large swarms. The enormous numbers—*about two cubits above the face of the earth* [10]—can be paralleled by corresponding figures of recent years.[11]

As regards the *manna*, its comparison to *coriander seed, white*,[12] implies a knowledge of the latter on the part of the Hebrews. Coriander was cultivated in Egypt for medicinal purposes,[13] and therefore the appearance of its seeds would be familiar to the Israelites. That the *taste* of the manna *was like wafers made with honey* betrays a similar Egyptian connection, for a favourite Nilotic mode of offering to the gods was to present cakes made of meal, oil, and honey. Hence, the further description is strictly Egyptian in character—*the taste of it was as the taste of cakes baked with oil*.[14] Even the word "manna" has Egyptian affinities.[15]

It is remarkable, further, that the amount to be gathered by each Israelite was regulated by Egyptian measurement—*an omer a head according to the number of your persons* : [16] *now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah*.[17]

[1] Ex. 4^{29}, 12^{21}, 17^{5}, 18^{12}, 19^{7}, $24^{1\ 9}$, etc. [2] Gen. 50.[7] [3] Millar in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 459. [4] A list of the stringed instruments in use among the Egyptians, from one-stringed to twenty-one-stringed will be found in Textor de Ravisi, "Recherches et conjectures sur la Poésie Pharaonique" in *Congrès Provincial des Orientalists Français à St. Etienne*, 1875, p. 506 f. [5] Ex. 15.[20] [6] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt* (1878), i. 491. [7] Ex. 16.[13] [8] They were common in Egypt where they were salted and eaten raw (Herod. ii. 77). [9] G. E. Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 179. [10] Numb. $11.^{31\ 32}$ [11] *Chambers' Encycl.*, viii. 517, art. QUAIL. [12] Ex. 16.[31] [13] Pliny, *H.N.*, xx. 20 [14] Numb. 11.[8] [15] See Brugsch, *Heb. Wört. Buch.*, vi. 606 : Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 236. [16] Ex. 16.[16] [17] Ex. 16.[36]

Both the "omer"[1] and the "ephah" were measures of capacity of Egyptian origin, as Professor Kennedy has shown:[2] and indeed, the weights and measures employed by the Hebrews all through their subsequent career[3] seem to owe their origin not to Babylon but to Egypt.[4]

It is of deep interest to note that recent exploration has emphasized the antiquity of this metrological dependence of Canaan on Egypt. It has been ascertained that the cities of Palestine harried by Thothmes III and his successors used a *shekel* weighing an abnormal number of grains, a measure unknown elsewhere till Petrie discovered in Naukratis and neighbourhood a shekel weight of similar scale.[5] A curious connection is thus established between the Delta and Canaan. From the 16th to the 6th centuries B.C. an identical "light" shekel of the value of 160 grains (the half of a corresponding "heavy" shekel of 320 grains) was in use both in Egypt and Syria.[6] Similarly, Prof. Kennedy has shown that the Hebrews, in their history subsequent to their settlement in Canaan, used the Egyptian, and not the Babylonian, *cubit* in their linear measurements. He adduces overwhelming proofs of this. The very name in Hebrew for the "digit" (*'ezba*) is homologous to the Egyptian *t'ba*, while that for the "span" (*zereth*) is akin to the Egyptian *drt*.[7] Further, it is of importance to observe that the Hebrew *hin*[8] is just the Egyptian measure *henu*, the sixth part of the *ephah-bath*, another Egyptian measure of liquid capacity. From every point of view, therefore, we are led to the conclusion that the influence of Egypt on the dwellers in Canaan, both before and after the Exodus, was paramount, that Babylonian measures were practically non-recognized, and that the Hebrews reckoned according to the metrological system to which they had been accustomed in the land of their servitude.[8] These facts are strongly in favour of the authenticity of the narrative, and tend cogently to uphold the historicity of the sojourn in Egypt and the subsequent Exodus.

The injunction to the people at Sinai to *sanctify themselves, and let them wash their garments*[9] suggests the parallel Egyptian custom. The Egyptian priests washed themselves in cold water twice every day, and twice every night.[10] The additional command against sexual intercourse[11] reminds us of a similar prohibition laid on the Egyptian priests,[12] and on the Egyptian public, before entering a temple.[13]

When we come to the various items in the *Law*,[14] we note at once contrasts and likenesses. No nation of antiquity was more addicted to polytheism than the Egyptians. From the remotest ages their gods were many. During their long history, multitudes of divinities reveal themselves as the object of most fanatical reverence, and down to Roman times, when Christianity made its conquests, it was the same. Juvenal sneers that it

[1] עֹמֶר is to be distinguished from *homer*, חֹמֶר [2] In Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 912, art. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. [3] See E. J. Pilcher, "Weight Standards in Palestine," in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiv. (1912), p. 114. [4] Hommel, however, maintains (in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 219) that the *hin* and the *ephah* (though truly Egyptian) came originally into Egypt from Babylonia, and only by this route reached Israel. He says that the Egyptian word, *ephah* (*'ipt*) is itself originally derived from the Babylonian *pîtu*. On the dependence of the Babylono-Phœnician weight system on the Egyptian, see Prof. Kennedy in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 419, art. MONEY. [5] Petrie, *Naukratis*, pt. i. 78, 85 f.: *Tanis*, pt. ii. 84, 91 f. [6] Kennedy in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 905. [7] *Ib.*, p. 909. See further coincidences with Egypt in Watson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1897, p. 201; Warren, *ib.*, 1900, p. 149: 1906, pp. 182, 259. [8] See Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, pp. 176-195. [9] Ex. 19.[10] [10] Herod., ii. 37. [11] Ex. 19.[15] [12] Porphyr, *De Abstin.*, iv. 7. [13] Herod., ii. 64. [14] Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, has gone into the indebtedness of the Mosaic Code to that of the Egyptians, and with great minuteness has brought out their mutual close connection.

was easier to find a god than a man in Egypt. Against this rank polytheism the clear calm injunction of the Decalogue stands out—*Thou shalt have none other gods before me.*[1]

Again, no ancient nation was more given to representing the human and the animal form in stone and in painting than the Egyptians. For a thousand miles up the Nile innumerable carvings, wall frescoes, and statues evidence the love of the people for this style of art. But the law given at Sinai to the Hebrews was a direct prohibition of this, *Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.*[2] *Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image in the form of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is in the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the heaven, the likeness of anything that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth.*[3] It is Jehovah's great warning to Israel against the idolatry of all these animal forms to which they had been so accustomed in Egypt.

The fifth commandment, *Honour thy father and thy mother,*[4] is one that finds many a parallel in Egypt. In the *Instruction of Ptah-hotep,* we come across such maxims as these: "A splendid thing is the obedience of an obedient son," "the obedience of one who obeys is a noble thing."[5] Even the Mosaic reward *that thy days may be long upon the land* finds its counterpart in the saying of Ptah-hotep, "The son who accepts the words of his father will grow old on account of it": "as obedience is of God, disobedience is hateful to God."[6]

In Egypt, again, the violation of the ninth commandment, *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour,*[7] was punished by amputation of the nose and ears.[8]

The prohibition against building an *altar of hewn stones,*[9] with the added command, *Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar,* suggests by contrast the Egyptian practice of erecting a raised rectangular platform reached by a flight of steps. Such may be seen at Hatshepset's temple at Deir-al-Bahari,[10] and another at Karnak dedicated by Thothmes III.[11] The Israelites were commanded to depart from the Egyptian model.

The strict law against murder, *He that smiteth a man so that he die shall surely be put to death,*[12] finds its counterpart in the Egyptian legislation that the wilful murder of a free man, or of even a slave, was punished with death.[13] The law against parricide, *He that smiteth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death,*[14] is paralleled by the Egyptian horror of this crime, and the special Nilotic punishment that the perpetrator was sentenced to be lacerated with sharpened reeds, thrown on thorns, and burned to death.[15] The reference to a man *smiting his servant or his maid with a rod,*[16] reminds us that the bastinado was the favourite method in Egypt of inflicting chastisement. The rod was called *batana.* It was in use for thefts, petty frauds, breach of trust, and to extort confession. The long canes used in beating slaves appear frequently on Egyptian wall paintings.[17] The law of retaliation, *Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe,*[18] was specially

[1] Ex. 20.[3] [2] Ex. 20.[4] [3] Deut. 4.[16-18] [4] Ex. 20.[12] [5] *Instruction of Ptah-hotep,* § 38. [6] Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times,* p. 49. [7] Ex. 20.[16] [8] *R.P.,* viii. 65. [9] Ex. 20.[25 26] [10] Naville, *Deir el Bahari,* i. Pl. 8. [11] Griffith in Hastings' *Encycl. Relig. Ethics,* i. 342. [12] Ex. 21.[12] [13] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt,* i. 302. [14] Ex. 21.[15] [15] Wilkinson, *op. cit.,* i. 303. [16] Ex. 21[20]; Deut. 25.[2] [17] Wilkinson *op. cit.,* i. 305 for illustration. [18] Ex. 21.[24 25]

characteristic of Egyptian jurisprudence.[1] The rule that a convicted thief in Israel if *he had nothing, shall be sold for his theft*,[2] finds a correspondence in the case of Joseph, who, following the establishment of Egyptian procedure, proposed to make a slave of the detected pilferer of his cup.[3]

The law given to Israel against bestiality [4] seems to have been necessary as a deterrent against a practice said to have prevailed in Egypt,[5] and even to have been included as an element in the darker side of Egyptian religion.[6]

The law against usury, *If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor: neither shall ye lay upon him usury*,[7] was paralleled by a like condemnation in Egypt. Usury was in all cases condemned by the Egyptian legislation, and when money was borrowed, even with a written agreement, it was forbidden to allow the interest to increase to more than double the original sum.[8]

The details of the structure of the *Tabernacle* evidence considerable Egyptian influence. The profusion of *gold* [9] employed in its construction need not surprise us when we consider the enormous wealth which had poured into Egypt through the conquests of Thothmes III. In addition, Egypt had her own gold mines in Nubia [10] and on the Red Sea littoral. From earliest times Egypt could furnish elaborate gold work, and the exquisite delicacy and finish of the jewellery found at Dahshur shows that nothing of modern workmanship can surpass the technical skill displayed at this early date.[11] Petrie [12] has shown that the gilding of the tabernacle boards must have been accomplished by the usual Egyptian method of sticking thick gold-foil firmly on to the wooden basis. All the knowledge requisite for the various processes of manipulating gold was fully possessed by the Egyptians, and carried by the Israelites into the desert. Gold wire is found attached to rings of Senusert I.[13] Gold thread was beaten out with the hammer, and afterwards rounded.[14] So the Israelites *beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires*.[15]

The use of *silver* reveals also a close link with Egypt. The silver mines of Egypt were said to produce annually 3,200 myriads of minæ.[16] Silver earrings and silver wire were highly prized in the days of Thothmes III. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the fact that the sockets for the boards were solid silver, *a talent for a socket*,[17] as were also the hooks for the pillars to support the curtains of the court. The amount of silver thus employed came to 100 talents [18] and 1,775 shekels.[19]

Brass also is mentioned as being largely utilized, *seventy talents and two thousand and four hundred shekels*,[20] but the reference is really to bronze. In Egypt the art both of hardening bronze and of making it flexible was understood at a very early period, and the skill of the workmen was so markedly superior that no metallurgist to-day can reproduce their genius.[21] The Hebrews thus carried with them into the desert knowledge of a highly technical character.

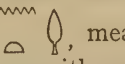
The various *colours* in use in the Tabernacle suggest further affinities with Egypt. *Blue*,[22] which was the colour of the uppermost of the four main curtains, and the hue which was inwoven into the beautiful inner

[1] Poucher in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 526, art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. [2] Ex. 22.[3] [3] Gen. 44.[17] [4] Ex. 22.[19] [5] Herod. ii. 46. [6] Strabo, xvii. p. 802: Clement Alex., *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 9. [7] Ex. 22.[25] [8] Wilkinson, i. 310. [9] Ex. 25,[3] and especially 38,[24] where the 29 talents of gold represent £178,350, and the 730 shekels of gold, £1,496: in all, £179,846. [10] Herod. iii. 23: Diod. iii. 11. [11] Petrie in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 225. [12] *Ib.*, p. 226. [13] Wilkinson, ii. 167. [14] *Ib.* ii. 166. [15] Ex. 39.[3] [16] Diodorus, i. 49. [17] Ex. 38.[27] [18] =£41,000. [19] v.25=£244. [20] v.[29] [21] Wilkinson, ii. 247 Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. Anc. Egypt. Art*, ii. 378. [22] Ex. 25[4], 26.[31 36]

curtain which shrouded the Holy of Holies, was the deep cerulean or ultramarine in which the Egyptians were wont to paint and clothe the images of those gods that inhabited the firmament or ruled the sea.[1] Both in Egypt and in the case of the Hebrew shrine in the wilderness, blue was appropriated to symbolize heavenly relations. The blue was imparted to the threads previous to the cloth being made, and the tombs of the XVIth and XVIIIth Dynasties have yielded many examples of beautifully dyed cloth of an indigo-blue colour.[2] The *purple* which was used in the curtains and veils of the Tabernacle, in certain parts of the priests' dress, and in the altar-cloth,[3] was imported into Egypt from Phœnicia, where it was obtained from the dye of the shell-fish *Murex trunculus*.[4] The *rams' skins dyed red*[5] remind us that the art of dyeing leather red was, according to Petrie, known in Egypt before B.C. 3000.[6] The process is depicted on the Egyptian monuments,[7] and Herodotus states that the Libyan tribes of North Africa were famous for their skill in preparing and dyeing the material.[8]

The *fine linen*,[9] which entered so largely into the equipment of the Tabernacle, and into the dress of the priests, was a product of the looms of Egypt. The hand-spindles in use in Egypt and in Canaan were identical.[10] Pliny even ascribes to the Egyptians the invention of weaving.[11] Strabo says that whole cities, such as Panopolis, were inhabited by linen-weavers.[12] Herodotus states that the Egyptian priests were allowed to wear nothing but linen garments.[13] The technical skill displayed in the manufacture of linen was remarkable. At a period subsequent to this, a corselet was sent by Amasis II to the Spartans "made of linen, with many figures of animals inwrought and adorned with gold and cotton-wool, each thread, though very fine, contained 360 threads all distinct."[14] This reminds us of the *fine twined linen*[15] of which the curtains were made. Enormous quantities of linen were used for wrapping the mummies of the dead,[16] and some of the earliest tombs have yielded linen cloths in the very infancy of Egyptian history. The art of fulling was carried by the Hebrews from Egypt, where it was well understood. Even the very word employed by the Israelites for linen—*shesh* (שֵׁשׁ)—is of Egyptian origin. The *work of the embroiderer*[17] is frequently referred to in connection with the Tabernacle.

The *porpoise* or *dolphin skins* which formed the outer covering of the Tabernacle were derived from these and other marine animals inhabiting the Red Sea between Egypt and the shores of the Sinai peninsula.[18]

In the *Shittim wood*, of which the boards of the Tabernacle were constructed, we recognize the desert acacia. Its very name is a derivative from the Egyptian *shent*  , meaning the thorny acacia. Stanley speaks of it as a spreading tree with gay foliage and blue blossoms which he saw in Egypt and afterwards in the desert.[19] It is not attacked by

[1] Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.*, iii. 11. [2] Wilkinson, ii. 164. [3] Ex. 26[1], 35[23], 39[2], Nu. 4.[13] [4] The fullest treatise on this Tyrian purple is that by Dr. Adolph Schmidt, *Die Purpurfärberei u. der Purpurhandel in Alterthum* in *Die Griechischen Papyrusurkunden der König. Biblioth. zu Berlin*, 1842, pp. 96–212. [5] Ex. 25[5], 35.[7] [6] Thatcher in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 457. [7] Wilkinson, ii. 186. [8] Herod., iv. 189. [9] Ex. 25,[4] etc. [10] Porter in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 611. [11] *H.N.*, vii. 56., [12] Strabo, xvii. 41. [13] Herod., ii. 37. Of course what Plato, Strabo, and Herodotus say about linen in Egypt deals with a period long subsequent to the Exodus, yet there is no reason to believe that their statements are not applicable to the centuries preceding them. [14] Herod., ii. 182: iii. 47. [15] Ex. 26.[1] [16] Herod., ii. 86. [17] Ex. 26.[36] [18] Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 231. [19] *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 21, 69.

insects, is very light, and not liable to decay even in water.[1] That the Tabernacle is represented as being made of this wood, rather than of cedar (of which Solomon's temple was built), is another indication of close relationship with Egypt. A late writer might easily have fallen into an error here, conceiving that as cedar was the recognized sacred wood of a later era it must always have been so. Yet, on the contrary, cedar, a Syrian wood, does not enter into the construction of the Tabernacle, whereas acacia, an Egyptian wood, does. The *Acacia seyal* was found in Egypt, and the Egyptians made large use of it. It was the favourite wood for the doors of temples, for sacred boats, and for royal furniture. Outside of Egypt it is found only in the desert of Sinai and near the Dead Sea: but it is not a Palestinian tree,[2] though it has been introduced lately to Capernaum.

Although Canaan, with its abundant olives, was the home of *oil*, and exported much to Egypt, Egypt attempted to raise her own supplies. The Anastasi Papyrus [3] mentions "oil from the harbour." The Papyrus Ebers [4] and the Hearst Medical Papyrus [5] also refer to different varieties of oil in use in Egypt. These were obtained from many plants, such as the carthamus, the sesamum, the coleseed, the castor-berry, etc.[6] Oiling of the limbs and hair was as important to the Egyptians as wearing clothes, as is stated in early Egyptian literature.[7] The preparation of *oil for the light*[8] was, therefore, an art well known to the Hebrews from their residence in Egypt, where flaxen wicks were used. In Egypt, again, great attention was paid to unguents, and suitable compositions of fragrant anointing oils are frequently referred to in texts of the Early and the Later Empires. The Nilotes had nine sacred oils for purposes of ceremonial anointing.[9] The *anointing oil* [10] used by the Hebrews in the desert was thus a purely Egyptian institution. And just as the Pharaohs were anointed, and the chrism is stated to have been done by the gods,[11] so Aaron and his sons were named the *anointed of the Lord.*[12] The act of anointing is frequently depicted on the monuments.[13]

The practice of burning *sweet incense* [14] was one extensively followed in Egypt. There it not only signified a pleasing offering to the gods to gratify their anthropopathic sensibilities, but it also served the purpose of an antiseptic fumigation of the temples.[15] Frankincense was specially used in the service of the Theban god, Amen,[16] and one of the objects of Hatshepset's expedition to Punt was to secure an abundant supply of this precious commodity. In the Tabernacle the *altar of incense* [17] served the purpose of symbolizing prayer. The ingredients of the holy perfume—*stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense* [18]—were all highly prized in Egypt, and their importation from neighbouring countries was kept up to meet the great demand for such commodities in connection with the ritual of the temples. The *onycha* was obtained from the operculum of the shellfish *Strombus*, found in great abundance both on the eastern and western shores of the Red Sea.

[1] Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 507. [2] Naville, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiv. (1912), p. 180: *Archæol. of the O.T.*, p. 120. [3] xv. 4. [4] Joachim, *Papyros Ebers, das älteste Buch über Heilkunde*, 1890, p. 24. [5] This treatise of the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, discovered at Der-er-Ballas, consists of prescriptions for various diseases, with a few incantations superadded. It reveals the wonderful knowledge of medicinal matters which the Egyptians possessed. See also Reisner, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, Leipzig, 1905. [6] See a list of the oil-producing plants in Wilkinson, ii. 399 f. [7] Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 229. [8] Ex. 25.[6] [9] Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 593. [10] Ex. 30.[23] f. [11] Dümichen, *Hist. Inschrift.*, i. 12. [12] Lev. 4.[3 5] 6.[22] [13] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 76 b, 230: Wilkinson, i. 426. [14] Ex. 25.[6] [15] Plutarch, *De Isid.* 81: Dioscor, i. 24. [16] *R.P.*, x. 18 f. [17] Ex. 30.[1-10] [18] Ex. 30.[34]

The *ark of the covenant*[1] in the Tabernacle finds its counterpart in the "arks" which formed so distinctive a feature of the religious worship of Egypt. The Egyptian "arks" usually contained a figure or emblem of some deity. Frequently they took the form of boats, but as a rule they had the shape of a box or chest. Like the Mosaic ark, they were made to be carried in procession on the shoulders of priests, and had rings at their sides through which staves or poles were passed. The Hebrew ark, however, was never visible while being carried, and its staves were left permanently in the rings. Nevertheless, the likenesses between the two kinds of arks are so pronounced that they cannot have been accidental; and we must admit that the Mosaic ark in many particulars was a close reproduction of the Egyptian.

This correspondence is further seen in the *two cherubim of gold*[2] which adorned the lid or mercy-seat of the ark. It is possible that their Egyptian analogue may be discerned in the various andro-sphinxes and crio-sphinxes of the Nile Valley, where were attempts to unite in one figure conceptions that were in reality incompatible. A hawk-headed human figure personified the King; while on the tomb of Khemu-hotep, a King of the XIIIth Dynasty, we see a leopard from whose back issues a human head with wings on either side of the neck. But it is more likely that for the prototype of the Hebrew cherubim we must go to the winged figures of Maat, the goddess of Truth, which are often seen inside Egyptian arks, covering with their wings the sacred scarabæus of the solar disk supported by uræi.[3] Even the very word "cherub" Renouf derives from the Egyptian word, *χeref*.[4]

The general outline and the *base plan of the Tabernacle*, with its rectangular courtyard,[5] at the western end of which stood the sacred Tent, and with its great altar for sacrifice, find, as I have already pointed out,[6] a most extraordinary prefigurement in the Vth Dynasty temple of Ra, excavated by Borchardt in 1901 at Abusir. Here we have an Egyptian temple built on identically the same model as that of the Tabernacle, and yet erected about B.C. 4300. In its essential features the Mosaic edifice was a replica of that Egyptian sanctuary.

In the details of the *priestly robes* we discover many traces of Egyptian affinities. The Egyptian priests wore garments denoting their sacerdotal office, which were not unlike the *holy garments for glory and for beauty*[7] worn by Aaron and the Hebrew priests.[8] The *ephod*[9] of the Israelite priest was of *fine twined linen* just as was the robe of the Egyptian ministrant.[10] The Hebrew garment, in all likelihood, was a copy of the Egyptian, for V. Ancessi[11] has shown that the monuments supply representations of divine and royal personages having a richly decorated garment round the body, supported by two shoulder-straps, fastened at the top by a gem, and secured round the waist by a girdle,[12] all these details markedly approximating to the general design of the Aaronic robe.

The *precious stones* which formed the *breastplate of judgment*[13] are in some cases still undetermined. But Petrie[14] has elucidated that the following

[1] Ex. 25.[10] [2] Ex. 25.[18] [3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii., Pl. 14: Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*,[2] ii. 85: De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, p. 33, and Petrie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 726, art. ARCHITECTURE (EGYPTIAN), 1908. [4] *P.S.B.A.*, vi. (1884), p. 193. [5] A temenos such as this was a regular adjunct to all Egyptian temples. [6] See p. 58. [7] Ex. 28.[2] [8] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 324, [9] Ex. 28.[6] [10] Wilkinson, ii. 325. [11] *Annales de Philos. chrétienne* (1872), pp. 45–47. [12] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., Pl. 224 a.d.: 274 b. [13] Ex. 28.[15] [14] In Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 620.

are all known to have been prized by the Egyptians and used for purposes of engraving. The *sardius* [1] is what we call red jasper: the *topaz* is serpentine which was in use in Egypt: the *carbuncle* is rock crystal: the *emerald* is red garnet, a favourite stone in Egypt for beads: the *sapphire* is lapislazuli, greatly prized by the Egyptians, and indeed artificially made by them: [2] the *diamond* is green jasper, valued and used by the Egyptians: the *ligure* is yellow quartz or agate, well known in Egypt: the *agate* is carnelian: the *amethyst* is the Egyptian stone frequently used at an early date and well engraved: the *beryl* is the bright yellow jasper finely engraved by the Egyptians of the XVIIIth Dynasty: the *onyx* is green felspar; and the *jasper* is the modern onyx. Thus, practically all the precious stones in the breastplate were of Egyptian origin, and the art of cutting and setting these gems was carried from Egypt into the desert by the Hebrews. It may well be that among the *mixed multitude* [3] that went up with Israel there were many expert representatives of different Egyptian trades. The art of engraving on hard stones was very ancient, and *the engravings of a signet* [4] and *the ouches of gold* find their counterpart in thousands of Egyptian seals, and in the settings of open-work or filigree, which are very frequent in Egyptian monuments.

In regard to the mysterious *Urim and Thummim* [5] which the high priest wore inside the breastplate, much uncertainty exists. Wilkinson [6] maintains that the idea is closely akin to the way in which the Egyptian Ma or Maat, the goddess of Truth and Justice,[7] was honoured. He points out that the word "Thummim" is plural, and that it corresponds to the Egyptian notion of the "Two Truths," or the double capacity of this deity. He also shows analogies between the Hebrew "Lights and Perfections," or "Light and Truth," and the two figures of Ra and Ma or Maat (*i.e.*, Light as typified by the Sun-god, and Truth) in the breastplate worn by the Egyptian priests.

But most remarkable of all is the fact, as Erman has shown,[8] that in the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, the high-priest of Memphis wore, as his distinctive token of office, a breastplate and appendages practically identical with that worn by Aaron. From the shoulders two parallel rows of cords descended obliquely to the breast: the cords crossed each other, and at every point of intersection there was a little ball, or a small ornament in the shape of a cross (the Egyptian *ankh*, the symbol of life). There were four rows of these ornaments, each of which was composed of precious stones, the arrangement being three crosses and three balls, followed by three more crosses and three more balls. Moreover, on both right and left of this breastplate, which overlay the centre of the breast, there were two symbolical figures, also attached to the ouch, the one a sparrow-hawk, the other a jackal. These were sacred to Horus and Anubis, who play an important part in the Egyptian cult of the dead. Hommel, who has drawn attention to these remarkable facts, sums up by stating [9] "The almost absolute similarity between the breast ornament of the Egyptian priests of the later Empire, and that of the Israelites described in the so-called Priestly Code, affords food for reflection, and can scarcely be explained except by assuming that it was borrowed from the Egyptians in the time of Moses."

The *robe of the ephod* was, similarly, Egyptian in style. It had a hole at

[1] Ex. 28.[17] [2] Taylor in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 403. [3] Ex. 12.[38] [4] Ex. 28.[11] [5] Ex. 28.[30] [6] *Anc. Egypt*, iii. 183. [7] *Cf.* Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, xiv. 34: Diod. i. 48. [8] Erman, *Ægypten u. ægyptisches Leben in Alterthum*, 1885, p. 402 f. [9] *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 284.

the top with a binding to prevent fraying, *as it were the hole of a coat of mail.*[1] The word used for the latter (A.V. " habergeon ") is the Egyptian *takhrah.*[2] Linen corselets of this description have been found in Egypt, sometimes covered with metal scales. Representations of the *pomegranates* which adorned its hem are to be seen on the Egyptian monuments. As regards their association with *bells*, Petrie[3] affirms that the design is apparently the old Egyptian lotus and bud border, adapted to new conditions.

The *girdle, the work of the embroiderer*, finds its counterpart in the girdles of diverse patterns wherewith the Egyptian priests encinctured themselves, the various colours either indicating their rank, or identifying them as attached to the service of particular deities. The *headtires*[4] for Aaron's sons were similarly worn in Egypt, though not by the priests; while the *linen breeches*[5] were recognized Egyptian garments worn by the priests from the waist to a little above the knee.[6] No other priesthood, except that of Egypt and of Israel, wore linen only.

Amid the other disqualifications for the Hebrew priesthood, it is of interest to note that a man who was *crook-backed* might not be admitted. The prohibition is curious in that the disease seems to have been common in Egypt. Professor Macalister, in the course of investigating a large number of Egyptian skeletons, came upon a considerable quantity marked with spinal curvature due to caries of the vertebræ.[7]

The careful ablutions of Aaron and his sons *at the door of the tent of meeting*[8] were characteristic also of the Egyptian priests, who bathed twice a day and twice during the night. Some who aimed at a still more rigid observance even washed themselves with water which had been tasted by the sacred ibis.[9] The *laver of brass*[10] employed by the Hebrew priests in their ablutions was made of *the mirrors of the serving women which served at the door of the tent of meeting.* These bronze polished looking-glasses, circular or oval, were in great vogue among Egyptian women, and many examples are to be found in museums.[11] Hebrew women were well acquainted with these fashions, and the metal mirrors of the Israelite ladies in the desert were certainly of Egyptian workmanship.

In the ritual of consecration of the priests, *the burning of the fat upon the altar*[12] is paralleled by the Egyptian practice of burning the major part of the body of the victim, leaving the vitals with the fat in the carcase.[13] The *cutting of the ram into pieces*[14] is shown in many Egyptian sculptures, followed by the offering up of the animal in sacrifice. Many of the details of the Hebrew rubric for sacrifice, dealing with the libations of wine, offerings of oil and other liquids, presentation of victims after inspection, oblations of wheat, birds, goats, etc., find remarkable parallels in Egyptian worship.[15] Thus, for example, the practice of *casting lots upon the two goats*, and of *sending the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel into the wilderness for Azazel*[16] seems to have had something to correspond to it in Egypt, where victims were sent into the desert to Typhon-Set, the spirit of evil.[17] The Arabs, according to Rosenmüller,[18] still call the bad spirit by the name of Azazel.

[1] Ex. 28.[32] [2] תַּחְרָא. [3] In Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 269. [4] Ex. 28.[40] [5] Ex. 28.[42] [6] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*,[2] ii. 113. [7] Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 328. [8] Ex. 29.[4] 40.[12-15] [9] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, i. 181. [10] Ex. 30.[18] 38.[8] [11] Figured in Wilkinson, ii. 350, 351, and in Maciver and Woolley, *Buhen* (1911), Pl. 62, of the time of Amenhotep II. [12] Ex. 29.[13] [13] Herod. ii. 40. [14] Ex. 29.[17] Other animals were sacrificed in Egypt, but not sheep. [15] See Wilkinson, ii. 29, 457–461 : iii. 59–61, 397. [16] Lev. 16.[8 10] [17] Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites* (1865), p. 154. [18] *Das Morgenland*, ii. 192.

Similarly the Egyptian method of so slaying the sacrificial ox that its blood should be freely discharged from the body was adopted in the Mosaic cult and deemed of great importance in the Tabernacle ritual.[1]

The *numbering of the Israelites*,[2] carried out on several occasions in the wilderness, evidences acquaintance with Egyptian practice. It was a favourite custom with the Pharaohs to compile exact statistics, and one trained like Moses in Egyptian methods would readily be able to fall in with an injunction to take a census of Israel. Papyri of date B.C. 3000 have been discovered showing that even at that early date strict census lists were drawn up, mention being made of the head of the house, resident female relatives, slaves, and young male children.[3]

The symbolism attaching to the *numbers* adopted in the Tabernacle seems closely akin to that in vogue in Egypt. The mystical meanings involved in the use of *one, two, three, four, five, seven, ten, twelve*, etc., may not be absolutely identical in the case of the Hebrews and the Egyptians, but it cannot be disputed that a similar sacred connotation was attached to some of them, *e.g.*, three[4] and seven,[5] the latter especially being a holy number with each nation.[6]

From the fact that pieces of stone were used in ancient Egypt for writing purposes,[7] it may be conjectured that the *tables of stone*[8] on which the Decalogue was written may have been in conformity with Nilotic usage: but on the other hand, they may have been fashioned rather after the style of the Tell-el-Amarna clay tablets.[9]

The *gold rings in the ears of the wives, sons and daughters*[10] of the Hebrews, and the *ornaments* of the men, remind us how prevalent was the fashion in Egypt of wearing these adornments. The ear-rings of Egyptian ladies were large, round, single hoops of gold, or of six rings soldered together.[11] Egyptian men wore handsome and richly ornamented necklaces, gold anklets, bangles, armlets, and bracelets.[12]

The *molten calf*[13] into which Aaron fashioned the discarded jewellery takes us back to the Apis Bull of Memphis, and the Mnevis of Heliopolis, though the Egyptians worshipped these only as the living incarnations of Osiris and Ra respectively. Notwithstanding the attempt made by some to find the origin of this bull worship in the native religious tendencies of the Hebrews themselves, the fact that Aaron and the people had just quitted Egypt, where bovine cults were greatly in vogue, compels us to look to the Delta for the inspiration which evoked this recrudescence of theriomorphic worship.[14] The *dancing*[15] of the people round the calf similarly points to the old associations with Egypt where the professional dancers belonged to a degraded class, and where the dancing itself was usually sensual and indecent.[16]

When we turn to the lists of *clean and unclean animals* enumerated in Leviticus[17] and Deuteronomy,[18] it is remarkable to observe not only that

[1] Lev. 1,[15] 4,[7 25 30] etc. See Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, iii. 411: H. Clay Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant* (1887), p. 300. [2] Ex. 30,[12] Nu. 1,[2] 26.[1 51] [3] Griffith, *Law Quart. Rev.*, 1898, p. 44 f. [4] Brugsch, *Steininschrift*, p. 310. [5] Ebers, *Ægypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, p. 339. Baron Textor de Ravisi's remarkable paper at the *Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français à St. Etienne*, 1875, p. 342, may be consulted. He investigates the sacred notions attached by the Egyptians to the number seven. [6] Atwater, *Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews*, p. 183. [7] Wilkinson, ii. 183. [8] Ex. 31.[18] [9] So Conder, *The First Bible*, p. 83. [10] Ex. 33.[4 6] [11] Wilkinson, ii. 340. [12] *Ibid.* ii. 343. [13] Ex. 32.[4] [14] See the arguments marshalled by Prof. Kennedy in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 342, and authorities cited. [15] Ex. 32.[19] [16] Wilkinson, i. 455, 490: ii. 37. [17] Lev. 11.[1-47] [18] Deut. 14.[1-20]

the Egyptians had similar distinctions between what was pure and impure,[1] but that the great majority of the creatures named had their habitat in Egypt where the Hebrews would be perfectly familiar with them. Canon Tristram [2] has still further observed that the list of animals mentioned in Deuteronomy contains nine species not referred to in Leviticus. Now, all the animals in Leviticus were Egyptian or were known to the dwellers in the Nile Valley. But eight out of the nine new (Deuteronomy) species have their habitat in the desert, or on the eastern border of Palestine, in Edom or Moab. This, as Tristram states, is a circumstance which admirably suits the position of affairs in which Deuteronomy professes to have been composed—on the outskirts of the Land of Promise

Examining the lists, we find that the *ox*,[3] the *sheep* [4] or ram, and the *goat* [5] were all sacred animals in Egypt. The *hart*,[6] the *gazelle*,[7] and the *roebuck* [8] are Egyptian animals. The *wild-goat* [9] or oryx is a native of Ethiopia and is frequently depicted on the monuments ; [10] the *pygarg* [11] inhabits the deserts contiguous to Egypt ; the *antelope*[12] was hunted in large numbers in the same locality, while the *chamois* [13] (or rather, the *kibisch*, or mountain sheep) abounds at the back of the limestone hills of the Nile Valley and also in Sinai.[14] The *camel* [15] was a familiar sight in the Delta ; the *coney* [16] (or *hyrax*) is a native of the eastern desert of Egypt ; [17] the *hare* [18] is found in the Nile Valley, and is remarkable for the length of its ears, as the Egyptian sculptors have noted ;[19] the *swine* [20] is a denizen of the same country,[21] and regarded as unclean.[22] It is mentioned in the *Tale of the Doomed Prince*.[23]

Among the birds mentioned, the *eagle* [24] is a general term for several fowls of prey of which the Egyptian vulture [25] (or " Pharaoh's hen ") is one : the *kite* [26] is very common in Egypt, where it perpetually hovers over the towns, and feeds on garbage : [27] the *falcon* [28] and the *raven* [29] are frequently depicted on the monuments : the *ostrich* [30] is a native of Upper Egypt, and its eggs were highly prized as symbolizing religious ideas : the *hawk after its kind* [31] suggests the large variety of these birds of prey found in Egypt. The *little owl* [32] answers to the " Egyptian eagle owl " : the *great owl* [33] is probably the ibis,[34] the sacred bird of the Egyptians : the *horned owl* [35] appears on sculptures and is found embalmed at Thebes :[36] the *pelican* [37] is frequently shown on Nilotic wall-paintings :[38] along with the *stork* [39] and the *heron* :[39] the *hoopoe* [39] migrates to Egypt and the Sahara in winter, and revisits Palestine and Syria in spring : while the *bat* [39] swarms in every cave, tomb, and ruin in Egypt.

That the *locust*,[40] the *bald locust*,[40] the *cricket*,[40] and the *grasshopper* [40]

[1] Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 180 f. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, p. 103. [3] Deut. 14.[4] [4] *Ib.* [5] *Ib.* [6] Deut. 14.[5] R.V. and A.V., *hart*= fallow deer, *Dama vulgaris*. [7] A.V., *roebuck* (*Gazella dorcas*), called by the Egyptians *gahs*, and often used as a sacrifice. [8] A.V., *fallow deer* : R.V., *roebuck*, really the " wild-cow antelope," *Bubalus boselaphus*, called *shes* by the Egyptians. [9] The " oryx," *Oryx beatrix*. The Egyptian form, named *mand*, is often represented on the Egyptian sculptures as being sacrificed. [10] Wilkinson, ii. 94. [11] Deut. 14.[5] It is the " addax," *Antilope addax*, the ancient Egyptian *nudu*. [12] Deut. 14.[5] [13] The " mouflon," *Ovis tragelaphus*. The LXX. and Vulgate translate the word " camelopard " or " giraffe "—a native of the Upper Nile regions, whose flesh is much esteemed by African and native hunters. [14] Wilkinson, ii. 95 : Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 369. [15] Lev. 11.[4] [16] Lev. 11.[5] [17] Wilkinson, ii. 96. [18] Lev. 11.[6] [19] Wilkinson, ii. 96. [20] Lev. 11.[7] [21] Wilkinson, ii. 91. [22] Herod. ii. 47. [23] *R.P.*, ii. 153. [24] Lev. 11.[13] [25] =*Gier Eagle* of A.V., not of R.V. [26] Lev. 11.[14] [27] Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 6. [28] Lev. 11.[14] [29] v.[15] [30] v.[16] [31] v.[16] [32] v.[17] בּוּם *kos*. [33] v.[17] [34] So the LXX and Vulgate. [35] v.[18] [36] Wilkinson, iii. 261. [37] v.[18] [38] Wilkinson, ii. 102. [39] v.[19] [40] Lev. 11.[22]

were known in Egypt is evident from the story of the Eighth Plague. The *weasel* [1] was regarded as sacred in Egypt ; [2] the *mouse*, though not sacred, appears in sculptures at Thebes : [3] the *lizard after its kind* [4] is universal in Egypt : the *land crocodile* [5] (or land-monitor) was noted for its eagerness to devour crocodile's eggs, while the *chameleon* [5] (or Nile-monitor) was held in great reverence by Egyptians for the same reason. It is a significant fact bearing on the place of origin of Leviticus and Deuteronomy that while their zoological lists represent species found in abundance in Egypt, and some which were common to Egypt and Palestine, many of the animals mentioned are either extremely rare in, or entirely absent from, the Mesopotamian Valley and the neighbourhood of the lands of the Exile.

When we next look at the religious worship of the Hebrews as contrasted with that practised in the land they had just quitted, we find the broad rule laid down *After the doings of the land of Egypt wherein ye dwelt shall ye not do,*[6] or as Ezekiel afterwards expressed it, *In the day when I chose Israel . . . and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt . . . I said unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt.*[7] These directions emphasize the fact that Jehovah desired his people to make a clean break-away from all that was undesirable in Egyptian religious customs. Thus, for example, if there was one form of idolatry to which the Egyptians were prone it was the worship of the Sun. The cultus of Amen-Ra was supreme, and to spread the fame and authority of the divinities of Thebes and Heliopolis was the ostensible cause of many a great military expedition. Against such idolatry the Mosaic law was emphatic, *If there be found in the midst of thee . . . man or woman . . . that hath gone and served the Sun, or the Moon, or any of the host of heaven . . . thou shalt stone them with stones that they die.*[8] Yet, the idolatrous associations of Egypt to which they had been accustomed proved a temptation to which the Israelites succumbed in the desert. The Phœnician god associated with the planet Saturn had been introduced into the Egyptian pantheon [9] under the name *Ken.*[10] The Hebrews carried away with them, and worshipped in Sinai, this remnant of stellar idolatry. The deity was known as *Chiun, the star of your god,*[11] whom Amos declares was revered by the Israelites in the wilderness, and whom Stephen calls *Rephan.*[12]

The cherished practice in Egypt whereby brothers married their sisters [13] was distinctly forbidden by the law announced to Israel.[14] Other sexual relationships common in the Nile Valley were sternly prohibited under the Mosaic legislation.[15] Stories were current in Egypt of how kings sought to raise money, or to accomplish some political end, through the shame of their daughters.[16] This was utterly denounced in the case of the Hebrews, *Profane not thy daughter to make her a harlot.*[17] But as regards the marriage of priests both nations were at one. As by law the Egyptian priests were confined to one consort,[18] so the Aaronic high priest was permitted to marry but one wife, and she must be a virgin.[19]

[1] Lev. 11.[29] [2] Plutarch, *de Isid.*, 74. [3] Wilkinson, iii. 259. [4] v.[29] [5] v.[30] [6] Lev. 18.[3] [7] Ezek. 20.[5-7] [8] Deut. 17.[2-5] So also 4.[19] [9] Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, p. 158. [10] Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, p. 26. [11] Amos 5.[26] [12] Ac. 7.[43] [13] Wilkinson, iii. 113. The Egyptian mythology fostered the idea of adelphic marriages, for Osiris married his sister, Isis : Typhon married Nephthys, and so on. See Diod. Sic., i. 27, p. 31, edit. Wesseling : Michaelis, *Laws of Moses.* [14] Lev. 18.[9] [15] Lev. 18.[22-23] [16] *e.g.*, Khufu (Herod., ii. 126), and compare the action of Rameses III in Herod., ii. 121. [17] Lev. 19.[29] [18] Diodorus, i. 27. [19] Lev. 21.[13-15]

In connection with *obituary rites* it was the custom in Egypt for funeral feasts [1] to be observed whereat the mourners dined, friends and relations being invited. The practice was carried over into Israel and perpetuated down to a late date. We find Jeremiah referring to the custom in his denunciation, *Both great and small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them, neither shall men break bread for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead . . thou shalt not go into the house of feasting to sit with them, to eat or to drink.*[2] But the Hebrews adopted the seemly Egyptian practice of refraining from cutting their flesh in demonstration of the poignancy of their grief. The Nile dwellers might run through the streets crying and striking their breasts, but actual mutilation was forbidden.[3] Similarly the Mosaic law ran, *Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you.*[4] Again, as the Egyptians let their hair grow on head and chin only while mourning, and at other times they shaved,[5] so the Mosaic law as regards priests was *They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh.*[6] Yet, just as the Egyptian priests shaved their whole body,[7] so the Levites were to *let a razor pass over all their flesh.*[8]

It is significant, however, that the Mosaic Code sets its face against the custom of providing food for the dead.[9] Egyptians were in the habit of storing the mummy chambers of their dead friends with provisions of various kinds—chickens, corn, fruits, wine—for the benefit of the deceased. On the other hand, the Hebrew was obliged to swear before the Lord his God that, as regards the tithe of his increase *I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I given thereof for the dead.*[10] It was probably also owing to the excessive devotion paid by the Egyptians to the ritual of the dead, and because of their elaborate and ornate funeral customs, that in the Pentateuch there is total silence as to the future life. That the Egyptians believed in the survival of the soul in the lower world, and that they peopled that world with a gorgeous and yet grotesque collection of imaginary major and minor divinities, the *Book of the Dead* amply testifies.[11] But as an indirect rebuke of, and a silent protest against, the fantastic realism of the Egyptian creed as regards the future life, the Hebrew oracles on the question of the immortality of the soul remained dumb.[12]

In the case of the removal of ceremonial uncleanness contracted through contact with a dead body,[13] we can see another reminiscence of Egyptian custom. The oxen sacrificed by the Egyptians had to be red, a single black or white hair disqualifying any animal for immolation.[14] The ox was offered to Typhon-Set in lieu of a human victim. Similarly in the case of a Hebrew lustration *a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke,*[15] could alone be employed. The ritual for the removal of the plague of *leprosy from the walls of a house* reminds us

[1] Wilkinson, iii. 432: Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 172: Garmannus, *De Pane Lugentium*, Ugolini, xxxiii. [2] Jer. 16.[6 8] [3] Herod., ii. 61, 85: Wilkinson, iii. 439. [4] Lev. 19.[28] [5] Herod., ii. 36: iii. 12. [6] Lev. 21.[5] [7] Herod. ii. 37. [8] Nu. 8.[7] [9] See the question discussed by Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 291. [10] Deut. 26.[14] [11] See Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, 1895. [12] *Cf.* Zincke, *Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Kedive*, 1871, p. 182 f., ch. xxv., "Why the Hebrew Scriptures ignore the future life." [13] Num. 19.[1-22] [14] Plutarch, *De Isid et Osir.*, 31: Herod., ii. 38: Diod., i. 88: Budge, *Dwellers on the Nile*, p. 143: Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1900), ii. 312. [15] Num. 19.[2]

that Egyptian houses were subject to eruptions of saltpetre which gave sometimes a ghastly hue to the inner lining of domiciles.[1]

In regard to *abhorrence of blood*, Egyptians and Hebrews were both alike and dissimilar. When slaying a victim, the Egyptian allowed the blood to flow upon the ground, or over the altar.[2] Similarly the Israelite either poured it upon the ground, or the priest sprinkled it over the horns of the altar.[3] But the Egyptian is sometimes represented in the kitchen as catching the blood for the purposes of cooking: the Hebrew abhorred the very idea of such pollution, adhering to the strict rule, *Thou shalt not eat the blood, thou shalt pour it out upon the ground as water.*[4]

The habit of exact *weighing* of commodities was one to which the Israelites had been thoroughly accustomed in Egypt. The Egyptians employed balances of all sizes, the larger ones having a fixed pole for support, a beam of several feet in length, and large scale pans hung by cords.[5] Hence when the Hebrews carried the practice with them into the wilderness, it was easy for them to be exact in their statistics as to the total weight of gold, silver, and bronze used in the construction of the Tabernacle,[6] and as to the weight of the offerings made at the dedication.[7] Hence, also the stern injunction laid down in the Law, *Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have: I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt.*[8]

Many of the *tools* of the Hebrews were originally Egyptian, and were either continued in use by them unmodified, or were adapted according to the special Israelite genius. Razors in early times were probably made of bronze, and later of iron,[9] and the Egyptian and Hebrew forms were identical. But in the case of *circumcision*, flint knives were employed. The practice of circumcision in Egypt goes back to a remote antiquity, the rite being shown on a VIth Dynasty mural painting at Sakkara, and elsewhere. In the observance of the institution, the Egyptians and Hebrews were therefore at one.[10] The flint which Zipporah used in circumcising her son [11] was similar to the stone knives which have been dug up in abundance in prehistoric and early dynastic tombs in Egypt.[12] When the Hebrews arrived at Gilgal in Canaan they again employed flint knives. *The Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee knives of flint and circumcise again the children of Israel.*[13] So great a hold had circumcision upon the priestly mind in Egypt that many scholars to-day regard the Nile Valley as the homeland of the rite, and trace the practice as cultivated in Syria and Palestine, to the influence of Egypt.[14] "The divine command was not intended to teach a new rite, but to consecrate an old one into a sacramental ordinance."[15]

Other implements in use by the Hebrew suggest an Egyptian origin. The *bellows* [16] used in smelting by the Nile dwellers in the time of Thothmes III we find employed by the Jews in later years.[17] The tools of the Lebanon carpenters to-day are identical in shape with those wielded by the ancient Egyptian workmen: only instead of being made of flint

[1] See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iii. 299. [2] Wilkinson, iii. 409. [3] Lev. 4,[7] 8,[15] [4] Deut. 15.[23] [5] Petrie in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 234. [6] Ex. 38.[21-29] [7] Num. 7.[13] [8] Lev. 19.[36] see also Ezek. 45,[10] Amos 8,[5] Mic. 6,[11] Prov. 11,[1] 16.[11] [9] Wilkinson, ii. 333. [10] See also Foucart's remarkably acute article on CIRCUMCISION (EGYPTIAN) in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 670 f.: Michaelis, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, iii. 70: G. Elliot Smith in *Journ. of the Manchester Egypt. and Orient. Soc.*, i. 1913), p. 75: Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux*, 1907. Pl. lxvi. [11] Ex. 4.[25] [12] Petrie and Quibell. *Nagada and Ballas*, p. 55 f. [13] Jos. 5.[2 3] [14] So Meyer, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1905, p. 640. [15] Bishop Browne in *Speaker's Comm. on Genesis*, p. 122. [16] Wilkinson, ii. 312. [17] Isa. 54,[16] Jer. 6.[29]

or bronze, they are of steel.[1] The *censers*[2] which Korah and his company employed in their rebellion against Moses were of Egyptian pattern. Representations of like utensils used by the Egyptians of the period are still extant. They were shaped like a small pot or cup with a long handle, into which at intervals little pellets of incense were projected by the priest.[3]

When *the mixed multitude fell a lusting*,[4] and cried for the luxuries of the land they had left behind, it is noteworthy that the things they desiderated were all well-known products of Egypt. Their complaint, *We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt for nought*[5] reminds us that the Nile teemed with fish. It is significant also that the Egyptians recognized the same distinction between "clean" and "unclean" species as was maintained by the Hebrews.[6] The "clean" were those which had fins and scales, all others were "unclean."[7] All manner of means were employed in Egypt in the capture of fish, small nets cast by hand,[8] the seine net trawl,[9] hooks,[10] and the harpoon or spear[11] being frequently depicted on the monuments. Fish, indeed, formed a staple article of diet in Egypt,[12] and some species were regarded with such sacrosanct veneration that special injunctions had to be given to Israel not to worship *the likeness of any fish that is in the waters under the earth*.[13]

Similarly the *vegetables* for which there was expressed such a longing were all favourites in Egypt, and therefore well known to the Hebrews. *Cucumbers*[14] were highly prized in the Delta,[15] and were afterwards introduced by the Israelites into Palestine[16] as a delightful article of food.[17] The *melons*[18] of Egypt were equally renowned, and remembered with regret. After the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan, they were cultivated in Palestine. The *leeks*, *onions*[19] and *garlic*[20] were in universal use in Egypt, forming a large part of the food of the poorer classes.[21] The workmen who built the Pyramids of Gizeh were fed on onions, garlic, and radishes, and Herodotus informs us that the amount of vegetables thus disposed of was inscribed on the outside casing.[22] The *pomegranates*, the absence of which in the Desert the Hebrews deplored,[23] are frequently sculptured on Egyptian monuments, and formed an article of ornamentation in the Tabernacle.

All through the history of Israel we can trace the indebtedness of Palestine to Egypt in respect to *varieties of foods*. The superior knowledge of the dwellers of the Nile Valley in regard to seeds, plants and vegetables made Canaan look to Egypt for supplies of this kind. Thus, although we read of *lentils*[24] being used in Canaan as a form of food prior to the descent of the Israelites into the Delta, there is reason to believe that lentils had really been introduced from Egypt into Palestine at an earlier period. The Romans[25] regarded lentils as originally Egyptian plants, which were only later cultivated in

[1] Carslaw in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 796. [2] Num. 16.[6, 7] [3] Kennedy in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 366. [4] Nu. 11.[4] [5] Nu. 11.[5] [6] Wilkinson, ii. 119. [7] Lev. 11.[9, 10] [8] *Cf.* Ezek. 32,[3] חֵרֶם [9] Isa. 19,[8] מִכְמֶרֶת [10] Isa. 19.[8] חַכָּה Job 41.[1] [11] שְׁכוֹת [12] Eddy in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 12. [13] Deut. 4.[18] [14] Nu. 11.[5] [15] Forskål, *Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica* (1775), p. 168. [16] *Cf.* Isa. 1.[8] [17] Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 531, and Macalister, *Ib.* ii. 28. [18] Nu. 11.[5] [19] Later Latin writers say that the onion was deified by the Egyptians (Juvenal xv. 9 : Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* 353). Pliny (*H.N.*, xix. 6) says that garlic and onions are invoked by the Egyptians when they take an oath. [20] On the discovery of garlic in a tomb at Thebes, see Offord, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1908, p. 338. [21] Wilkinson, i. 169. In later days, Prudentius speaks of an altar at Pelusium erected to Garlic! [22] Herod. ii. 125. [23] Num. 20.[5] [24] Gen. 25.[34] [25] Virgil, *Georg.* i. 228 : Martial, *Epig.* xiii. 9.

Canaan.[1] *Beans* were used for food in Egypt, and have sometimes been found in mummy cases.[2] Herodotus, however, states that they were not eaten, and were regarded by the priests with abhorrence as being impure.[3] It is perhaps another instance of Egyptian influence upon Hebrew life that the Jewish high priest was similarly debarred from partaking of beans or lentils on the day before the great Day of Atonement.[4] It is again extremely probable that the plant called "sillicypria" or "kiki," to which Herodotus[5] refers as growing on the banks of Egyptian rivers and lakes, is that known to the Hebrews as *kikayon*,[6] the castor-oil plant,[7] or the "gourd" associated with Jonah.[8] The *bitter herbs*[9] which the Hebrews ate on the night of the Passover in Egypt comprised several Egyptian species, the lettuce (the *afa* of the Egyptians), the endive (called *ulshin* in Egypt), and others. The custom (and perhaps the plants too) were carried to Canaan, and continued in later days to be associated with the eating of the Paschal lamb. Once more, many of the devices contrived in Egypt for the extension of *grape* branches, and for improving the fruit-bearing of the vine, were adopted in Palestine where viticulture learned much from the superior skill of the Nile dwellers.[10]

In matters of *agriculture*, the Hebrews were greatly indebted to Egypt. The Egyptian method of sowing seed was to dispense with preparation of the soil, and to cast forth the grain on flooded or moist ground[11] where it might afterwards be covered up by dragging bushes over it, or be trodden in by domestic animals.[12] In suitable localities in Palestine the Israelites, when settled in their own land, adopted the same course. *Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth the feet of the ox and the ass.*[13] But in other parts of Egypt the soil was prepared by ploughing, and the Egyptian *plough* served as a model for the Hebrews. It is frequently depicted on the monuments.[14] It was drawn by two oxen, a system adopted by the Israelites.[15] Egyptian *ox-goads*[16] came to be used in Palestine, while Egyptian *hoes* were found in Canaanite homesteads. Stone and bronze *axes* were employed in both countries to clear the ground,[17] both being of similar pattern. Even the peculiarly Egyptian practice of irrigating with the *shadoof* seems to have been known and practised by the Israelites.[18] In reaping the grain *sickles*[19] of identical form were employed in both countries.[20] The wooden sickle, toothed with flints, and believed by Petrie to have been an imitation of the jawbone of an ox, was used alike on the Nile and on the Jordan. Still more, just as the Egyptian husbandman usually cut the straw quite close under the ears of wheat, but tore up other crops by the roots, so in Palestine the same method was followed. *It shall be as when the harvestman gathereth the standing corn, and his arm reapeth the ears.*[21]

The grain was gathered home by means of *carts*, of which representations are to be seen on the Egyptian monuments. They had two or four wheels, and the wheels had six or eight spokes.[22] Both Amos[23] and Isaiah[24] refer

[1] 2 Sam. 23.[11] [2] Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 28. [3] Herod. ii. 37. [4] Gemara, *Joma*, i, § 4. [5] Herod., ii. 94. [6] קִיקָיוֹן. [7] *Ricinus palma-Christi*. [8] Jonah 4.[6] [9] Ex. 12.[8] [10] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 53, 61. [11] *Cf.* Eccles. 11,[1] *Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days.* [12] Paterson in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 49. [13] Isa. 32.[20] [14] Wilkinson, ii. 390. [15] *Cf.* 1 Ki. 19.[19] [16] *Cf.* Judg. 3.[21] [17] Petrie in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 206. Schumacher (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, p. 45) in 1889 discovered in a cave near Beirût a bronze axe of Syrian type based on a well-known Egyptian form. [18] In the reign of Hezekiah, see p. 306. [19] Deut. 16.[9] [20] Wilkinson, ii. 396. [21] Isa. 17.[5] [22] Wilkinson, ii. 211; iii. 179. [23] Amos 2.[13] [24] Isa. 5.[18]

to these vehicles. In the *threshing-floor* the grain was extracted from the husk, usually by the trampling of oxen or donkeys. A group of unmuzzled donkeys on an Egyptian monument of the Early Empire,[1] and similar representations of oxen under the Middle and New Empires,[2] are remarkable as illustrating the Mosaic command, *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.*[3] Another mode of threshing was by the use of the *threshing-sledge*[4] which found its way from Egypt to Canaan. Though now little seen in Palestine, the peasants of the Delta still employ it. Winnowing was conducted by a *fan,*[5] or shovel, by which the grain was thrown against the wind when the chaff was blown away, a process practically identical in both countries. Thus, when we look carefully at the domestic history of the Hebrew race, we see that the sons of Jacob went down to Egypt a people of simple pastoral habits, *keepers of cattle,*[6] but that after their residence in the Nile lands they emerged an agricultural race, whose shepherd habits had largely been laid aside. It was the agricultural science of Egypt which the Israelites revealed when they were at last settled in Canaan.

The same influence is seen in many of the *domestic usages* of the Hebrews, both in the wilderness and afterwards in Palestine. They were continuations of old customs learned and practised in the Delta. The *baskets*[7] (*sal*) used to carry the unleavened bread, the oiled cakes and wafers for consecration were the same as those used in Egypt for bakers' bakemeats such as the chief baker saw in his dream.[8] In later years, Gideon carried the flesh of his offering for the angel in a similarly named basket.[9] But a basket of another shape was employed by the Egyptians in grape gathering, as tomb paintings show.[10] And it is remarkable that Jeremiah used the same word, *Turn again thine hand as a grape-gatherer into the basket* (*salsilloth*).[11] Still a third form, the basket for ordinary household or agricultural use, had a name distinctly Egyptian: *Thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the ground and put it in a basket* (*tene*).[12] The common Egyptian name for a basket is *tena* or *tennu.*[13] Finally, a fourth form is represented in Egyptian paintings as a large basket carried on the back used for conveying clay to the brick-kiln. It might be borne by one man over his shoulder, or by two men, as shown in a painting at Beni-Hasan. The Psalmist, in speaking of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, used the correct Nilotic term for the basket referred to, *He went out over the land of Egypt where I heard a language that I knew not: I removed his shoulder from the burden: his hands were freed from the basket* (*dudh*).[14]

It may further be pointed out that the *hour of dining* in Egypt being midday,[15] the same hour seems to have been continued by the Hebrews when they entered Palestine.[16] Similarly just as the Egyptian *posture at table* was always that of sitting, so all the early Israelites are represented

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 127. [3] Deut. 25.[4] [4] עֲגָלָה Isa. 28.[27 28] The מוֹרָג Isa. 41,[15] *a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth* reminds us of its modern representative, the "corn drag" of the Egyptians of to-day. Its name, *noreg*, is closely similar. The threshing instruments of Ornan (*moregim*), 1 Ch. 21,[23] have the same name. [5] Job 21,[18] Psa. 1,[4] 35.[5] Isa. 17,[13] 29,[5] Hos. 13,[3] Dan. 2,[35] Matt. 3.[12] [6] Gen. 46.[34] [7] Ex. 29.[3-23] Lev. 8.[2 26 31] [8] סַל Gen. 40.[16-18] [9] Judg. 6.[19] [10] Wilkinson, i. 383. [11] Jer. 6,[9] סַלְסִלּוֹת [12] Deut. 26,[2-4] 28,[5 17] טֶנֶא [13] Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 256. [14] Psa. 81.[5 6] דּוּד The same word is employed to signify the large baskets containing the figs in Jeremiah's vision (24 [1 2]). The heads of Ahab's sons were sent to Jehu at Jezreel in hampers of the same sort (2 Ki. 10 [7]). [15] Gen. 43.[16] [16] Ru. 2.[14]

as following that custom. In a painting from Sakkara, now in the Cairo Museum, Egyptian shepherds are shown sitting down to eat: in like manner, Jacob's sons sat at table.[1] Only in later days was the Egyptian model of decorum departed from when the luxurious Greco-Roman custom of reclining on a couch was introduced.[2] The *cooking* of meals by the Egyptians was accomplished by faggots of wood for heating water and boiling meat, but for roasting, charcoal was preferred.[3] The practice seems to have been accepted by the Israelites, who adopted the habit of using charcoal.

When on the march, the Hebrews established the Egyptian arrangement of making each battalion follow its own distinctive *standard*. These were of various forms, a boat, an animal, a royal name, or some emblematic device:[4] but each division gathered round its own ensign and thereby order was maintained. Similarly in the desert wanderings the law for Israel was *The children of Israel shall pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own standard, according to their hosts.*[5] And just as the Egyptian troops were summoned by sound of the *trumpet*, an instrument very frequently represented in the battle scenes of Thebes,[6] so Israel was provided with *two trumpets of silver*[7] to assemble the hosts and to blow an alarm.

Other links connecting Egypt with Israel may be discerned in the fact that in both countries the priesthood was hereditary:[8] that the writing of the commandments on doorposts and gates[9] corresponds to the Egyptian custom of covering the pylons of temples, and the entrances to private tombs, with hieroglyphic writing:[10] that the *dedication of a new house*[11] by the inscribing of propitious sentences on the lintels and doorposts closely followed the Egyptian rule:[12] and that the *setting up of great stones, plaistered with plaister*,[13] on which inscriptions were put, was in agreement with recognized Egyptian practice.

All this indebtedness of Israel to Egypt need not surprise us when we remember one or two cardinal facts. To begin with, the time during which the Hebrews were in Egypt was by no means short. It was in all *four hundred and thirty years*,[14] a period amply sufficient to leave a very permanent impress on the plastic mind of a young nation. The youth and young manhood of the Hebrew race were spent in the Nile Valley, and it is therefore only what we might expect that the mature years of the nation's life should exhibit remarkable and lasting tokens of the early environment in which it had been reared. But still more. The two largest tribes in Israel, Ephraim and Manasseh, were, on their mother's side, purely Egyptian.[15] Whether Ephraim and Manasseh be regarded as persons or as clans it matters

[1] Gen. 37[25]: see also Gen. 18,[8] 27[19]: Judg. 19[6]: 1 Sam. 20,[5 24] 9,[22] 16[11]: 1 Ki. 13[20]: Prov. 23.[1] [2] Lu. 14,[8] 17,[7] 22.[27] Jno. 6.[10] [3] Wilkinson, ii. 35, 36. [4] *Ibid.*, i. 195. [5] Num. 1,[52] 2.[17] [6] Wilkinson, i. 197. [7] Num. 10.[2] [8] Herod. ii. 37 and Num. 20,[28] etc. [9] Deut. 11.[20] [10] Wilkinson, i. 362. [11] Deut. 20.[5] [12] Wilkinson, i. 362. [13] Deut. 27.[2] [14] Ex. 12.[40] Jacob descended into Egypt in B.C. 1875: the Exodus took place in B.C. 1445, exactly 430 years later. Paul states (Gal. 3[17]) that the Law came 430 years after the covenanted promise of God. This promise was made to Jacob at the time of the Descent into Egypt (Gen. 46[3]), so that both dates tally precisely. [15] H. S. Chamberlain (*Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, i. 442) calls attention to this point and says, "To-day as a reaction from former exaggerations, it is fashionable to deny every Egyptian influence on the Israelite cult. This question can only be settled by specialists, particularly in so far as it affects ceremonial, priestly dress, etc.: but we who are not scholars must be struck by the fact that the cardinal virtues of the Egyptian—chastity, pity, justice, humility (see Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religions-Geschichte*, i. 305)—which do not at all agree with those of the Canaanites, are the very virtues to which the Mosaic Law attaches most importance."

not: they were, in any case, born in Egypt, sprung from an Egyptian mother, reared on an Egyptian soil, and from their birth breathed an Egyptian atmosphere. The wonder is, not that we should be able to trace many Egyptianisms in the later history of Israel, but rather that, after all, there were so many divergences from Egyptian custom, rule, and ritual. We can ascribe the difference in religious temperament, in the higher spiritual aspirations, and in the nobler and purer elements in Israel's national faith, only to that overruling and sovereign grace of God, who preserved them from many a sin while still they were resident in the Delta, and whose will and purpose it was that Israel should not be merely another Egyptian people, enslaved to polytheism and sunk in superstition, but, as He himself said, *An holy people unto the Lord their God, who had chosen them to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all peoples that were upon the face of the earth.*[1]

[1] Deut. 7.[6]

CHAPTER XV

The Reigns of Thothmes IV and Amenhotep III

If the dark cloud of calamity had rested on Amenhotep II, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, it lifted but little during the brief reign of his son and successor, Thothmes IV (B.C. 1436–1427). We have already seen [1] how it is extremely probable that he was not the destined heir to the throne, but that he came to be sovereign of Egypt through the death of his elder half-brother, *the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne.*[2]

The most outstanding event in his reign was his excavation of the Sphinx from the vast accumulation of sand in which it was embedded. The huge granite slab, discovered by Caviglia in 1817, details how the work of clearing away the sand came to be undertaken.[3] An interesting fact which the stele vouches for is that it was the priests of Heliopolis, not of Thebes, who helped Thothmes IV to uncover the image of the god Temu Harmachis, and thus to restore the worship of that form of the Sun-deity which they preferred to Amen-Ra. As Heliopolis was associated with Joseph who had married the daughter of its high priest,[4] it may be that a form of religion, purer than that which obtained at Thebes, lingered on at this city of the Delta where the true nature of the God of the Hebrews may have been better understood than elsewhere in Egypt, through the influence of Joseph, who so wholeheartedly worshipped Jehovah. In any case, the prestige of the Theban gods had received a tremendous blow through the series of Plagues which had culminated in the ninth. In that one, the light of the sun itself, reckoned as Ra, the chief of the gods, had been extinguished when *there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days.*[5] As the Theban priests of Amen-Ra were thus under a cloud at present, this offer of the Heliopolitan priests to assist in excavating the Sphinx, is another slight, yet distinct, confirmatory indication that the shattering blow of the Plagues and the Exodus occurred in the reign of Amenhotep II, the father of Thothmes IV.

Whe her an expedition to Syria which Thothmes IV undertook was a serious military campaign, or merely an exhibition of Egypt's martial strength without the costliness of a battle, is a matter on which we have little light.[6] There was certainly the usual restlessness in the subject Syrian territories, as was customary on every change in the occupancy of the Nilotic throne. Thothmes IV marched through Palestine, invaded

[1] See p. 163.] [2] Ex. 12.[29] [3] Young, *Hieroglyphica*, Pl. 80 : Vyse, *Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, iii. Pl. vi., and p. 107 : Birch, "The Dream of Thothmes IV" in *R.P.*, 1st Ser., xii. 43–49 : Mallet, *ibid.*, 2nd Ser., ii. 45–56. [4] Gen. 41.[45] [5] Ex. 10.[22] [6] Hollingworth (*P.S.B.A.*, xl. (1918), p. 100) believes that there was a great revolt in Syria against Thothmes IV, which was backed by the King of Naharaina.

Phœnicia,[1] laid waste its gardens and orchards, and forced the Syrian chieftains to continue their annual tribute. All this time the Hebrews were safe from molestation, being occupied with the forty years' wandering in the desert of Sinai. But the cities of Canaan were receiving a warning, and a foretaste of that still more sweeping destruction that was soon to fall on them when the Israelites, at the conclusion of their wilderness sojourn, were to leap upon them with irresistible strength. *The iniquity of the Amorite was not yet full.*[2] The appearance of Thothmes IV in Naharaina quelled all open disaffection, and peace was re-established.[3] On his way home, the Pharaoh compelled the Lebanon chiefs to give him a shipload of cedar wood for the sacred barge of Amen at Thebes.[4] Arriving at Thebes he settled there a colony of prisoners, probably from Gezer, in the enclosure surrounding his mortuary chapel.[5] Later, he corresponded on friendly terms with Artatama, the King of Mitanni in the Euphrates Valley.[6] He sent frequent embassies, asking the Mesopotamian monarch to give him his daughter in marriage. Only after the seventh request was the princess sent to Egypt. With Kara-indash, King of Babylon, he also corresponded, exchanging with him kindly gifts and mutual courtesies and felicitations.[7]

The remaining years of Thothmes IV were spent in executing repairs on the temple of Serabit-el-Khadem in Sinai ;[8] in an expedition to Nubia[9] to put down a serious rebellion that had broken out far up the Nile ; and in building a temple at Thebes.[10] His tomb was discovered in 1902 by Mr. Howard Carter. In it was a royal chariot covered with incised stucco and ornamented with pictures illustrating his warlike exploits.[11]

Under his successor, AMENHOTEP III (B.C. 1427–1392), the Theban Empire attained its maximum of worldly glory. There is some dubiety as to whether he was the son, as is commonly supposed, or the younger brother of Thothmes IV.[12] But under his long rule of upwards of forty years, the conquests of his predecessors were confirmed, and he reigned with splendour over a territory that stretched from the most southerly point of Nubia to the northern borders of Mesopotamia.[13] Syria and Palestine had by this time learned a lesson as to the futility of rebellion ; they had a vivid recollection of the swiftness and sureness of Egyptian vengeance following revolt : they, therefore, paid their tribute in silence, and sullenly submitted to the galling yoke of this new Pharaoh.[14] Never was Canaan more absolutely in the power of Egypt, or more completely absorbed within the Egyptian Kingdom, than in the years immediately preceding the final overthrow of Egyptian rule, and its expulsion from the Jordanic regions. Palestine was ruled mainly through native "kings," who were little more than powerful local sheikhs governing their cities and their

[1] Scheil, *Miss. Arch. Française*, v. 592. [2] Gen. 15.[16] [3] Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, Pl. 93. [4] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 328. [5] Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt*, ii. 326. [6] Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 51 : Conder, *The Tell-Amarna Tablets*, p. 177. [7] Bezold–Budge, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. xxxi. : Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 203. [8] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 107. [9] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., Pl. 69. The conquest of the Nubians is depicted on a rock at Konosso at Philæ, and also in an inscription in the temple of Amada in Nubia. [10] For an account of this temple, see Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, p. 7. [11] Newberry in *P.S.B.A.*, xxv. (1903), p. 111 : and *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (Gizeh Catalogue). [12] See Newberry, *ibid.*, p. 294. [13] Amenhotep III penetrated further up the Nile than any previous monarch had done. He set up a tablet of victory at the Sixth Cataract "Springs of Horus," and sailed for a month south of Napata (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, ii. 334). [14] On the other hand, Hollingworth (*P.S.B.A.*, xl. (1918) 101) maintains that Palestine was in direct revolt in the early years of Amenhotep III ; that it was held for 8 years by Shutarna of Naharaina, and more by the diplomacy of Amenhotep, son of Hap, than by arms, was it regained for the supremacy of the Pharaoh.

immediate neighbourhood. They probably received a small subsidy from their overlord in recognition for the tribute which they wrung from their subjects, and yearly transmitted to Thebes. At their petty Courts, the Nile Government maintained Egyptian "Residents," or military *attachés*, who reported periodically to headquarters, and kept an eye on what was going on. Legates, inspectors, or special commissioners might be sent down as occasion required.

Inscriptions on the island of Konosso at Assuan tell of the sanguinary suppression of a revolt in Nubia in the fifth year of his reign.[1] To commemorate his victory, and to promote the Egyptianizing of the province, Amenhotep III built at Soleb, near the head of the Third Cataract, a gigantic temple over 300 feet long, on whose walls he depicted his subjugation of the Ethiopian rebels.[2] As at Luxor, it was approached by an avenue of ram-headed sphinxes, while colossal statues of lions and hawks embellished the main edifice. The deity to whom the temple was erected was Amenhotep III himself! Thus was inaugurated a worship of the Pharaoh.[3] At Gebel Barkal (Napata) he similarly erected a temple to Amen-Ra. The two fine granite lions, now in the British Museum, were discovered on its site.

The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets reveal the very intimate terms on which Amenhotep III lived with the Kings of Mitanni and of Babylon. He married a sister of Kadashman-Bel (or Kallimma-Sin[4]), King of Babylon, the son of Kara-indash, but the wedding came about only after some lively correspondence which reveals the ruffled *amour propre* of the Chaldæan father-in-law. Later on, he married Irtabi,[5] another daughter of the same Babylonian King,[6] and to these wives he added Gilukhipa, a daughter of Shutarna, King of Mitanni, and lastly, Tatum-khipa,[7] a daughter of Tushratta,[8] son of Shutarna. The letters of the latter are delightfully confidential, full of chatty information and kindly greeting. He sends a captured Hittite chariot and Hittite horses as a present to the Pharaoh, and a pair of neck ornaments for Gilukhipa. But it was a different story when these Mitannian and Babylonian sovereigns asked in exchange for brides from out of the harem of Egypt's royal court. The proud Amenhotep refused to send a royal princess to any of these Euphrates

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii., Pl. 81, 82: Birch, *On a remarkable Egyptian object of the reign of Amenophis III*, p. 5. [2] See Hoskins' *Travels in Nubia*, p. 245, for a description of its imposing mass. [3] A special monograph, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-hotep III* (1912), has been written by Dr. Colin Campbell, giving full details of the sculptured scenes in the Birth-Room in Luxor Temple, which describe how Amenhotep III came to be the son of Amen-Ra by a mortal mother, the wife of the Pharaoh. [4] Hall (*Near East*, p. 261 n.) says that this form of the name is certainly erroneous. He reads the script as "Kadashman-Enlil." [5] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 194: Bezold–Budge, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*, pp. 1–4. [6] Whether she was of Mitannian royal parentage is discussed by Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 30. [7] This Tatum-Khipa (or Tadukhipa), Petrie holds was intended for Amenhotep III, and possibly married him: but in any case she was certainly married later to his son, Amenhotep IV (*Hist.*, ii. 207). He identifies her with the favourite wife (Nefertiti) of the latter. Maspero (*Hist. Anc.*, ii. 329) thinks that when she arrived in Egypt she found the old father dead, and so married his son and successor. But Winckler and Budge, while holding that she was the wife of both father and son, decline to accept the identification of Tadukhipa with Nefertiti. Weigall (*Akhnaton*, p. 56) holds that she was never married to Amenhotep III, but that her Mitannian name of Tadukhipa was changed to Nefertiti. Legrain, however, has discovered in an inscription (*Thèbes et le Schisme de Khouniatonou* in *Bessarione*, 1906, Ser. 3, vol. i. 91) that Nefertiti was the daughter of Thi, so that Akhnaton and Nefertiti must have been full sister and brother, and were married according to Egyptian custom (*cf.* Maspero, *New Light on Anc. Egypt*, p. 159). An account of her dowry is given by Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 321. [8] Or Dushratta: he succeeded his brother, Artashumara, who was murdered shortly after the death of their father, Shutarna.

Valley potentates. This occasioned a somewhat acrimonious correspondence.[1] "Send one," wrote the Babylonian monarch, "who is grown up, as I ask for her. Thou sayest 'From of old a daughter of the King of Egypt was not given for anything.' Why so? Thou art a king, and doest thy will. . . . My brother, why not send a woman? Why am I repulsed? I myself have sent like thee: I have entrusted a woman: as there were daughters I did not refuse thee." But seemingly Amenhotep would not so condescend.

The most famous, however, and the best-beloved of all his wives, was Thi, the celebrated queen, who through her son, Akhnaton, exercised such a profound influence on Egypt.[2] It was long believed that this famous lady was of Mitannian origin, and various deductions were drawn from this supposed Mesopotamian origin as to the nature of the religious views which her son adopted.[3] But this idea has now been laid aside, through the facts brought out by the discovery of the tomb of her parents, Yuaa and Thuaa.[4] It was a romantic day in the history of Egyptian exploration when Mr. Theodore Davis, in opening up a sealed mortuary chamber which he had discovered under the sands of the desert, poured the electric light of the twentieth century into the dark recesses of this tomb which had remained closed for more than thirty centuries. The glittering profusion of sparkling gold that met his eye positively dazzled the explorer. "Gold shone on the floor, gold on the walls, gold in the furthest corner where the coffin leant up against the side, gold bright and polished as if it had just come freshly beaten from the goldsmith's hands, gold half veiled by, and striving to free itself from, the dust of time. It seemed as if all the gold of ancient Egypt glittered and gleamed in that narrow space."[5] Yet, further examination showed that much of the gold was merely gold-leaf, and some of the ornaments crumbled away on being brought in contact with the outer air.

From a study of the mummies, Dr. Elliot Smith believes that Yuaa may possibly have been of Levantine origin, while the features of his wife Thuaa have nothing to distinguish them from any other Egyptian. Miss Buttles[6] suggests that the birthplace of the parents of Thi may have been Ekhmim, for Yuaa became a priest of that town, and she holds that it was simply a love match on the part of Amenhotep III with a girl of low rank which raised her to the proud position of Queen of Egypt. But that there was a Semitic strain in Thi's blood seems certain from the fact that on a small bowl her father is described as "Prince of Zahi," *i.e.*, Phœnicia or the Lebanon district.[7] It would appear, therefore, that, although not a "foreigner," Thi was unquestionably indebted to the Semitic blood in her veins for some of her extraordinary force of character. From a singularly realistic portrait of her discovered by Petrie at Serabit-el-Khadem, one can gather how queenly her beauty was. "The haughty dignity of the face is blended with a fascinating directness and personal appeal. . . . The curiously drawn-down lips, with their fulness and

[1] Winckler, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, p. 3: Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 198. [2] For an account of the discovery of the tomb of Thi, see Ayrton, *P.S.B.A.*, 1907, p. 277. [3] Though the idea of her Mitannian parentage has been discarded, Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 329) goes too far when he says that there is not a particle of evidence to prove her of foreign birth. Her Semitic affinities will be pointed out. [4] Quibell in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1904-05, p. 25: Davis, *The Tomb of Iouiya, and Touiyou*, 1907. [5] Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 292. [6] *The Queens of Egypt*, p. 109. [7] Hall, *Near East*, p. 256, and *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), p. 63. But is the bowl a forgery? Prof. W. M. Müller believes so, of date later than B.C. 1000 (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xvi. 495).

yet delicacy, their disdain without malice, are evidently modelled in all truth from the life. . . . The ear is represented as being pierced, as is also the case with her son, Akhnaton." [1]

To gratify the whims of this favourite queen of his, Amenhotep III lavished money with prodigality. He constructed at Thebes a lake on which she might float in her golden barge. Remains of the embankment which surrounded this artificial sheet of water may still be seen.[2] The luxury in which she and the other inmates of the royal harem lived was extraordinary, and in thorough keeping with the wealth and style deemed proper for the consorts of the greatest sovereign on earth. The Cairo Museum contains numerous specimens of the personal *articles de toilette* of these proud Theban ladies. "Their palaces were adorned with gold, and painted with elaborate designs: their beds were long, graceful couches of braided palmfibre and inlaid wood: their chairs, decorated with electrum, were low and deep-seated, or plated with hammered gold, and shaped in curious Empire-like forms. A golden chair of the period has been found with a cushion of pink linen, stuffed with pigeons' feathers. A chariot of rose-tinted leather overlaid with gold: stands and workboxes of gold and sky-blue enamel: vases, jars, and pots of bronze, alabaster, gold, and blue or green glaze: articles of various sorts for toilet use, kohl tubes, mirrors, combs, pots for holding cosmetics and perfumes: lily-like cups of turquoise-blue faïence, scarab-seals, amulets and rings: splendid jewellery of gold and precious stones: all of these, and many more of a like nature, have come to the light of day from the tombs of a long-buried world." [3]

The far-spread influence of Amenhotep III and of Thi is evidenced by the wide diffusion of the scarabs bearing their names.[4] A seal of Thi was found by Professor Halbherr in a tomb at Hagia Triada near Phæstos in Crete.[5] Other objects bearing her name or that of her husband have been unearthed at Mykenæ [6] and at Rhodes.[7] A magnificent scarab of the Pharaoh and his Queen, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, their names in cartouches alongside of each other, was dug up at Gezer by Macalister.[8] Bliss found others at Lachish.[9] Le Page Renouf records an alabaster vase from Gaza with cartouches of Amenhotep III and of Thi.[10]

Nothing indeed is more emphatically shown through modern scientific exploration of Syria than the closeness of the intimacy that subsisted at this period between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, many of the scarabs found at Lachish date from the XIIth to the XIXth Dynasties, some being genuinely Egyptian, others mere Semitic copies. One shows Nile plants. Bliss dug up at Lachish lines of stone bases used for support of wooden or brick pillars similar to those found at Tahpanhes which lay on the main road between Syria and Egypt.[11] Macalister unearthed at Gezer multitudes of Egyptian articles,[12] such as two green enamelled paste figures of the

[1] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 126. Her features may be studied in the work by Dr. Jas. Simon, *Der Portrathopf der Königin Teje*, 1911. [2] Now the Birket Habu: a photograph of the site appears in Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 38. [3] J. R. Buttles, *The Queens of Egypt*, p. 57. [4] For an exhaustive account of the scarabs found in Palestine, see Weill in *Journ. Asiatique*, ix. (1917) 5–143. [5] *Comptes Rendus*, 1903, p. 254: *Monumenti Antichi*, xiv. (1905), fig. 33, p. 735. [6] A scarab of Thi along with a wing of an ivory sphinx ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, p. 169, and Pl. xiii. 21), and fragments of two tiles, each bearing the cartouche of Amenhotep III, were discovered in the excavation at the royal palace at Mykenæ (Sewell, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 258. [7] A. J. Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 115: Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 148. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, pp. 202, 224, and *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 321. [9] *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 131, and *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 104. [10] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, p. 251. [11] Petrie in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, p. 114. [12] *P.E.F.Q.* 1903, pp. 37, 48.

Horus-eye, a pendant amulet with a figure of Isis, a carved stone figure of Hapi, a bronze statuette of Osiris with an inscription in hieroglyphic, a head of Sebek in paste, fragments of Bes figures,[1] an Astarte plaque so thoroughly Egyptian that it might pass for a representation of Hathor grasping a lotus flower,[2] a little block of carnelian on which a sphinx is delicately carved,[3] bronze statuettes of the human figure,[4] a house with an Egyptian statue, a diorite tray, an alabaster vase and other articles inside it,[5] scarabs in profusion,[6] handfuls of small amulets, ushabtis,[7] jar-handles with scarab seals,[8] a building stone that must have belonged to a temple wholly covered with hieroglyphics like those on the Nile,[9] and other objects of an Egyptian facies in such profusion that he was constrained to record his impression in these striking words: "Hardly a day passes in which some evidence of Egyptian occupation or influence is not forthcoming, whether the work happens to be in progress in the earlier or in the later strata. Until the discovery of historical inscriptions, no very certain conclusion can be drawn from this, but judging from the distribution of objects from Egypt, it seems certain that that country was dominant over Gezer throughout its history as no other foreign nation seems to have been."[10]

Excavations in other parts of Canaan tell a similar tale. At Tell Zakariya (Azekah), Bliss dug up a jar containing 81 characteristic carnelian Egyptian beads, figures of Bes, Horus eyes, and scarabs of Amenhotep III.[11] At Tell-es-Safi (Gath) he found paste charms, figures of Bes, of Isis and Horus, and of Sekhet; a fragment of a stele, besides many other Egyptian scarabs, amulets, ushabtis, etc.[12] At Tell-ej-Judeideh two scarabs, Egyptian amulets, and a fragment of a figure of Isis with Horus were brought to light.[13] In his exploration of Taanach, Sellin found the same strongly marked Egyptian characteristics.[14] In the earliest strata (B.C. 2000–1600) there was little trace of Nilotic influence, yet a curious Babylono-Egyptian seal-cylinder showed that it was not altogether absent. In the second division of the same (Amorite) period (B.C. 1600–1300) an era revealing a marked advance in civilization, the pottery was akin to that of Mykenæ, Cyprus, and Egypt. Cuneiform tablets were discovered near the fragments of a terra-cotta chest in which they had been deposited.[15] These tablets, while showing the survival of Babylonian[16] as the script of diplomatic correspondence (like the Tell-el-Amarna Letters) testify to the entire subjection of Taanach to Egypt. Similarly at Tell-el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) Schumacher discovered a rude limestone god of Egyptian origin, Horus eyes, an Egyptian head of red burned clay, finely worked vessels with three legs of dolerite, a beautiful painted Egyptian incense-burner, and other Nilotic features.[17]

These amulets, charms, pendants, scarabs, ushabtis, and other Egyptian objects unearthed in Canaan have all more or less a religious significance. Even the games with which the Canaanites refreshed themselves in their

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 122. [2] *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 16. [3] *Ib.*, p. 228. [4] *Ib.*, 1905, p. 187. [5] *Ib.*, 1909, p. 98. [6] See the voluminous list of these in Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 319–322. [7] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 213. [8] *Ib.*, 1902, p. 340. [9] *Ib.*, 1908, p. 201 and *The Excav. of Gezer*, ii. 307. [10] *Ib.* 1903, p. 309. [11] *Ib.*, 1899, p. 289. Bliss, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898–1900, p. 27 (1902). [12] *Op. cit.* p. 40. [13] *Op. cit.* p. 51. [14] Sellin in *Denkschrift. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissens. in Wien*, Bd. 50 (1904). [15] Reminding one of the analogous practice mentioned in Jer. 32.[14] [16] Sir Chas. Wilson in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 389. [17] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 78, and Schumacher and Steuernagel, *Tell-el-Mutesellim*, i. (1908). In the face of all these abounding evidences it is strange to find Hogarth (*Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i. 1, 13 (1914) saying that little or no signs of XVIIIth Dynasty influence on Palestine can be detected!

leisure hours seem to bear this impression. The game of draughts, for example, was one in which both Egyptians and Palestinians delighted.[1] Plato even attributes the invention of the game to the Nilotic god Thoth.[2] Petrie has found draught-men of date as far back as the first three dynasties,[3] and in this connection I may be allowed to make what seems to me a reasonable conjecture. Some clay jar sealings of Narmer have the hieroglyphic (*Men*) separated by a draught-board on which stand three draught-men. Now, while the sign may possibly refer merely to Menes, with whom, as we have seen, Narmer seems to have been confounded, the interesting question is raised whether we may not have here the clue to the meaning of an otherwise inexplicable reference in the Bible, *Ye that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for Fortune* (Heb. *Gad*) *and that fill up mingled wine unto Destiny* (Heb. *Meni*).[4] While Driver[5] refers the term *Meni* to a male divinity, a personification of "destiny," but about whom little is known, is it not just possible that we have in the expression a reminiscence of the devotion of the dwellers in Canaan and in Egypt to the game of draughts? What the prophet rebukes may be the practice of invoking the aid of *Meni* as the god who presides at the game, and he sets his face against pouring out a libation of wine to that divinity by way of winning his favour against an opponent. In any case the monuments afford abundant evidence of the popularity of the game. It is depicted in the Vth Dynasty tombs at Sakkarah,[6] and in XIth Dynasty tombs at Beni-Hasan.[7] A XIIth Dynasty draught-board from Kahun is now in the Owens College Museum, Manchester, another from Thebes is in New York, and a third from El Bersheh is in the British Museum. An XVIIIth Dynasty draught-board of ivory with Hatshepset's cartouche is now in the Louvre, while another board of 30 squares is cut on one of the roofing stones of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. Many other draught-boards and men have been discovered ranging from the XVIIIth to the XXVIth Dynasties. Similarly in Canaan the game was very popular. The "tells" excavated on the Shepheleh have yielded many examples of boards or men like those discovered by Macalister at Gezer.[8]

But the game seems also to have had a religious significance. Chapter XVII of the *Book of the Dead* in the Turin Papyrus bears the title "The Chapter of raising up the illuminated . . . of playing with the draught-boards, and of being in the pavilion as a living soul." The dead man is frequently depicted playing the game alone. The question arises, did the deceased, or his soul, play for his soul against any god or accuser? Was there a grim contest in the underworld, the forfeit of losing the game being a form of death still more awful? Or did the spirits of the departed play against each other, or alone?[9] Whatever be the answers to these questions, it is certainly of deep interest to find how closely akin were Egypt and Canaan to each other, even in their games, and in the mythological ideas that perhaps underlay them.

[1] See Towry-Whyte in *P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), p. 261, and Nash, *P.S.B.A.* xxiv. (1902), p. 341. [2] *Phædr.*, 274 D, *cf.* Herod., ii. 122, in connection with Rameses II: Plutarch, *de Isid.*, 12. [3] *Royal Tombs*, ii., Pl. xiii. [4] Isa. 65.[11] [5] Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 342. [6] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., 61 A. [7] Newberry, *Beni-Hasan*, ii., Pl. vii. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 213, and *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 299 f. In the silt filling the famous Water Passage was a draught-board with 4 rows of 8 squares (=32). A fragment of a draught-board was also found at Tell-es-Safi (Gath). Draught-men, very similar to those used in playing the modern game of "halma," were found at Gezer in the IIIrd Semitic Period. They were of enamelled porcelain, polished diorite, or chalcedony, and one of them bore the Egyptian letter, (*op. cit.*, ii. 302). [9] See Birch, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, ix., pt. ii. 266.

The deposits associated with the XVIIIth Dynasty excavated in Palestine have yielded still more Nilotic products. Thus at Lachish, Bliss [1] unearthed the tooth of a hippopotamus,[2] fragments of an ostrich egg, and a valve of a large *Anodonta*, of a species not found in Syria or Palestine, but plentiful in the Nile. At Gezer, Macalister found the head of a hippopotamus modelled in red clay,[3] models of Egyptian sacred cats, figures of apes—due directly to the influence of the art imported from Africa, and other Nilotic objects.[4] These are but proofs, which might be multiplied indefinitely, that between Egypt and Canaan communication was systematic and close, and during the XVIIIth Dynasty the two neighbouring territories were practically one. Through this constant intercourse the beliefs of the Nile Valley filtered through into Canaan, while similarly Palestinian religious conceptions found a new home in Egypt. It is fascinating to watch the progress of the mutual process of exchange of theological ideas that was going on.[5] Every trader, soldier, or political officer was a missionary of his own faith, and thus while Egyptian gods were made known to the Palestinians through the exigencies of the military occupation of Canaan, on the other hand the constant influx into Egypt of Government officials,[6] merchants, slaves, concubines for the harems of the nobles, hostages, and other individuals, tended to popularize the introduction into the Delta of purely Semitic religious rites.[7] Thus, if we find in Canaan many Egyptian "Horus eyes" to avert the "evil eye";[8] if we discover the name and fame of Amen of Thebes almost outrivalling the native Canaanite deities, and his temples scattered in the towns of Canaan, and along the sea coasts of Phœnicia; on the other hand, we hear of Egyptian ladies calling themselves after the Semitic Baalath of Byblos, whom they identified with Hathor.[9] The sons of Canaanite chieftains who had been brought up in Egypt as hostages, and who had been familiarized with the gorgeous ceremonial and brilliant religious festivals of Amen or Ptah, returned, on the death of their respective fathers, to occupy the paternal throne, and to introduce to Palestine the elements of that cult which they had learned to admire in Thebes or Memphis.[10] It may be that in this way the great city of Baalbek owes its early association with Sun-worship to Egyptian influence. Baalbek, the sacred city of the Biqā'a, the "cleft" between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, is described in the LXX of Amos 1[5] as *On*.[11] The name reminds us of the Egyptian On or Heliopolis, and it suggests the enquiry whether the Syrian On may not have been so called from the fact that some priests of the Egyptian cult may have colonized the district, and introduced their own form of Sun-worship.[12] Similarly, Canaanite damsels imported as slaves to the Courts of the rich in Egypt carried with them their Semitic beliefs, and

[1] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 192. [2] An animal not found in Palestine, but only in the Nile and other African rivers. [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 41. [4] Even the external accompaniments of religion were the same. At Gezer, a large rattle was found in the temple precincts, and similar ones have been discovered at Lachish, and at Taanach. They were the equivalents of the Egyptian sistra used to mark time in the sacred dances (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 46: Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 117, 120: Sellin, *Ta'annuk*, p. 19). [5] *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 8, 17. [6] The name Dudu has been found in the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets, seemingly on that of an Amorite official at the court of the Pharaohs. It is the same as Dodo, 2 Sa. 23,[9] 1 Chr. 11.[12] It appears in the Moabite Stone as the name of a deity. [7] Thus, the princess Gilukhipa brought with her from Mitanni a train of 317 ladies and attendants. [8] For an account of Egyptian endeavours to avert ill-luck, see Uhlemann, *Grundzüge der Astronomie u. Astrologie der Alten besonders der Ægypter*, p. 92. [9] Erman, *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xlii. 109. [10] Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 76. [11] ἐξολοθρεύσω κατοικοῦντας ἐκ πεδίου Ὠν, "I will destroy the inhabitants from the plain of On." [12] *Cf.* Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 25.

through their instrumentality new deities were added to the Egyptian pantheon, and novel identifications were made out between Nilotic and Syrian divinities.

This interchange of religious creed was no novelty: it had been mutually at work in regard to Egypt and Canaan since the time of the Hyksos invasion; but now more particularly was it accentuated during the XVIIIth Dynasty when Palestine was an integral part of the Nilotic Empire. One of the Apepis, for example, had dedicated an altar to the Syrian god, *Sutekh*; after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the deity, Egyptianized into "Set," remained on as a welcome member of the Egyptian circle of gods. Sayce [1] has called attention to two seal-cylinders in the collection of M. de Clercq.[2] On one of them the owner of the seal, a citizen of Sidon, is represented standing in an attitude of adoration before the god Set, while behind him is the lightning-god Resheph. Set has the long ass's ears with which Egyptian art provided him,[3] and holds in his hand the *uas* sceptre. On the other seal there is a procession of three deities—Resheph with his battle-axe held aloft, the Sun-god with the solar disk above the hawk's head of Horus, and Set. Set was believed to have many attributes and qualities in common with the great Syrian god *Bar* or Baal.[4]

Resheph,[5] the Semite god of the storm and of fire, is depicted on an Egyptian stele in the Cairo Museum with Semitic profile and hat.[6] A city in Egypt bore the name of "House of Resheph." [7] His name survives in Resheph,[8] a place-name among the Ephraimites. His wife was *Atum*, whose name may perhaps be found in the Biblical "*Obed-edom*," [9] "servant of Atum," [10] and in *Adam* [11] in the Jordan Valley along with *Admah*.[12]

The Syrian goddess, *Kadesh*, was identified with the Egyptian Hathor. A figure of her is shown on a stele in the Cairo Museum: she is seen standing on a lion between Min and Resheph in a representation that is thoroughly Semitic; [13] naked, and wearing a crescent and disk which show her as a Moon-goddess.[14]

The War-goddess, *Anath*, whose name occurs in *Anath*,[15] the father of Shamgar, and in the towns *Beth-anath*,[16] *Beth-anoth*,[17] *Anathoth*,[18] had under Thothmes III a priest appointed in Egypt to see that due honour was paid to her.[19] During the next dynasty, a team of horses belonging to Seti I

[1] *P.E.F.Q.* 1893, p. 241. [2] *Collection De Clercq: Catalogue méthodique et raisonne*, i. 217 (1888). [3] Sayce asserts that "the Canaanite worship of Set with the ass's head is doubtless the origin of the stories which declared that the people of Palestine, and more especially the Jews, adored the head of that animal" (Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 4: Diod. Sic., xiv. 1: Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 7: Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 5). The belief lingered on to a late date, for in the great French *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1809, iii. Pl. 64) there is reproduced the figure of a man with the head of an ass, and on his breast the word *Sêth* in Coptic letters. [4] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 281. [5] The name by which the Dead Sea is known in the inscriptions of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties is "the lake of Rethpana." Sayce (*Pat. Pal.*, p. 21) suggests that "Rethpana" might correspond with a Heb. *Reshphôn*, a derivative from Resheph, the god of fire. Canaanite mythology makes the sparks his children: *Man is born into trouble as the sparks* (Heb. the sons of flame, בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף Job 5 [7]), *fly upward*. It may be that in this ancient name of the Dead Sea we have a reference to the overthrow of the cities of the plain. [6] Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 367. For representations of the Syrian Resheph upon Egyptian monuments, see Spiegelberg in *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1908, pp. 529–531, with plates. [7] *T.S.B.A.*, iii. 424. [8] 1 Chr. 7.[25] [9] 2 Sa. 6.[10] 1 Ch. 15,[18] 16,[5] 2 Ch. 25.[24] [10] Cf. *C.I.S.*, i. 367. [11] Jos. 3.[16] [12] Gen. 10,[19] 14,[2 8] Dt. 29.[23] [13] W. Max Müller, *Egyptol. Res.*, i. 32, Pl. 41. [14] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 280. [15] Jud. 3,[31] 5.[6] [16] Jos. 19,[38] Jud. 1.[33] [17] Jos. 15.[59] [18] Jos. 21,[17] Isa. 10,[30] Jer. 1.[1] [19] Virey, *Tombeau de Khem* (*Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr.*), v. 368.

bore the name "Anath is satisfied"; [1] the favourite daughter of Rameses II was called "daughter of Anath": and one of his dogs was named "Anath is protection." [2]

The Syrian *Ashtoreth*, or Astarte, was regarded as a daughter of Ptah, and as such was welcomed into the Egyptian pantheon at Memphis, as a lioness-headed woman, surmounted by a disk, and standing in a four-horse chariot which careers over her prostrate foes.[3] Usually she is grouped in a triad with Resheph and the ithyphallic Min. Sometimes she stands naked on a lion, holding in one hand a lotus-blossom, in the other a serpent.

Shamash, the Sun-god, whose name is perpetuated in *Beth-shemesh*,[4] *Ir-shemesh*,[5] *En-shemesh*,[6] was carried over into Egyptian thought as a deity with whom the Pharaohs claimed spiritual affinity. Each Pharaoh was a "Son of the Sun," and that title appeared on his cartouche. It was thus an easy matter for them to assimilate themselves with this Canaanite deity, and to see in him a reflection of their own semi-divine brilliance and glory.[7] As *Shemesh* is the same as *heres* the "sun," we find in Canaan other spots bearing the old idolatrous name. *Mount Heres*,[8] the *Ascent of Heres*,[9] and *Timnath-heres* [10] are well known. The latter, to avoid idolatrous connotations, was changed to *Timnath-serah*.[11]

The Egyptian god *Bes*, or *Besh*, absorbed such a number of Semitic attributes that in course of time he became almost identified with the Canaanite Baal. The tombs at Abydos [12] have revealed a grotesque figure of a warrior (perhaps Besh Semiticized) bearded and helmeted, hurling a spear and shooting a bow, so thoroughly un-Egyptian in all its details as to point inevitably to Canaan for its provenance.

Thus, Palestine triumphed over Egypt, intellectually and spiritually, at the very era when Egypt was holding Palestine in physical and material subjection. Egypt was more influenced by the infiltration into the Nile Valley of Semitic modes of thought than was Canaan modified in her religious beliefs by contact with Egyptian theological conceptions.

Similar evidence as to the close correspondence between the neighbouring countries at this period is afforded by the many Canaanite words introduced into the Nile Valley and adopted by the Egyptians. Lauth [13] enumerates the following as examples—*markabute*, "chariots"; *agolte*, "wagons"; *hurpu* (Sem. *hereb*), "sword"; *espat*, "quiver"; *shabud* (Sem. *shebet*), "staff"; *supăr*, "scribe"; *baith*, "house"; *barkat*, "pool"; *yum*, "sea"; *nahal*, "brook"; *ebete* (Sem. *ebed*), "slave"; *gămal*, "camel"; *zaba*, "army"; *na'aruna*, "young men"; *parzel*, "iron." [14] Some of these Egyptianized loan-words are found on monuments which go back to the 16th century B.C., or earlier. Maspero,[15] Bondi,[16] and Max Müller [17] have worked in the same intensely interesting quarry, and have dug up many more specimens of Canaanite words that

[1] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iii. 43. [2] Breasted, *ib.*, 201. [3] *Æg. Zeit.*, 1869, p. 3. [4] Jos. 18.[33] [5] Jos. 18.[41] [6] Jos. 15.[7] [7] See H. P. Smith, "Theophorus Proper Names in the O.T." in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of William Rainey Harper*, i. (1908), pp. 35–64. [8] Jud. 1.[34] [9] Jud. 8.[13] [10] Jud. 2.[9] [11] Jos. 19[50], 24.[30] [12] Peet and Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, iii. (1913), p. 30. [13] "Semitische Lehnwörter im Ægyptischen" in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxv. (1871), p. 4. On the connection between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages, see Crum in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 655 f., art. EGYPT. [14] For a list of these words, see Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 516, and Ember in *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Spr.*, l. 86: li. 110 (1914). [15] *Epistolographie Egyptienne*, 1873. [16] *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxiii. 1. [17] *Asien u. Europa*, 1893.

were taken over and adopted by the Egyptians. How they came in, whether by trading or by war, cannot now be determined, but their number and variety, relating to entirely different spheres of human activity, testify to the close relationship between the Nile and the Jordan.

But the borrowing was not all on one side. The Semites similarly took over loan-words from Egypt.[1] We have already come across in Hebrew the Egyptian words, *Ye-'or*[2] for the river Nile, and *akhu*[3] for the Nile reed-grass. To these must now be added such words as *debir*,[4] a "shrine";[5] *kikkar*,[6] the technical Egyptian name for the "circle" at the north end of the Dead Sea; *shear*,[7] an Egyptian measure of grain; *i*,[8] an island, is the Egyptian *aa*, an island;[9] *min*,[10] a species, is a native Egyptian word;[11] and others. From the first fifteen chapters of Exodus quite a collection of Hebrew-Egyptian words has been made, some of them being identical with Egyptian nouns, while others are not translatable except by the help of their Egyptian originals.[12]

To return to Amenhotep III. His activities were many and varied. Hunting was one of his favourite pursuits. During the first ten years of his reign he shot with his own hand no fewer than 102 fierce lions.[13] But the mention of another object of the chase is of deeper interest still for us. A remarkably fine scarab [14] records a hunting expedition which he undertook in the land of Goshen. The King sailed by night down the Nile in the royal dahabiyeh, the *Khammaat*. Next morning he reached the land of Sheta. He mounted on horseback followed by a great army. He found the country swarming with roaming wild cattle. The army was ordered to form a vast cordon and to surround the cattle. Then ensued a royal battue. On the first day 56 great and savage oxen were killed. After a rest of four days to recruit the horses' strength, Amenhotep again plunged into the thrilling excitement of the bull fight. That day 85 fell before his arrows and spears.

The point which mainly arrests our attention in this connection is the scene of these hunting exploits. The spot must have been between the Wady Tumilat near Tell-el-Yahudiyah and Beni Sulameh, in the Wardan district on the west bank of the Nile. But this is the very spot where the Hebrews had been most thickly planted. How could there have been these roving herds of savage wild cattle in the midst of a thronging population of men, women, and children, occupied in all the arts of a settled civilization? The thing is inconceivable. This hunting episode is thus another corroborative indication that the Exodus took place earlier than this, in the days of Amenhotep II, and since then Goshen, cleared of its former inhabitants, had been left desolate, lonely, and deserted, a wilderness given over to wild beasts.

Building was another passion of this illustrious monarch. Numerous structures and restorations are traceable to his energy, such as those at

[1] See Jablonski, *Opuscula*, i. (1805): Schwartze, *Altes Ægypten* (1842), p. 1,000 f.: Uhlemann, *De Veter. Ægypt. Lingua* (1851): Wiedemann, *Sammlung Ægyptischer Wörter* (1883). [2] Gen. 41.[1] [3] Gen. 41.[2] [4] 1 Ki. 6,[5] A.V., "oracle." [5] Abel, *Koptische Untersuchungen*, p. 422. [6] כִּכָּר Gen. 13,[10] *Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the Circle of Jordan that it was well watered everywhere.* [7] Gen. 26.[12] [8] אִי Gen. 10,[5] Job 22.[30] [9] De Rougé, *Chrestomathie Egyptienne*, i. 56. [10] מִין Lev. 11,[22] its "*kind*." [11] Abel, *l.c.*, p. 28. [12] See Cook, "Egyptian words in the Pentateuch" in *Speaker's Comm. on Exodus*, p. 488 f.: and Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 519. [13] From a scarab in the British Museum. [14] Willoughby Fraser in *P.S.B.A.*, xxi. (1899), 155.

Gebel Barkal, Elephantine,[1] and Wady Maghara.[2] He excavated stone from the limestone quarries at Turah,[3] erected at Memphis a sanctuary of quartzite,[4] and at Sakkara he built what was, so far as we know, the earliest Apis tomb of the Serapeum, depositing in the chapel the first Apis Bull.

This Apis worship was one of the most extraordinary features of the Egyptian religion. The god was supposed to dwell within the brute. Memphis was the chief seat of its worship, the bull being regarded as an incarnation of Ptah, and held in the highest veneration. The beast lived in its own temple in the city, attended daily by a crowd of admiring priests. It had its harem of cows, its meals of choicest food, its grooms to polish its coat and keep it clean, its chamberlains to attend to its bed, its cupbearers to slake its thirst for water. At stated festivals the divine brute was led through the streets while every inhabitant flung himself prostrate in adoration. When the Apis died, its body was carefully embalmed, and deposited along with splendid jewels, statuettes, and vases, in a polished granite sarcophagus, hewn out of a single block weighing from 60 to 70 tons. The cost of the funeral of a divine ox sometimes ran to £20,000.[5] To discover a new Apis was a work of the gravest concern. It sometimes took months to find one, and Egypt was ransacked for a thousand miles up the Nile. The ox must be black with a white spot on its forehead, on its back the figure of an eagle, on its tongue the image of a beetle, and in its tail double hairs.

In 1860, Mariette noticed the head of a sphinx protruding from the sand at Memphis. He recollected that Strabo had described the Serapeum at Memphis as having been approached by an avenue of sphinxes. Clearing away the sand, which was in some places 70 feet deep, he discovered 141 sphinxes *in situ*, besides the pedestals of many others.[6] The temple to which they led had disappeared, but the tomb survived. It is an immense vault or tunnel in three divisions, one 400 yards long, another 210 yards, with chambers radiating on either side, in each of which was a huge granite sarcophagus. In the interior of each stone coffin, secured by a gigantic granite lid, lay the embalmed body of the Apis. In all, Mariette discovered 64 sacred bulls thus interred.[7]

But the architectural zeal of Amenhotep III was directed mainly towards the embellishment of the capital of Upper Egypt. In his hands, Thebes blossomed out into a truly royal and splendid metropolis. Great though the other cities of the Kingdom—Heliopolis, Memphis, Tanis, etc.—might be, it was Thebes which during the XVIIIth Dynasty was pre-eminently the Royal Capital. In the course of centuries the old city had spread out greatly, and many neighbouring villages had become incorporated with it. Amenhotep set himself to the task of transforming these inferior residences into structures worthy of an Imperial Mother-city. In one of the courts of the reconstructed temple of Mut[8] he stacked several hundred statues in

[1] The temples erected by Amenhotep III on this island were ruthlessly destroyed between A.D. 1822–25 to build barracks at Assuan for Turkish troops (Gliddon, *An Appeal to the Antiquarians of Europe on the Destruction of the Monuments of Egypt*, pp. 38–41). Its former appearance is known by the notice of it in the great *Description d'Egypte*, i. 34–38. [2] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 108. In the Wady Nasb, G. W. Murray has found fragments of a stele of Amenhotep III (*Cairo Scientific Journ.*, vi. (1912), p. 264). [3] Vyse, *Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh*, iii. 96-98: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 71. [4] Petrie in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1912, p. 19. [5] Details from Rawlinson, *Egypt* (Story of the Nations Series), p. 32. [6] Mariette, *Bulletin Archéolog. de l'Athenæum Français*, 1855, p. 53. [7] Mariette, *Serapeum*, p. 117: Manning, *The Land of the Pharaohs*, p. 73. [8] For the excavation of this temple, see Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 1899.

black granite of the old Memphite deity Sekhet with the lioness head, whom he identified with his own Theban goddess.[1] About 100 of these still survive. But his greatest architectural triumph was the Temple of Luxor, dedicated to the Theban triad, Amen-Ra, Mut, and Khonsu. Rising sheer from the river-brink, this marvellous structure—nearly 500 feet long and 180 feet broad—was joined to Karnak by a splendid paved road, lined on both sides with a magnificent avenue of sphinxes. For nearly two miles the roadway, 63 feet in width, stretched across the plain. The sphinxes stood 12 feet apart, and their numbers were well-nigh inconceivable. For 1,500 feet out from Luxor they had the customary female heads: for the rest of the road to Karnak they were crio—or ram-headed.[2] Upwards of ten other avenues, with equally imposing lines of sphinxes, led in other directions.

The western bank of the Nile was adorned by a temple of gigantic proportions which was dedicated to the worship of Amenhotep himself. Outside it had enormous statues of the King, most of which have been destroyed, though two still survive. These are the world-famous so-called "Colossi of Memnon." We regard a statue as large if it be upwards of 20 feet in height. These immense weird figures are 53 feet high, and if their pedestals and the crowns which formerly capped them be included, they must have towered aloft more than 70 feet! Each was cut from one block, and each weighed over 700 tons. One of the two remaining statues was partially overthrown by an earthquake[3] in B.C. 27, but the Emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) repaired it.

There are no stranger figures in the world,[4] unless some of the vast statues in Easter Island be excepted.[5] They are the survivors of at least nine similar gigantic monoliths, placed at intervals along the paved roadway—1,100 feet in length—which led to the temple.[6] Conceive of an avenue more than a quarter of a mile long, lined with statues, each of them 70 feet in height! The aspect of Thebes in these days of her "grand climacteric" must have been awe-inspiring to the last degree, with her streets overshadowed by colossal incarnations in stone of the brute power of the Pharaoh. These two grim giants have sat, hands on knees, staring across the plain for over 3,300 years. They were erected while Moses was leading the Israelites through the Sinai desert to the Promised Land. The legend of the musical note struck by one of them at sunrise was widely believed,[7] hence its classical name of "The Vocal Statue of Memnon, son of Tithonus and Aurora." Tourists in thousands during subsequent centuries visited the marvellous spot and scratched their names in Greek

[1] By the time of Amenhotep III, the fortunes of Amen-Ra had revived after the great eclipse they had sustained during the lifetime of his father, Amenhotep II, when the Ninth Plague had obliterated the light of the Sun-god for three days. By this time the remembrance of that humiliation, indeed of the Exodus itself, must have waxed dim. Egypt was enjoying now her zenith of earthly glory, and Amenhotep III favoured Thebes and its gods rather than Heliopolis and its priests, who had collaborated with his brother, Thothmes IV. The idea that the Exodus took place during the reign of the third Amenhotep is destitute of any probability. There is not the slightest monumental trace of the presence of Hebrews in Egypt at this time: no persecution or oppression of a subject race was in progress: the land was practically cleared of them: the Israelites were far off in their fastnesses of Sinai.
[2] Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 119. [3] Another legend is to the effect that Cambyses in his madness overthrew it. [4] An excellent photograph will be found in Captain Abney, *Thebes and its Five Greater Temples*, 1876. [5] For these Easter Island statues, see Reginald Enock, *The Secret of the Pacific*, 1911, p. 257. [6] For the bibliography of the statues, see Wiedemann, *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 387, and Appendix, p. 44.
[7] For a simple and natural explanation of this phenomenon, see Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 105.

and Latin on the monuments.[1] The Emperor Hadrian journeyed to Thebes expressly to hear the music.[2]

At the end of every avenue approaching the great city stood gigantic pylons—huge gateways consisting of truncated pyramids pierced by a passage. Unlike nearly all other cities, Thebes had no walls. *Her rampart was the sea* (i.e., the Nile) *and her wall was of the sea.*[3] Homer's epithet —" hundred-gated Thebes "[4]—does not refer to gates in the city's walls. He meant the splendid pylons that arched the various roadways leading into the metropolis. The sloping sides of these pylons were often surmounted by a cornice bearing in sculpture the symbol which the Greeks named *Agathodæmon*, a winged sun. Accustomed as the Israelites had been to seeing, on other pylons in the Delta, these wide spreading wings, blue as if with the cloudless azure of heaven itself,[5] covering the entrant to the sacred precincts, it is not to be wondered at that they adopted the notion, and in a finer sense applied it in later days to Jehovah : *In the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast :* [6] *He shall cover thee with His feathers, and under His wings shalt thou trust.*[7]

The wealth, glory, and magnificence of Thebes in the lifetime of the most splendid of her kings must have been overwhelming. The fabulous riches obtained by the long wars of conquest waged by his fathers, by the tribute from the vanquished territories, by the exceedingly profitable commercial enterprises in which his fleets participated, and by the customs duties levied on all trading ships which converged on Egypt from every part of the Mediterranean, were spent with a prodigal hand on the embellishment of his royal capital. Visitors to the Court of Amenhotep III were dazzled with the grandeur of all they saw. The King's own palace was a gorgeous structure. His vast establishment of wives, concubines, officers, servants, Court officials, and retainers numbered many thousands. His table was laden with plate of the most exquisite design in gold and silver, with crystal goblets, glass vases, and rare porcelain vessels. His sideboards exhibited lovely bronzes worked in the most artistic fashion from the Mykenæan colonies in the Ægean. His walls were hung with priceless tapestries ; his armouries were filled with the finest weapons which Phœnician art and Damascene skill could produce : the furniture of the palace was of precious aromatic wood from the East, while the richest

[1] Perhaps the most exhaustive monograph on the subject of these statues is that by Letronne, *La Statue vocale de Memnon*, Paris, 1833, who in this work, as well as in his *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Egypte*, p. 316 f., records all the inscriptions of ancient tourists cut upon them. The Greek *nomina stultorum* have been also collected in the *Description de l'Egypte*, ii. 22 : v. 55. [2] The impression made on some modern visitors to Thebes may be noted. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. xxxviii) says, " No written account had given me an adequate impression of the effect, past and present, of the colossal figures of the kings. What spires are to a modern city, what the towers of a cathedral are to its nave and choir, that the statues of the Pharaohs were to the streets and temples of Thebes. The ground is strewed with their fragments : there were avenues of them towering high above plain and houses." Similarly, Manning (*The Land of the Pharaohs*, p. 109) says, " Avenues of statues and sphinxes, miles in length, ran along the plain, leading to propylons 100 feet in height, through which kings and warriors, priests and courtiers, passed into the temples and palaces which lay beyond. Above all towered the colossal images of the Pharaohs, looking down upon the city, and far over the plain at their feet, like gigantic warders. As I wandered day after day with ever-growing amazement amongst these relics of ancient magnificence, I felt that if all the ruins in Europe—Classical, Celtic and Mediæval—were brought together into one centre, they would fall far short, both in extent and grandeur, of these of this single Egyptian city." [3] Nah. 3.[8]
[4] Ἑκατόμπυλαι Θῆβαι Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 391. [5] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 88.
[6] Psa. 59.[1] [7] Psa. 91.[4]

embroidered goods, the costliest spices, and the most delicate Oriental articles of vertu made the halls of his Theban home a gorgeous exhibition of the extraordinary refinement and luxury of the age.[1]

Each of the nobles in his entourage had his superb villa, his gay summer chateau, his gardens blazing with brilliant parterres of flowers. The King's gifts to his friends were on a royal scale of generosity, and evidenced the immensity of his financial resources.[2] Each New Year's Day the Pharaoh dispersed abroad chariots of gold and silver, statues of ivory and ebony, necklaces of every costly stone, splendid battle weapons, ivory whips, sunshades, carved chairs, and so on. The impression upon the mind of every new arrival at the Imperial City must have been overpowering. His eyes would behold the miles of imposing sphinxes that lined the roads, the forests of tapering obelisks, all carved out of single blocks of stone: the immense temples on both sides of the Nile: the stately quays on which the royal fleets disembarked the rich bales of goods from every quarter of the then known world; the gigantic statues of the Pharaoh towering into the blue sky like white mountains of stone: the dazzling brilliance of the State pageants when Amenhotep and his wife sailed in the Royal Golden Barge on the huge artificial lake: the blaze of colour when every ship, and galley, and boat in the river was aflame with parti-coloured bunting: the stateliness of the priestly processions: the sacred choir of Amen sonorously chanting hymns to the Sun-god assisted by the overpowering resonance of the music poured forth by the Royal Court Orchestra. Never did Egypt display such imposing worldly glory: never were seen such luxury, such prodigality of treasure, such pomp and splendour as in the reign of Amenhotep III the Magnificent.

It was a sad reflection for the Pharaoh that at death all this wealth had to be left behind. The early dynastic Egyptians, as we have seen, buried their kings in pyramids. The Kings of the Middle Kingdom were interred in vast mastabas. But the monarchs of the New Empire equipped resting-places for themselves in the rocky fastnesses of immense subterranean tombs. Poorer citizens [3] might have to be content with ignoble graves, sixty of their mummy cases being sometimes piled on the top of each other in a common pit![4] But the proud Pharaohs demanded seclusion from the "vulgar herd" even in death.[5] The hills which hem in Thebes on the west form a high limestone cliff intersected by two gorges. One gorge runs up behind the plain into the very heart of the hills till it is entirely shut in by them. The other leads up to an enclosure in the hills, but having its face still open to the sky. "The former is the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, the Westminster Abbey of Thebes: the latter, the Valley of the Tombs of the Priests and Princes, its Canterbury Cathedral."[6] The ravines are desolate in the extreme. Bare rocks destitute of vegetation overhang the profoundly silent spot. Not a sign of man is visible: the city with its stir is excluded from view: not a tree, not a drop of water is there. In the face of the cliffs is a sculptured gateway. You pass

[1] Yet Prof. Elliot Smith states (*Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i., pt. iii. (1914), p. 189) that Amenhotep the Magnificent, amid all his splendours, was a martyr to toothache, as his mummy shows! [2] See Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 339. [3] For a most useful summary of all the tombs (252 in number) in Thebes, hewn out for persons lower than the monarch in rank, see Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes*, 1913. [4] For an account of the cemeteries of the poor in Thebes, see Rhind, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, pp. 124–139. [5] Amenhotep III seems to have been the first to place his tomb out of sight of the thronging haunts of men, and beyond any view of the Nile. [6] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. xlii.

from the blazing heat of the gorge where the rocky walls glow like a furnace, and you enter a succession of passages and galleries which lead far into the bowels of the mountain. Chamber after chamber, hall after hall, all covered with white stucco, are brilliant with colours as fresh as when painted thirty centuries ago. It is a gorgeous underground palace fitted up for the dead.[1]

On the walls are depicted the views current among the Egyptians of the period relating to the future life. We see the body of the dead man being embalmed and placed in a mummy case.[2] The soul is carried to Amenti (Sheol): it encounters fearful adventures from various monsters which lie in wait to punish the crimes committed while in life. At length it reaches the bar of Osiris.[3] There are forty-two "Assessors of Judgment,"[4] some human, others with the head of a crocodile, a snake, a ram, a hawk, a jackal, a lion, a baboon, etc. They have terrifying names such as "Clasper of Flame," "Devourer of Shades," "Crusher of Bones," "Devourer of Blood," "Destroyer," and so on.[5] The dead man kneels before these awful figures and protests his innocence. The protestation is very long and comprehensive, covering all the facts of life. He has to deny that he has committed any one of forty-two crimes (the "Negative Confession").[6] Isis, the sister of Osiris, wearing the ostrich feather of Truth, passes him to her sister Nephthys, bearing a similar feather, but carrying also a sceptre, the symbol of authority, and a *crux ansata*, the emblem of eternal life. His heart is then placed by Thoth in the scale over against the other pan containing the feather of Ma'at (Right). Thoth inclines the balance a little in favour of the accused man. The baboon-headed Hap sits above the balance. The hawk-headed Horus steadies the scales. The dog-headed Anubis examines the tongue of the balance, and announces the verdict to the ibis-headed Thoth. He, as "the scribe of the gods," records on his ivory tablet the reading of the scales, and hands in the report to the awful judge Osiris, high seated on a throne.[7]

If the accused is accepted before this august tribunal, he passes into the "field of Alu,"[8] a realm of blessedness where he rests from his labours and bathes in the pure River of Life. But if condemnation be the lot of the dead man, he is driven back to earth by "The Devourer of Amenti," a sinister monster made up of a crocodile in front, a lion's body, and in

[1] In the other ravine the galleries of the princes' and priests' final resting-place are even more gigantic. One of them is 862 feet long, the area excavated being 1½ acres. It is known as the Valley of Assassif (*cf.* Murray, *Handbook to Egypt in loco*). [2] For the history of embalming, see Pettigrew, *Hist. of Egyptian Mummies*, 1834: Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, iii.: Budge, *The Mummy, Chapters on Egyptian Funeral Archæology*, 1893: Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*. [3] For a description of Osiris worship and ritual in all its bearings, see Miss Margaret A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 1904, p. 25 f. She gives also an account of the dreadful human sacrifices that were customary in connection with the worship of this deity. [4] According to Maspero, they correspond to the 42 nomes of Egypt. [5] All these and other divinities, strikingly coloured as copied from ancient tombs, are depicted in Champollion le Jeune, *Panthéon Egyptien, Collection des personnages mythologiques de l'ancienne Egypte*, Paris, 1825. [6] It is given in Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, p. 132 f.: Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 188–190: Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 103: Baikie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 827: Alan H. Gardiner, *ibid.*, v. 478. [7] Full details and picture in Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 142. [8] "The 'Field of Alu,' the Elysium of the Greeks, was located at first in the marshes of the Delta near the mouth of the Nile, like the Paradise of Early Babylonia, which also was 'at the mouth of the rivers.' But it soon migrated to the N.E. portion of the sky, and the Milky Way became the heavenly Nile" (Sayce, *The Religions of Anc. Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 168). For a discussion on these "Fields of Peace and Rest," see Dr. Colin Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amonhotep III*, p. 159 f. He states, "It is not too much to say that the Egyptian conception is the parent of all the Paradises man has imagined."

the rear a hippopotamus, which lies crouching in readiness before the Throne of Justice. Thereafter, the wicked man, through transmigration of soul, is turned to inhabit that animal form to which his previous sins had assimilated him. The glutton becomes a hog, the cruel man assumes the shape of a wolf, and so on. If after three such transmigrations the soul still remains polluted, it is banished to the realms of darkness and everlasting death.

All these conceptions open up a wide field of investigation for the student of Comparative Religion.[1] How much of this grotesque imagery is due to the distortion of primitive beliefs? How much is "African"? How much is due to the infiltration of ideas from surrounding nations? How much actual light did the ancient Egyptians enjoy as to the true nature of the future life with its rewards and punishments?

[1] For full discussions, see Uhlemann, *Das Todtengericht bei den alten Ægyptern*, Berlin, 1854: Feydeau, *Histoire des Usages funèbres et des Sépultures des peuples anciens*, Paris, 1856: Naville, *Das Ægyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, 1886: Naville, *La Religion des anciens Egyptiens*, 1906: Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile* (1891), pp. 147–178: *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 1904, 2 v.: *The Chapters of Coming forth by Day, the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*, 3 v.: Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1897: Wiedemann in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 176–197: Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, 1898, and art. "Egyptian Religion" in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 236–250: *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 1906: Benson and Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (1899), pp. 98–130: Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 1907: Hall in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iv. 458–464, art. "Death and Disposal of the Dead" (1911): A. H. Gardiner in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 475–485 (1912), art. "Ethics and Morality (Egyptian)": Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 1912: Capart in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, li. 192–259.

CHAPTER XVI

Akhnaton and the Conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews

Under Amenhotep IV (B.C. 1392–1376) all the meridian pomp and imperial magnificence described in the previous chapter faded away. The son of Amenhotep III by his favourite wife, Thi, the new King seems to have imbibed from his mother an aversion to the religion of his country.[1] He inclined strongly to the gods worshipped at Heliopolis, and cherished an implacable hatred towards the Theban divinities (especially Amen) and their priests. But he went far beyond simple devotion to the Heliopolitan divinities. He invented for himself, and for his Court, people, and empire, what was practically a new religion. The result was disaster, utter and complete.

Authorities to-day are in total disagreement as to the merits or demerits of his new creed. It is also difficult to ascertain precisely wherein his worship of "Aten" or "The Sun's Disk" differed from that already practised at Heliopolis from of old.[2] It may have been a monotheistic revolt on the part of a pure-minded seeker for truth against the rank polytheism of the Theban theological system. By some it has been identified with Hebrew monotheism, and "Aten" has been held to be the equivalent of the Israelitic "Adon."[3] Others connect it with the Syrian Adonis.[4] In his singularly fascinating monograph on the life of this strangest of all monarchs, Weigall glorifies the simple monotheism of his hero to such an extent as to aver that "no man whose mind is free from prejudice will fail to see a far closer resemblance to the teaching of Christ in the religion of Akhnaton than in that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. One might believe that Almighty God had for a moment revealed Himself to Egypt, and had been more clearly, though more momentarily, interpreted there than ever He was in Syria or Palestine before the time of Christ."[5]

Petrie's verdict, again, is different, but equally favourable.[6] He urges that while previous ages had worshipped the round concrete solid ball of the sun, Amenhotep IV substituted for this a more refined and really philosophical worship, viz., that of the radiant energy of the sun

[1] So Mariette, Brugsch, Lauth, etc. Budge (*P.S.B.A.*, xx. (1887), 555) and Petrie (*Tell-el-Amarna*, p. 40) erroneously identified Thi with one of the Mitannian princesses. But later research has shown (as referred to on p. 194) that Thi was of native origin, being born probably near Heliopolis (see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 316).
[2] Wiedemann (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), 257) has recently brought forward some evidence from scarabs which seems to suggest that the Aten-cult did not take origin merely with Akhnaton, but had already been planned in the lifetime of his father.
[3] Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion in Alterthum*, i. 84-92: Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide IV conceptis*, 1895.
[4] Bryant-Reid, *P.S.B.A.* (1892-93), xv. 206.
[5] Weigall, *Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt* (1910), p. 117.
[6] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 214.

—the sun sustaining all life by his beams. "No one," he says, "sun-worshipper or philosopher, seems to have realized until within this 19th century the truth which was the basis of Khuenaten's worship, that the rays of the sun are the means of the sun's action, the source of all life, power, and force in the universe. This abstraction of regarding the radiant energy as all important was quite disregarded until recent views of the conservation of force, of heat as a mode of motion, and the identity of heat, light, and electricity, have made us familiar with the scientific conception which was the characteristic feature of Khuenaten's new worship. . . . If this were a new religion, invented to satisfy our modern scientific conceptions, we could not find a flaw in the correctness of this view of the energy of the solar system. . . . Not a rag of superstition or of falsity can be found clinging to this new worship evolved out of the old Aten of Heliopolis, the sole lord or Adon of the universe."

Other eminent authorities join in praise of the high ideals of the royal iconoclast.[1] Budge, while inclining to the view that the new religion was "something like a glorified materialism,"[2] adds that "The word 'Aten' means Sun-Disk, and the veneration of it was extremely ancient in Egypt, or rather in those parts of the country where the influence of the priests of Heliopolis was paramount. The old veneration included no monotheistic conceptions, and the Aten was venerated solely as the disk of the Sun-god Ra. At base, then, the worship of the Aten was of Heliopolitan origin, but it became a heresy only when monotheistic ideas were imported into it, and the sun-disk was regarded as the sole deity of heaven and of earth, the source of all light or life. . . . The cause of the bitter dispute between Amenhotep IV and the priests was the fact that the worship of the Aten, as developed by him, admitted of the existence of no other gods: all the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic gods of Egypt were to be abolished, and the sole deity to be worshipped was the actual, burning, and radiant disk of the sun, who was no longer to be regarded as the god of the sky, but as God Himself, One and Alone."[3]

The verdict of other authorities is, however, much less favourable. Hall[4] speaks of him as being "no Egyptian warrior like his ancestors," as "of mixed race," the "son of a luxurious and art-loving father and of a clever and energetic mother," and as having been brought up "under strong feminine influence." All the requisites for the creation of a striking and abnormal character were present. He was a man "of entirely original brain," and "so insensate, so disastrous, was his obliviousness to anything else but his own 'fads' in religion and art that we can well wonder if Amenhotep IV was not really half-insane." "Akhenaten was the first doctrinaire in history, and what is much the same thing, the first prig. He was a boy of eight or nine at his accession four years before his father's death. Much of the extravagance that followed would probably have been avoided had his father lived longer, and been able to keep him in check. The influence of Thi, which must have been paramount during the first years of his reign when she apparently acted as Regent, can hardly have been wisely exercised." At the same time, Hall acknowledges that Akhnaton "saw behind the sun a deity unnamed and unnameable, 'the

[1] De Garis Davies has the same favourable verdict to give (*El-Amarna*, p. 12), "The disk was but a window in heaven through which the unknown god, 'the Lord of the Disk,' shed a portion of his radiance on the world." [2] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 120. [3] Budge, *ib.* iv. 172, and *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 68 f. [4] Hall, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p 298

Lord of the Disk,'" and that therefore "we see in his heresy the highest development of religious ideas before the days of the Hebrew prophets."[1]

The difficulties of his position as the ruler of a city where he was in the fiercest antagonism to the cherished creed of the vast majority of his subjects, and in violent opposition to the proud and opulent and unscrupulous guild of priests of Amen, proving too great for him, Amenhotep IV, in the fifth year of his reign, and at the mature age of fifteen, resolved to abandon the ancient capital of Egypt, and to go forth and found an entirely new metropolis for himself.[2] By this time he had succeeded to his father's harem, which included Tadukhipa, his father's young Mitannian wife, and he had also married his beloved sister, Nefertiti,[3] who evidently sympathised with his reforming enthusiasm. Two hundred miles south of Memphis he fixed on a desolate spot, uncontaminated by any association with polytheistic worship, and there he built a city (the ruins of which are now known as Tell-el-Amarna) which in every way he intended to be a protest against what was conventional.[4] He called it "Akhetaten," the "Horizon of the Disk"; he changed his own name from Amenhotep to "Akhnaton,"[5] "Pleasing to the Sun-Disk"; and he issued orders to hammer out the name of Amen from every monument in Egypt. Even the plural "gods" was not allowed to remain on any of the old Theban structures and temples.[6] He altered the official and conventional portraits of himself from the recognized Amenophide type to a totally new, and far from pleasing presentation of his really abnormal physiognomy.[7]

The new capital grew apace. It revealed striking departures from all previously adopted canons of Egyptian art and architecture.[8] A white limestone temple; a brick palace with colossal halls beautifully decorated, and with a series of apartments so numerous as to form a perfect maze; many of the rooms fitted with bath and toilet ante-chambers, and heated with furnaces; houses for the nobility and the Court planted in gardens filled with rare shrubs and brilliant flowers; orchards laden with fruit; shady trellises; streets laid out at right angles; wide open squares—these new designs, new harmonies in tone; new treatment of architectural subjects drew architects, artisans, and workpeople from all quarters.[9] The new

[1] On the other hand, Lagier (in *Récherches de Science religieuse*, 1913, Nos. 4, 5) urges that Akhnaton's monotheism was not pure, and was intermixed with survivals of animal worship. [2] The excavations of the Deutsche Orient. Gesellschaft have, however, revealed (1911-12) some traces of earlier occupation beneath the Akhnaton city (*Mittheilungen S. D. O. Ges.*, Nos. 50, 52). [3] He gave to her the title "Nefer-neferu-Atem"="The Beauty of the Beauties of Aten." [4] The most recent excavations of Tell-el-Amarna are by the Deutsche Orient. Gesellschaft. Borchardt has given an account of the discoveries in their *Mittheilungen*, No. 46, Nov., 1911. From the excavations it is clear that the city must have extended for over four miles on the west bank of the Nile. Many of the mansions of the nobles still bear the names of their owners, with scenes illustrating the adoration of the "Disk" carved on the stone doorways. The 14 large stelæ (one of them 26 feet in height) show that the sacred environs of the city amounted to 8 miles in width from north to south, and from 12 to over 17 miles from cliff to cliff. [5] For a discussion on the meaning of the name "Akhnaton," see Lieblein, *Verhandlungen* of XIIIth Oriental Congress of Orientalists, Hamburg, 1902. [6] *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xl, 109-110. [7] Prof. Elliot Smith (*Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, i., pt. iii. (1914), p. 189) states that the mummy of Amenhotep IV reveals that he was afflicted with hydrocephalus and possibly epilepsy. [8] For the question of the originality of Akhnaton's art, see Blackman in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1911–12, p. 11. Was it but a decadent stage of the art of Cusæ as exhibited under the XIIth Dynasty? [9] The fullest description of the present site of the city is by Petrie, *El-Amarna*, 6 vols. 1903–08. Borchardt (*Klio*, Mar. 1914) gives an account of the excavations by the Deutsche Orient. Gesellschaft. Not less than 76 trees and plants, preserved through the ages under the sand, were found in their original positions in the formally laid-out gardens.

city was of remarkable beauty.[1] Emancipated from the traditional, Akhnaton gave freedom to Egyptian art to develop as it pleased, and every genius in the Kingdom leaped eagerly to seize the happy opportunity. The city was the home, and a living exposition, of impressionism.[2] In some cases the walls of houses and tombs were actually inlaid with hieroglyphs of alabaster, granite, and obsidian, and the columns were encased in moulded pottery.[3]

In this scene of loveliness, this city of novelties, this "fairy-tale" palace, Akhnaton passed the remainder of his days. As a man with a mission he felt he could preach with the greatest effect to the Kingdom he ruled by putting his religious and æsthetic views into a concrete shape, and then sitting down to spend the rest of his life in the metropolis he had called into being. He solemnly stated in inscriptions that it was his determination never to quit his new home, but for ever (to use the phrase constantly on his lips) to "live in Truth."

But though the Pharaoh thus enacted for himself a voluntary imprisonment within his new and splendid capital, he gave orders that temples to the "Aten" should be erected in various parts of his dominions.[4] The world-wide religion he hoped to found must have suitable places of worship. We find, therefore, buildings bearing the name of "Gem-Aten" "Found-is-the-Disk," at several spots in Nubia, the Fayum, the Delta, and most singular of all, in Jerusalem. That Jerusalem was ordered to adopt the local worship of the "Aten" we gather from one of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, in which the King of Jerusalem appeals for help from Akhnaton on the ground that the King had "set his name on Jerusalem for ever."[5] The stele commanding the worship of the "Disk" if carved on the limestone found round Jerusalem would be of very perishable material, and this fact may account for the failure of explorers thus far to discover any actual remains of Amenhotep IV in the neighbourhood.[6] Yet, it is of surpassing interest to reflect that the worship set up by the iconoclastic King of Egypt, which so closely approximated to the keen monotheism of the Jews, was published in the streets of Jerusalem at the very time when, as we shall see, the Hebrews were battering at the gates of Zion.

Breasted[7] has pointed out how remarkably similar are the two great hymns to Aten, composed by the King himself[8] and the 104th Psalm.

[1] The beauty of the new city is fully described by Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 202. [2] For illustrations, see Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, pt. i. (1903), "The Tomb of Meryra": pt. iii. (1905), "The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes": pt. v., "Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelæ" (1908). He carried his realistic impressionism so far as to depict himself, Tadukhipa, and all the Royal Family as living together in an entirely nude condition! See Davies, *op. cit.*, pt. vi. (1908), p. 16, and H. Schäfer in *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, lii. (1914) 73–87: lv. (1918) 1–49. [3] See Griffith, *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1892–93, p. 18. [4] There were at least three Aten temples in Akhetaten, one in Thebes, one in Nubia, and others at Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Hermonthis, and in the Fayum (Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 309). For the one in Memphis, see Nicholson, "On some remains of the Disk-worshippers at Memphis" in *Ægyptiaca*, pp. 115–134: Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, Pl. 27. [5] See Winckler, *Keil. Alt. Test.*[3] p. 194: *Thontafeln*, p. 103: G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 20. In the tomb of Huya at Tell-el-Amarna there is a scene, dated from the 12th year of Akhnaton, to which the inscription is attached, "The going forth of the King and Queen upon the great golden litter to receive the tribute of Syria and Ethiopia, of the West and the East." How soon that tribute was to cease! (Griffith in *J. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 61). [6] Bliss found at Tell Zakariya a blue porcelain ring with the cartouche of Amenhotep IV, evidently contemporaneous with the king whose name it bears (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 212). [7] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 371, where the hymn is given in full. [8] But was the hymn the work of the heretic-king? Wiedemann, *P.S.B.A.* (1913), p. 259, denies it, and says it is nothing but an adaptation of the usual hymns to the sun, given in different editions of Chapter XV. of the *Book of the Dead*.

The two poems—the Egyptian and the Hebrew—display notable resemblances both in language and sequence of thought. By placing in parallel columns some verses from each, the likenesses may be recognized.[1]

Akhnaton's Hymn to Aten	*Psalm* 104
Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of heaven: O living Aten, Beginning of Life!	*O Lord, my God, Thou art very great. Thou art clothed with honour and majesty: Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment: Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.*[2]
When Thou risest in the eastern horizon of heaven Thou fillest every land with Thy beauty: For Thou art beautiful, great, glittering, high over the earth: Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all Thou hast made.	
When Thou settest in the western horizon of heaven, the world is in darkness like the dead.	*The sun knoweth his going down:*[3] *Thou makest darkness and it is night,*
Every lion cometh forth from his den: all serpents, they sting: darkness reigns: the world is in silence.	*Wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth. The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.*
Bright is the earth when Thou risest in the horizon, when Thou shinest as Aten by day the darkness is banished.	*The sun ariseth, they get them away, and lay them down in their dens.*
Then in all the world men do their work.	*Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening.*[4]
The ships sail up stream and down stream alike. Every highway is open because Thou hast dawned: the fish in the river leap up before Thee, and Thy rays are in the midst of the great sea.	*Yonder is the sea, great and wide, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts: there go the ships; there is leviathan whom Thou hast formed to take his pastime therein.*[5]
How manifold are all Thy works!	*O Lord, how manifold are Thy works!*[6]
They are hidden from before us!	*In wisdom hast thou made them all.*
O Thou sole God, whose powers no other possesseth, Thou didst create the earth according to Thy desire.	*The earth is full of Thy creatures*[7] (R.V.m.). *The earth is satisfied with the fruit of Thy works.*[8]
Men, all cattle large and small, all that are upon the earth, Thou settest every man in his place.	*He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth food out of the earth.*
Thou suppliest their necessities, every one has his possessions.	*Thou openest Thine hand, they are satisfied with good.*[9]
And his days are reckoned.	*Thou takest away their breath, they die.*

[1] Weigall also (*The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt*) has placed the Hymn and Psalm 104 in parallel columns, and gives a translation of his own.
[2] Psa. 104.[1 2] [3] Psa. 104.[19 20 21] [4] v.[22 23] [5] v.[25 26] [6] v.[24]
[7] v.[24] [8] v.[13] [9] v.[28 29]

Akhnaton's Hymn to Aten	*Psalm* 104
Thou hast set a Nile in heaven, that it may fall for them, making floods upon the mountains like the great sea, and watering their fields among their towns.	*He sendeth forth springs into the valleys: they run among the mountains: they give drink to every beast of the field: He watereth the mountains from His chambers.*[1]
Thou makest the seasons, in order to create all Thy works.	*He appointed the moon for seasons.*[2] *Thou renewest the face of the ground.*[3]

The correspondences between the royal chant of the Egyptian King and the psalm of the Hebrew poet make us wonder whether the latter bard had not access in some way to the composition of his predecessor. What would we not give to know what were the contents of the Royal Library at Jerusalem in the period of the Hebrew Kings?

The Royal Library of this heretic King was accidentally discovered in 1887 by an Arab woman on the site of his once beautiful but now deserted capital. The famous Tell-el-Amarna Tablets thus brought to light have given us an entirely new conception of the state of the ancient world at this era. About 300 clay tablets in all were unearthed, but not all were preserved. The British Museum obtained 81; 160 are in the Berlin Museum; the Cairo Museum possesses about 60, and the Louvre has recently acquired a new series lately discovered.[4] Their discovery and the revelations they give of the intricate political intercommunications of the period have produced an enormous literature devoted to themselves.[5] The tablets, as we have already seen, deal in the first instance with the familiar correspondence between Amenhotep III and the Kings of Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon, regarding wives, concubines, gifts, tribute, and other details. Others are reports from the Egyptian governors or Residents in Palestine, or letters from Canaanite Kings who protest their utter loyalty to the Pharaoh, but at the same time make concrete demands. The tablets are not, as might have been expected, in Egyptian hieroglyphic, nor in Aramaic script, but almost entirely in Babylonian cuneiform.[6] This fact is a reminiscence of the long-gone days when Canaan was part of the Chaldæan empire of Hammurabi and his successors, when Babylonian arts, manners, laws, and language ruled paramount in Syria. Though for centuries now Canaan had been wrested from the overlordship of the Kings of the Euphrates Valley, the fact that Babylonian survived into the Tell-el-Amarna age as the recognized language of diplomacy is an evidence of how strong and compelling the subjection of Palestine to Mesopotamia had been. It was in a foreign tongue that the Canaanite dynasts corresponded with their Egyptian master, and in the same unnative speech the proud Pharaoh, or his scribes, dictated their replies.

A large number of the tablets describe the anguish and terror of the Palestinian kinglets at the invasion of Canaan by a race of people whom

[1] Ps. 104.[10 11 13] [2] v.[19] [3] v.[30] [4] Scheil in *Comptes Rendus*, 1918, p. 104. [5] See Conder, *The Tell Amarna Tablets*: Bezold-Budge, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*: Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, and *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, 1896: Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, and *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 47 f.: Bennett, *The Book of Joshua*, p. 48 f.: Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records*, ch. viii.: Petrie, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, 1898: Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 185–241: Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*: Knudtzon in *Vorderasiat. Bibliothek*: Cormack, *Egypt in Asia*, 1908. [6] One of the letters addressed by Tushratta to Amenhotep III is in the Mitannian language. Attempts were made by Sayce and others to decipher this unknown tongue, and the results are given in *P.S.B.A.* (1900), xxii. 1–225. Mitannian turns out to be in general structure a "Caucasian language."

they style the *Khabiri.*[1] The problem of the correct identification of these invading hordes has been subjected to the closest investigation, and amongst the experts there has been discovered a most curious fluctuation of opinion. But the spoils of war seem now at last to rest with those who all along have contended that by the *Khabiri* we are to understand the Hebrews, who at the close of their forty years' wandering in the desert were now in their full career of conquering Canaan. Sayce,[2] adhering to his view that the Exodus took place under Merenptah during the XIXth Dynasty, denies the identification, and insists that the word must be translated simply "Confederates," a body of confederated tribes who made themselves formidable to Canaan in the Tell-el-Amarna period.[3] Petrie, while similarly affirming that the word signifies merely "Confederates," derives the name from "Hebron."[4] To these assertions, Conder[5] replies that the word "Khabiri" cannot mean "Confederates," since quite a different word is used in the other Amarna letters for that term. Nor can it be rendered "Hebronites," for there is no *n* in the name: and a still further objection to this theory is that, till the time of Joshua's conquest, Hebron was known as Kirjath-arba.[6] Zimmern was the first boldly to identify the "Khabiri" with the Hebrews.[7] Almost simultaneously, Conder[8] came to the same conclusion. He derived the name from the mountains of Abarim over which the invading Israelites burst into Canaan.[9] By those who lived on the western side of the Jordan, the Hebrews would thus suitably be styled "Khabiri," *i.e.*, "men from over the river," or "from Abarim."[10] The tablets describe the Khabiri as coming from Seir or Edom,[11] and to have left their pastures behind them.[12] They are probably the same as the "desert people" of whom a Gezer letter speaks.[13] It is manifest that the description exactly tallies with the circumstances of the Hebrews who entered Canaan by the same route, namely, from the direction of Edom or Seir.[14]

One by one other scholars have come round to the view advocated by these two pioneers. Steindorff[15] has declared his adherence to the identification: Billet[16] has followed: Benzinger[17] gives a hesitating acceptance of the theory: while Haynes[18] in an admirable and cogent paper has emphatically adopted the view. Meyer,[19] while accepting the equivalence of the Khabiri with the Hebrews states that the term includes also the troops and allies of Syrian petty potentates. Winckler,[20] Knudtzon,[21] Clay,[22] and Luckenbill[23] have all been led to the same conclusion. Others, while admitting the linguistic possibility of the identification, refuse to go further. Thus, Prášek,[24] though stating that

[1] The name occurs only in the letters of Abdi-khiba of Jerusalem (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 205–290: and Gressmann-Ungnad, *Altorient. Texte u. Bilder zum A.T.* (1909), i. 132–134. [2] *Patriar. Palest.*, p. 147. [3] So also Pinches, *The O.T. in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*,[3] p. 538. [4] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 315. [5] Conder, *The First Bible* (1902), p. 169. [6] Judg. 1.[10] [7] *Zeit. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xiii. (1890) 137. [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, p. 326: 1891, p. 72: 1896, p. 255. [9] Conder, *The Tell-Amarna Tablets*, p. 141. [10] *Cf.* Num. 21.[11] *They journeyed from Oboth and pitched in Iye-*ABARIM: 33.[47 48] *They pitched in the mountains of* ABARIM: *and they journeyed from the mountains of* ABARIM *and pitched in the plains of Moab by the Jordan.* [11] Letter 104 in Winckler, *Thontafelfund.* [12] *Ibid.*, Letter 103. [13] *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, Letter 51. [14] Num. 21,[4] Deut. 2.[4 8] [15] *Zeit. f. die Alttest. Wissen*, 1896, pt. ii. 333. [16] *Deutsch. Evangel. Blätter*, No. 7. [17] In Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 1903, p. 620. [18] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, pp. 245–255. [19] Meyer in *Ebers' Festschrift*, p. 62, and *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, p. 225. [20] *Die Keilinschriften u. der A.T.*, p. 196. [21] In the Introduction to his *El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 46–53. [22] Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 265. [23] *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, xxii. (1918), p. 36 f. [24] *Expos. Times*, xi. 402.

the identification is "philologically permissible," is so held in bondage by his theory of the Exodus,[1] that he is compelled to deny the implications which would naturally follow. Similarly Cornill[2] grants that the identification is linguistically possible, but asserts that it conflicts so much with the whole character of Jewish tradition as to be untenable—an illustration of how an erroneous premiss may blind the eyes to the clearest evidence. Prof. Ed. König[3] also, while agreeing that from the point of view of phonetics it is quite true that the Khabiri might be identical with the Hebrews, nevertheless, owing to the fact that in the Amarna Letters the former are represented as attacking places so far off as Sidon, Kadesh, and Gebal, cannot see his way to accept the identification as true. Böhl, in an admirable discussion of the whole problem,[4] has given his verdict in favour of the identification, and has declared that the Merenptah-Exodus theory is finally proved untenable. He shows that the word "Khabiri" cannot simply mean "confederates," but on linguistic and other grounds must be equivalent to the invading Hebrews. Finally, to sum up the discussion, the latest authority[5] on the subject has shown that the linguistic difficulty may be dismissed, inasmuch as the Babylonian cuneiform, used in the Amarna Tablets, had difficulty in representing the guttural ע (found in the name *Ibrim*, "Hebrew") and *kh* (ח) had to be adopted instead. Hall unhesitatingly accepts the view that the devastating hordes of the Khabiri, of whom the Amarna Letters speak with such apprehension, were none other than the triumphant Hebrews sweeping over Canaan and driving all before them. His conclusion is that "we may definitely, if we accept the identification of the Khabiri as the Hebrews, say that in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters we have Joshua's conquest seen from the Egyptian and Canaanite point of view."[6]

In this connection the first thing to be noticed is the exact correspondence of the Biblical chronology relative to the invasion of the Hebrews with the facts brought out in the Amarna Letters. As we have already seen, taking the date of the founding of Solomon's temple as B.C. 965, if we add the 480 years which had intervened since the Exodus,[7] we find that the latter event must have taken place in B.C. 1445: that is, in the lifetime of Amenhotep II. Allow the passage of 40 years[8] after this for the Wilderness Journeyings, and we are brought to the year B.C. 1405 as that on which the Hebrews crossed the Jordan and invaded Canaan. But still more. It was when Caleb was 40 years old[9] that he went forth as a spy from Kadesh-Barnea to search the land of Palestine. As the sending out of the spies took place two years[10] after the Exodus, the date

[1] He places the Exodus "about the time of the transition from the XIXth to the XXth Dynasty." [2] *Hist. of the People of Israel*, p. 36. [3] *Expos. Times*, xi. 238 (1900). [4] Böhl, *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer* (1911), pp. 73–96. [5] Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 407. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 409. Hall says "We have all been hypnotized by the Merenptah-theory, except Lieblein (*Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de l'ancienne Egypte* (1910) ii. 279). But Hall's further theory that the sojourn of the desert lasted two centuries, and that the Exodus took place at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos under Aahmes I, breaks down on the rock of probability. If Moses was the medium of the deliverance, and was 80 at the time of the Exodus (Ex. 7 [7]) his age at the time of the entrance into Canaan, when he died on Mount Pisgah, must not have been 120 (Deut. 34 [7]) but 280! Joshua also is mentioned in the early part of the Exodus story (Ex. 17 [9]). How could he be alive and vigorous 200 years later? The whole theory plays havoc with Scripture chronology and with Biblical history, and is entirely unnecessary. [7] 1 Ki. 6.[1] [8] Why should it be assumed that the "40 years" were only approximate, or a round number? It is the figure consistently given throughout Scripture for the Wilderness Wanderings. Thus, Ex. 16,[35] Num. 14,[33 34] 32,[13] Deut. 2,[7] 8,[2 4] 29,[5] Jos. 5,[6] Neh. 9,[21] Ps. 95,[10] Am. 2,[10] 5,[25] Ac. 7,[36 42] Heb. 3.[9 17] [9] Jos. 14.[7] [10] Num. 1.[1]

of the spies' visit must have been B.C. 1443. But we are told that exactly 45 years later, Caleb took possession of Hebron,[1] so that the date of the fall of this southern fortress must have been B.C. 1398. The question to be answered is: how do these two dates—B.C. 1405 and B.C. 1398—agree with the evidence of the Amarna Tablets?

The dates are embraced within the declining years of Amenhotep III. Amid the splendours of Thebes, surrounded by the gorgeous pageantry of the most civilized and the wealthiest Court on earth, the aged and luxurious monarch had celebrated his first, second, and third jubilees with the servile congratulations of the populace.[2] What though rumours reached him of disturbances on the far frontiers of his Empire? He was too old, and too devoted to habits of ease and self-indulgence to trouble himself about such trifles. But the Amarna Letters reveal what was really going on. Mitanni had been ravaged by the Hittites, but Tushratta had temporarily driven them off. The Hittite swarm had turned aside, had poured down the Orontes Valley, had burned the city of Katna, and had carried off the sacred image of Amen-Ra, bearing the royal name of Amenhotep himself.[3] All up and down the land of Palestine, invaders were swarming in and spreading desolation. Dynast after dynast sent up piteous appeals for help, imploring the Pharaoh to despatch an army of relief, to come in person, and to recover Canaan to his allegiance.[4] While detachments of the Hittites swept over the northern portion of the land, simultaneously Amenhotep learned that the Khabiri had crossed the Jordan, and were attacking the territory on the south.[5] But the old monarch turned a deaf ear to these appeals. He probably disbelieved in the seriousness of the situation. In any case, while he sent a few troops to the invaded areas, he himself remained comfortably at Thebes. The Egyptians that were despatched to the defence of Canaan could not expel the invaders, and confined themselves mainly to the fortresses with which Palestine was well furnished.[6] While these two waves of invasion—Hittites in the north, Khabiri in the south—were thus sweeping over Canaan, Amenhotep III died. As his death took place in B.C. 1392, and the capture of Hebron by Caleb was effected in B.C. 1398, we can recognize how intimately the situation as described in the Amarna Letters, and that chronicled for us in Scripture, dovetail into each other. The dates harmonize precisely.

With the accession of Amenhotep IV things went worse and worse for the Egyptian overlordship of Canaan. Akhnaton was so absorbed in his campaign against the ancestral gods of his country, and so devoted to the embellishment of his new unconventional capital, that he paid no attention whatsoever to the rising clamour from the Syrian provinces of his Empire. Weigall maintains that the reason why he did not send relief to the beleaguered Egyptian garrisons in Canaan was his conscientious aversion to war. He would rather lose his Syrian provinces than have bloodshed. He worshipped a God of love. "One stands amazed," he says, "at the reckless idealism, the beautiful folly, of this Pharaoh, who in an

[1] Jos. 14.[10] [2] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 352. [3] *Amarna Letters*, No. 138. Katna is the present Katanah on the South of Hermon, West of Damascus. [4] *Letters*, 13–18, 28–33, 37, 83, 94. [5] *Letters*, 69, 71–73. [6] E. W. Hollingworth has conjectured (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911), p. 49) that by the expression used by Joshua, *I sent the hornet before you which drove them out from before you, even the two Kings of the Amorites* (Jos. 24 [12]) is meant some Egyptian expedition, which so weakened Sihon and Og that when the Hebrews afterwards attacked them, they fell an easy prey. The *hornet* (Ex. 23,[28] Deut. 7 [20]) would therefore stand as the hieroglyph for the Egyptian army.

age of turbulence preached a religion of peace to seething Syria. Three thousand years later, mankind is still blindly striving after these same ideals in vain." [1]

If then it be really the case that the Amarna Tablets describe the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews under Joshua, it is of intense interest to compare the two narratives—the Egyptian and the Israelite—and to mark how they complete each other. According to the book of Joshua, Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem, after he heard of the fall of Ai, and of the capitulation of Gibeon, formed a league with four other Canaanite Kings.[2] The Letters call Jerusalem *Uru-sa-lim*,[3] and its King is styled *Abdikhiba*,[4] or (as Sayce transcribes the cuneiform ideograph) *Ebed-tob*. The latter name means "servant of that which is good," or "Servant of the Good One," which in spirit at least is substantially equivalent to Adonizedek, "Lord of Righteousness." It is interesting to find that the word *zedek* is actually employed in one of the King's letters. He there says of the Pharaoh, "Behold, the King is righteous (*zaduk*) towards me." [5] There are seven or eight letters from Abdi-Khiba. The first is a defence of his own conduct against some slanderer who has been accusing him to Amenhotep IV as a traitor. According to Sayce,[6] he pleads that he is not an Egyptian governor, but a king in his own right, yet subject to the suzerain authority of the Pharaoh, and he states that he has received his royal rank not through inheritance from his father and mother, but through the arm (or oracle) of "the Mighty King." Sayce identifies this "Mighty King" with the *God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth* [7] of his royal predecessor Melchizedek, and he believes that in this obscure allusion we have the clue to the mysterious statement that *Melchizedek, King of Salem*, was *without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life*.[8] In this opinion, however, Sayce stands practically alone.

Abdi-Khiba's letters to Akhnaton are full of information. "The country of the King is being destroyed, all of it. Hostilities are carried on against me as far as the mountains of Seir [9] and the city of Gath-Karmel.[10] There is war against myself since I see the foe: but I do not see the tears of my lord the King because war has been raised against me . . . the Khabiri are now capturing the fortresses of the King. Not a single governor remains among them to my lord the King; all have perished. Behold Turbazu, thy military officer, has fallen in the great gate of the city of Zelah.[11] Zimrida of Lachish has been murdered by the servants who have revolted against the King . . . may the King send help, may he despatch troops to his country! Behold, if no troops come this year, all the countries of my lord the King will be utterly destroyed."

Letter II follows in the same strain. "What have I done against my lord the King? . . . Why dost thou love the Khabiri and hate the governors? Constantly I am sending to the presence of my lord the King to say that the countries of my lord the King are being destroyed . . . let him send troops to his country which protects the fortresses of my lord the King: since Elimelech is destroying all the country of the King . . .

[1] Weigall, *Akhnaton*, p. 226. [2] Jos. 10.[1-5] [3] Winckler, *Thontafeln*, 306, 312, 314. For a full discussion of the name and its meaning, and whether Urusalim is a corruption of Jerusalem, or *vice versa*, see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 250–265. [4] Winckler has discovered through his excavations at Boghaz-Kyöi that Khiba is a Hittite deity. [5] Sayce, *Patr. Palestine*, p. 75. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 138. [7] Gen. 14.[19] [8] Heb. 7.[3] [9] Not Mount Seir in Edom, but the rough, woody ridge in Judah mentioned in Jos. 15.[10] [10] Jos. 15.[55] [11] Jos. 18.[28]

no provinces remain unto the King . . . the Khabiri have wasted all the territory of the King." Then follows an urgent postscript to the secretary of the Pharaoh, "Give a report of my words to the King: tell him that the provinces are being destroyed by the enemy." It is interesting to find the thoroughly Hebrew name "Elimelech" occurring here as that of a prominent captain in the campaign of the Israelites against Canaan. "Elimelech" as a name occurs a little later in the Biblical history as the husband of Naomi.[1]

The remaining Letters are equally urgent, yet Akhnaton paid no heed. He was absorbed in his religious revolution in Egypt, and in the erection of his bizarre metropolis. Like Nero, he "fiddled while Rome was burning." Letter after letter, full of more and more despairing entreaty, reached him from the Egyptian commandants in Canaan, but if they were read, they were unattended to, and the Hebrews swept over the land in an irresistible flood. Nevertheless, Akhnaton demanded the tribute from Canaan, an insult which merely added fuel to the helpless rage of his subordinate dynasts and local Palestinian kinglets who were left to stem this torrent of foes unassisted.[2]

Inasmuch as the Amarna Tablets represent town after town as falling into the hands of the Khabiri, it is noteworthy to observe how amply modern exploration corroborates their statements. In his excavation of Lachish, Bliss [3] unearthed a cuneiform tablet bearing the name of Zimrida, who, according to a letter of Abdi-Khiba to Akhnaton, was murdered at Lachish by a renegade official of the Pharaoh. But the most remarkable fact is that City III, which Bliss identifies as the third of its kind reared on its two predecessors, is represented by a vast mass of ashes in which have been discovered scarabs and other relics of this same Khabiri period. "The inference," he says, "is plain. The enemy who captured this town utterly sacked it: some houses they destroyed altogether, others they razed almost to the ground, having previously robbed them of all their valuables." It is the precise period indicated in the Biblical statement, *The Lord delivered Lachish into the hand of Israel, and he took it on the second day, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and all the souls that were therein.*[4] The presence of XVIIIth Dynasty scarabs in the mound of ashes, the evidence of the assault of the Khabiri, and the account of Joshua's invasion in the Bible, are coincidences very startling indeed.

The discoveries by Dr. Mackenzie at Beth-shemesh [5] tell a similar tale. Here a stone wall and a well-preserved fortified gate attest the pre-Israelite Canaanite era.[6] The accompanying deposits reveal that Egypt was the dominant foreign influence, numbers of articles such as an Egyptian alabaster vessel, figures of Bes, Isis, and Hathor, Horus eyes, scarabs, beads, and bronze spear-heads, all of the XVIIIth Dynasty, having been dug up. In a Palestine city which bore the name of the "House of the Sun," further excavation would doubtless disclose evidences of the worship of the solar divinity, the great Theban Amen-Ra.[7] Just above this stratum of Egypto-Canaanite remains, there lies a bed of ashes mixed with a mass of burnt

[1] Ruth 1.[2] [2] It is true that the Royal Treasurer, Huia, records on his tomb that in the 12th year of Akhnaton he brought tribute from Syria (amongst other places) to his master. But it is impossible to believe this. The whole of Canaan was in revolt, distracted by the invasion of the Khabiri-Hebrews under Joshua. It may have been some petty contribution from some towns on the Shephelah. [3] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1898, pp. 55, 184. [4] Jos. 10.[32] [5] Mackenzie, *Excavations at Ain Shems* (Pal. Explor. Fund Annual, 1912–13). [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 171. [7] *Ib.* p. 125.

débris fallen from the battlements and houses.[1] Who were the besiegers, and in what invasion did Beth-Shemesh succumb to fire and sword? Mackenzie has found good reason to hold that the conflagration was due to the victorious Hebrews, who attacked and burned the fortress in the days of Joshua.[2] In any case, we read of the capture of Beth-shemesh, and how afterwards it was allotted to the priests.[3] Above the ashes a later city seems to have been built, which evidences a renewed Canaanite occupation. As it was not re-walled it would seem that the Hebrews permitted the surviving population to rebuild their ruined town on condition that it was not fortified.[4]

When we turn to Taanach, excavated by Sellin in 1902,[5] we find similar features. The pottery reveals that it was a Canaanite city of the usual Semitic type. It had been captured by the Egyptians during the campaigns of Thothmes III, and it remained in nominal subjection to the Pharaoh. Twelve cuneiform tablets of its King, Ishtar-washur, were dug up, in one of which he was commanded to send troops and chariots to the assistance of the King of Megiddo.[6] Another of the letters was written by a man named Ahiyami, which seems identical with the Biblical name Ahijah. But this coalition between Taanach and Megiddo against Joshua and the Hebrews was in vain. Among *the Kings of the land whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote* were *the King of Taanach, one; the King of Megiddo, one.*[7]

Gezer also affords remarkable corroboration. The Amarna Tablets give Yapa'a [8] as the name of its King. The word is the same as *Japhia*, who is mentioned in Joshua as King of Lachish.[9] But that Horam, who is recorded in Joshua as King of Gezer,[10] may have ruled over both cities is suggested by a curious fact brought to light by Macalister.[11] It struck him as strange that it should be recorded that *Horam, King of Gezer, came up to help Lachish,*[12] for the cities were two days' journey apart from each other, and there were many cities much nearer which might have furnished aid. Then he noticed that a peculiar type of pottery, common in the mounds of Lachish, failed to appear in other mounds in the Shephelah but reappeared conspicuously at Gezer. From this fact he concluded that between Lachish and Gezer there existed some old tribal connection closer than that uniting Gezer with any other town in the Shephelah. One of Abdi-Khiba's letters also couples Lachish with Gezer and Ashkelon, proving that there was some ancient understanding between them. Macalister's digging into the mound of Gezer brought to light this further fact that at the time of the Hebrew conquest the city shows an increase of population. When it was rebuilt by the Hebrews, the houses were erected on a smaller scale, and were more crowded together. The sacred area of the High Place had even to be built over, so insufficient was the space within its walls for the new population that thronged it. The great High Place, with its row of gigantic sacred pillars unearthed by Macalister, may have led to Gezer's being regarded as sacrosanct, and therefore not long after we find *Gezer with her suburbs* [13] allotted to the priestly Levites.

There is at least a *possibility* that some of the actual tribes of Israel may

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1911, p. 149. [2] *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 171. [3] Jos. 15,[10] 21.[16]
[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 171. [5] Sellin, *Tell Ta'anneḳ* in *Denkschrift d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Philosoph.-Histor. Klasse*, l., pt. 4: lii., pt. 3 (Vienna, 1904-05). [6] Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 83. [7] Jos. 12.[7 21] [8] Conder, *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 133. [9] Jos. 10.[3] [10] Jos. 10.[33] [11] Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, i. 16. [12] Jos. 10.[33] [13] Jos. 21.[20 22] 1 Chr. 6.[67]

be identified in the Amarna Tablets. Jastrow [1] thought he had discovered the name of Judah. He rendered Father Scheil's reading *amelûti Ia-u-du* as equivalent to "Judæan men," and *amelûti sabe Ia-u-du* as "Judæan soldiery." [2] The letter in which these words occur is a protestation on the part of Aziru, governor of Sumurra [3] in the north of Palestine, of loyalty to the Egyptian crown, while his enemies accused him of treachery, and of coquetting with the Hittites and the "Judah men." It is the "Judah men," he says, who have fallen away from the Pharaoh. Jastrow points out that in the two places in which it occurs it is written with precisely the same signs as are found in the inscriptions of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, when the country, or Kingdom, of Judah is referred to. As, however, Meyer [4] disputes the correctness of the decipherment, and as both Winckler and Knudtzon, who have re-examined the tablet, agree that the first sign cannot be *Ia*, and may be *Su* or *Zu*, the word therefore being *Su-u-du* instead of *Ia-u-du*, the question must still be left open and undecided.[5]

Still more doubtful is another suggestion made by Jastrow [6] and Hommel.[7] It is that under the names "Khabiri" and the "sons of Milkil," who are frequently mentioned as being active opponents of Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem, we may recognize the Hebrew clans of "Heber" and "Malchiel," which, in no fewer than three passages of the Old Testament, occur in juxtaposition as subdivisions of the tribe of Asher: [8] *the sons of Asher, of the sons of Beriah, of Heber the father of the Heberites, of Malchiel the father of the Malchielites.* Once again, Jastrow has proposed to identify *Labâ*, who also appears with a following among Abdi-Khiba's foes, with the Hebrew tribe of *Levi*, distinct, of course, from the clan in its religious *rôle*. But these identifications are exceedingly precarious, and as yet small stress can be laid on them.[9]

Of greater importance is it to note that in other of the Amarna Letters reference is made to a people called the *SA.GAZ*. Many have been the conjectures as to who this race really was. They are represented as a people whose ravages in Canaan threatened the continuance of the Egyptian rule from the extreme north to the farthest south. The problem has only recently been solved, and in a most unexpected quarter. At Boghaz-Kyöi in Cappadocia, the capital of the Hittites, Winckler discovered cuneiform documents which have revealed that the mysterious *SA.GAZ* are none other than the Khabiri-Hebrews.[10] It is thus seen that just as on the east of Jordan the Hebrews overran the country as far north as Kenath,[11] so on the western seaboard they spread the terror of their name through the Lebanon district,[12] as far as *the land of the Gebalites*,[13] half-way between Beirût and Tripolis.

It is impossible to go into further details of the fascinating correspondences between the story of the loss of Canaan as narrated in the

[1] *Journ. of Bibl. Liter.*, xii. (1893), pt. i. 61. [2] In Letter 39, Berlin Collection, Winckler, ii. 46. [3] *Cf.* Gen. 10,[18] *the Zemarite.* [4] In *Ægyptiaca, Festschrift für Georg Ebers* (1897), p. 74. [5] *Cf.* Prášek in *Expos. Times*, xi. 503. [6] *Journ. of Bibl. Literat.*, xi. (1892) 95–124. [7] *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 233 f. [8] Gen. 46,[17] Num. 26,[45] 1 Chr. 7.[31] [9] Böhl (*Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, p. 94) identifies Labâ or Lab'aja with the King of Shechem, who betrayed his city without a blow into the hands of the Khabiri. [10] Winckler in *Mitth. Deutsch. Orient. Gesell.* 1907, Dec., p. 25. [11] Num. 32.[42] [12] On this wide expansion of the Hebrew conquest, see Böhl, *op. cit.*, p. 88. But, of course, in this sense, "Hebrew" is of wider connotation than "Israelite," for these SA.GAZ-Khabiri people exhibit lines of conduct, and a laxity of monotheistic creed, which is inconsistent with their being absolutely and in all respects identifiable with Joshua's warriors. [13] Jos. 13[5]; *cf.* 1 Ki. 5,[18] Psa. 83,[7] Ezek. 27.[9] It is the classical Byblos.

Egyptian Letters, and the same story as unfolded in the books of Joshua and Judges. The Letters from Ribadda, King of Gebal ;[1] Ammunira, King of Beirût ;[2] Zimridi, governor of Sidon ;[3] Abimelech, King of Tyre[4] (especially pathetic and tragic ones!) ; Surata, dynast of Accho ;[5] Jabin, King of Hazor ;[6] Yabitiri (Abiathar ?), King of Joppa ;[7] Dagan-tacala, King of Ascalon ;[8] Biridi, dynast of Makkedah ;[9] Zimrida, King of Lachish ;[10] those from various persons in Gezer,[11] such as Milkilu, Takanu, and Japhia ; from Abdi-Khiba, King of Jerusalem,[12] full of vivid details in which he speaks of sending on his harem to Egypt, and of speedily following in person ; those from Suyardata King of Keilah,[13] and from other dynasts, along with two[14] from a lady Basmatu or Basemath,[15] who may have been the wife of Milkilu of Gezer, and who pleads for the life of her son after her husband's death—are all documents of intense human interest, revealing the anguish of these Syrian kinglets as they felt themselves surrounded with invincible foes, and deserted by the Pharaoh who was their liege lord.

But before I pass from this subject it must be observed that there is great force in Böhl's statement that the *argumentum e silentio* has powerful validity here.[16] For the towns mentioned in the Amarna Tablets do not include the well-known old sites of Bethel, or Ai, or Jericho, or Hebron, or Beersheba, or Shiloh, or Gibeon. Why ? Was it chance ? Was it not rather that by the time the other Letters were written, these cities were already captured by the Hebrews, and it was useless to ask for help, for in their case it was too late ? Shechem, after Jerusalem the most important city in Palestine, is mentioned only *once* in the Amarna Letters.[17] Why ? The answer is that it fell so soon into the hands of the victorious Israelites.[18] Thus the fact that we possess no tablets from the cities just mentioned is a strong indirect verification of the truth of the Biblical narrative.

As regards Jericho, Sellin's[19] excavations in 1908 have brought out the fact that there is a distinct break noticeable in the pottery deposits. The old Canaanite ware suddenly disappears, and there is a gap between it and the later pottery, which is not to be seen in any other Canaanite city. Normally the transition from one type to another is gradual, the specimens in successive strata usually overlapping and dovetailing into each other. But in Jericho there is a clear cut line of demarcation showing that the civic life of the town suffered a total collapse in the 15th century B.C., and that not till the time of Ahab in the 9th century B.C. when the city was rebuilt by Hiel[20] was it resumed under new conditions of civilization. All this is precisely in harmony with the Biblical narrative of the destruction of the city.[21] The excavations clearly betoken an immense hiatus between the fall of Jericho under Joshua, and the re-founding of the city under

[1] Winckler, Nos. 41, 49, 51, 52, 54–58, 60–63, 71–73, 75–77, 79–86, 89. Brit. Mus., Nos. 12–25. [2] Brit. Mus., 26, 27. [3] Winckler, 90, *cf.* Jos. 19.[28] [4] Winckler, 99 : Brit. Mus. 28–31, *cf.* Jos. 19.[29] [5] Winckler, 93–95 : Brit. Mus., 32 : *cf.* Judg. 1.[31] [6] The name seems to be Abdebænu or Iebænu (Jabin), *cf.* Jos. 11.[1] It was probably a dynastic name, as another Jabin appears later in Jud. 4.[2] Brit. Mus. 47, 48. [7] Brit. Mus. 57, 71 : *cf.* Jos. 19.[46] [8] Winckler, 118, 119, 121, 122, 129 : Brit. Mus. 52–54, 74 : *cf.* Jud. 1.[18] [9] Winckler, 111–115, 149, 154 : Brit. Mus. 59, 61, 73, 77 : *cf.* Jos. 10.[10 16 21 28] [10] Winckler, 123, 124 : *cf.* Jos. 10.[32] [11] Winckler, 108–110, 155 : Brit. Mus. 49–51, 62 (63), 70 : *cf.* Jos. 10.[33] [12] Winckler, 102–106, 199 : *cf.* Judg. 1.[8] [13] Winckler, 100, 101, 107 : Brit. Mus. 67–69 : *cf.* Jos. 15.[44] [14] Winckler, 137, 138. [15] Esau married a woman of this name (Gen. 36[3 4 13]), and it was also the name of one of Solomon's daughters (1 Ki. 4[15]). [16] Böhl, *op. cit.*, p. 93. [17] Knudtzon, 289.[23] [18] Jos. 17.[7] [19] *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient. Ges.*, Nos. 39, 41. Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 1913. [20] 1 Ki. 16.[34] [21] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1910, p. 62.

Hiel the Bethelite.[1] Jericho indeed furnishes us with an overwhelming proof that the Exodus did not take place under the XIXth Dynasty. By the time of Merenptah the city had already been in ruins for 147 years, as the archæological evidence clearly shows. If it be maintained that the Exodus happened under that monarch, then the story of the fall of the walls of Jericho will have to be abandoned, as by that time there were no walls in existence to fall! But all is consistent if we equate the Exodus with the reign of Amenhotep II.

Tragic thus in the extreme was this melting away of the old Egyptian supremacy over Canaan. The Syrian provinces, which had been united to the Nilotic Kingdom at such a cost of blood under the Thothmidæ, were now through the quixotic romanticism of Akhnaton finally lost. The Kings of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties made passing warlike excursions through the Palestinian territory, but they exercised no permanent sway, and not till Ptolemaic times was the overlordship of Egypt over Canaan resumed.

On the decease of the heretic King, his revolt against the Theban divinities was continued only for a very short time by his son-in-law and successor SMENKHARA. He probably did not reign above two or three years.[2] Having married the princess Aten-merit, he was a sincere devotee of the new cult, and was associated on the throne by his father-in-law shortly before the latter's death. He continued to live in the new city of Akhetaten, and to make it his capital, yet his physical weakness brought him to an early death.

With the accession of TUTANKHAMEN (*c.* B.C. 1376–1374), another son-in-law of Amenhotep IV, and a son of Amenhotep III by an inferior wife, a counter religious revolution took place. Both he and his wife changed their names from titles compounded with "Aten," and reverted to the old Theban names associated with Amen-Ra.[3] The Court was removed back to Thebes. The official worship of Amen was resumed. The Aten heresy was doomed. A great stele of Tutankhamen was discovered at Karnak in 1905 recording his restoration of the cult of the Theban divinities.[4] The city of Akhetaten was deserted; the roofs of the houses fell in; the palaces crumbled into fragments; and within twenty-five years after the death of its founder, the lovely home of impressionist art was a mouldering ruin. The temple erected by Akhnaton in Thebes to the "Disk" was pulled down, and its stones were used in an attempt to complete the unfinished hypostyle hall of Amenhotep III. Egypt had been unprepared for this drastic monotheistic creed, and for the high spiritual doctrine preached by its heretic king. It now gladly threw off the strange religion, and rushed headlong once more into its ancient welter of polytheism.[5]

But the loss of the Asiatic provinces, occasioned by the conquest of Canaan by the Khabiri-Hebrews, had enormously diminished the golden tribute which under former sovereigns had flowed in an unceasing stream into the coffers of the Theban priests who ministered in their eight vast Amen-temples. It was they, probably, who, smarting under the pain of their diminished resources, egged on the Pharaoh to attempt the recovery

[1] 1 Ki. 16.[34] See also Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, 1909, p. 91 f.: Forder in *R.P.*, 1910, p. 203 f. [2] Manetho says 12 years, but he is probably mistaken. [3] On the titles attributed to Tutankhamen, see Gauthier, *Ann. du Service*, x. 202. [4] Given, *in extenso*, by Legrain, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxix. 162. [5] As an illustration of the return to animal naturalism, an Apis bull was buried in the Serapeum during the reign of Tutankhamen (Mariette, *Serapeum*, p. 111).

of some of the Canaanite territory. A tomb at Thebes—that of Hui the viceroy of Nubia—depicts a number of chiefs of the Rutennu (Syrians) bringing tribute to Tutankhamen, and saying "There shall be no revolters in thy time, but the land shall be in peace," evidently referring to the recent rebellion. Mr. Theodore Davis, also, discovered at Thebes in 1909 some fragments of gold foil on which Tutankhamen is shown in his chariot slaying Asiatics. But the recovery of Palestine was evidently hopeless, and the raid of the Pharaoh into Canaan accomplished practically nothing. Indeed in an inscription recently discovered at Karnak it is plainly stated: "If one sent men to the coast of Phœnicia to enlarge the borders of Egypt, it would be impossible for them to succeed there." [1]

The next monarch, AI (*c.* B.C. 1374–1370) had been a courtier under the heretic King with a palace at Tell-el-Amarna. In that new capital he had prepared a splendid tomb [2] for himself and for his lady Ti, who had been the nurse of Akhnaton. But he was destined never to lie in it. Seeing that Akhetaten was now a crumbling ruin, he feebly attempted, in loyalty to his dead master, to resuscitate some of his views in Thebes itself. He tried to rebuild the temple to the Disk in that city. But death supervened, and he was laid in a tomb excavated in the Theban Valley of the Kings. Seemingly he had relinquished all hope of reconquering Canaan, and had resigned himself to the inevitable. His connection with Lower Egypt seems also to have been slight, for beyond a few pottery rings with his cartouche discovered at Memphis,[3] and a stele at Sakkara mentioning a "camp" of the Hittites and bearing his name, the monuments are silent about his doings in the Delta.

The splendid XVIIIth Dynasty was brought to a close by the reign of HOREMHEB [4] (B.C. 1370–1353). He seems to have been an officer under Akhnaton; but on the death of the "heretic" he recanted his errors and became a fanatical adherent of the Theban divinities and their priests. He acted as the all-powerful "mayor of the palace" behind the feeble Ai, and on the latter's decease he assumed the royal crown. A vigorous sturdy soldier, with little romance in his nature, he was just the sovereign whom Egypt required. The quixotic rule of Akhnaton had been followed by terrible demoralization, and it fell to Horemheb to bring order out of the chaos. The Theban priests legitimized his accession, though he was neither a Theban nor of royal blood. After his elevation to the throne, he married Nefertiti, the sister of Akhnaton, thereby regularizing his position.[5]

Most of the details of his reign are derived from an inscription on the back of a double statue now in the Turin Museum.[6] Horemheb describes how he restored the worship of Amen-Ra in all quarters,

[1] Hall, *Near East*, p. 354. Daressy ("Le Cercueil de Khu-n-aten" in *Bull. Inst. Fran. Arch. Orient.*, xii. (1916)) describes a coffin found in a tomb at Biban-el-Meluk, which seems originally to have been intended for Queen Tyi, but which was, Daressy thinks, really used for Tutankhamen, and it is his body that was discovered in the coffin. [2] It is fully described by Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (*Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay*), 1908, pt. vi., p. 16 f. It is from its walls that the great Hymn to Aten has been taken; see p. 212. [3] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 242. [4] Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 341) and Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 395) make Horemheb the first King of the XIXth Dynasty, and they extol his vigorous rule. Petrie, Budge and Hall relegate him to the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty, following Manetho. The probability is that the latter are right. [5] Sethe (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlii. 134) denies this. He asserts that the name of the sister of Akhnaton must be read Mut-benert, and the name of the wife of Horemheb, Mut-netemt, so that there is no evidence for the identity of the two ladies. The matter is uncertain. [6] Birch, *T.S.B.A.*, iii. 486 f.

and re-opened the temples which had long been closed.[1] Another inscription, discovered by Maspero at Karnak in 1882, shows the steps he took to purify the local administration of justice. On all hands the country was groaning under misgovernment, bribery, corruption, spoliation, robbery being everywhere rampant.[2] The King's measures were soldierly in their directness and severity. He cut off the noses of the delinquents, and banished the malefactors to the frontier town of Tharu on the border of Canaan. The Greeks have preserved a reminiscence of this frontier colony of mutilated Egyptian convicts in the name of "Rhinocoloura."[3] Truly, Tharu must have been a singular place to live in!

It would seem that Horemheb attempted to recover the lost provinces of Syria and Canaan. He had in earlier years been through Palestine under Tutankhamen, for he speaks of being with his lord "on the day of the slaying of the Asiatics."[4] On the walls of the temple of Amen at Thebes he gives a list of the places subdued by him, from which it would appear that he overran a number of cities in North Syria, and attacked the Hittites to the north of the territory now occupied by the Israelites. The treaty struck with them evidences that his claim of having made a "conquest" of them is a mere grandiloquent boast.[5]

But what interests us specially is the probability that in this Syrian campaign we have an explanation of the invasion of Israel by Cushan-Rishathaim. *The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he sold them into the hand of Cushan-Rishathaim, King of Aram-naharaim, and the children of Israel served Cushan-Rishathaim eight years.*[6] The date is precisely that which the Biblical chronology bears out. Horemheb's reign lasted, as nearly as can be ascertained, from B.C. 1370 to B.C. 1353. The ravaging of Palestine by the Mesopotamian King happened, as closely as we can estimate, from B.C. 1358 to B.C. 1350.[7] It would thus appear that though the campaign of Horemheb against the Hittites ended in a fairly evenly drawn settlement, the Hittite power was nevertheless for the time weakened, and an opportunity was thus afforded for the bursting forth from the Euphrates Valley of the people of "Aram of the Two Rivers," Aram-naharaim, the territory known to the Egyptians as "Naharaina."[8]

The name of the conqueror, "Cushan-Rishathaim," may be translated "Cushan-Double-Wickedness"; yet it may rather be akin to other Babylonian names containing the syllable *rish, e.g.*, Ashur-*rish*-ishi, King of Assyria in B.C. 1140, or Sin-*rish*, Aa-*rish*at, personal names from the Ist Dynasty of Babylon.[9] Similarly, "Cushan" suggests some link with the Babylonian "Kush" or "Kash" mentioned along with Aram-naharaim

[1] He installed two more Apis bulls in the Serapeum (Mariette, *Serapeum*, iii. 4, 1–6) and built a tomb for himself in the old sacred city of Memphis (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, ii. 92: *Zeit. f. Æg. Sprache*, xv. 149. [2] *Æg. Zeit.*, 1888, pp. 70–94: W. Max Müller, *Egypt. Researches*, i. 57. [3] Strabo, xvi. 2, 31. It is not, therefore, at all surprising that we should possess a poem "In praise of Death," composed by a priest of rank, Amon Neferhotep, during this reign. It is inscribed on his tomb, and reveals how wearied men were of the wickedness of the times: see A. H. Gardiner, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxv. (1913), p. 165. [4] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 20. [5] Rameses II, some 50 years later, refers to this earlier treaty as having been in existence between Egypt and the Hittite power. [6] Judg. 3.[8] [7] See the method of obtaining this date in Appendix, page 515. [8] Again and again, the Hittite power, occupying the head-waters of the Euphrates, acted as a kind of buffer state to prevent the Kings of the Euphrates Valley from rash attempts at invasion of the West. It was not till the Hittite power was finally smashed that the way was open for systematic attacks on the West by the Kings of Nineveh. [9] So Ball in *Expos. Times*, xxi. (1910), 192.

in a letter of Abdikhiba, King of Jerusalem, as legally belonging to the empire of the Pharaohs.[1] Once more, then, Egypt exercised a profound influence on Canaan, for Horemheb's campaign in Syria brought indirectly in its train the eight years' subjugation and oppression of Israel, until *the spirit of the Lord came upon Othniel, and he went out to war, and the Lord delivered Cushan-Rishathaim, King of Aram-naharaim, into his hand: and the land had rest forty years.*[2]

[1] *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, K.B. v. 181, 31. [2] Judg. 3.[10 11]

CHAPTER XVII

The XIXth Dynasty—Seti I and Rameses II

Horemheb dying without issue,[1] an elderly companion-in-arms of the deceased Pharaoh (probably no relation) seized the vacant throne, and founded the XIXth Dynasty. He is known to history as Rameses I. His reign lasted but two brief years (B.C. 1353–1351). He had time merely to plan and commence the building of the great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak (afterwards completed by his successors) when death overtook him, and he was forced to relinquish his sceptre to his son and co-regent, Seti I.[2]

On the accession of Seti I (B.C. 1351–1324) the Asiatic territories, so lately overrun and laid under tribute by Horemheb, burst into revolt, and the new Pharaoh resolved to emulate the exploits of the Theban conquerors of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and to blaze a track through Canaan. The first to rebel were the Bedouin of the Tîh plateau. Into this waterless wilderness Seti dashed,[3] and crushed the "Shasu" with the fury of a wild beast.[4] He next advanced into Southern Palestine, and went up the old road through the Shephelah which had witnessed so many martial incursions by the earlier Thothmidæ. Everywhere he met with ready submission. His chariots being unsuited for traversing the mountainous backbone of the country, he kept to the maritime plain, and the Israelites in their highland fortresses could look down on the long cavalcade of Egyptians slowly wending their way northwards.[5]

Emerging on the plain of Esdraelon, Seti went down to the fords of the Jordan, and pursued his way into the uplands of the Hauran. Here at Tell-esh-Shibab, Principal Sir G. A. Smith in 1901 discovered a memorial stele of his visit.[6] It is of basalt, executed in the purest Egyptian workman-

[1] The tomb of Horemheb was discovered by Theodore Davis in 1913: it is over 300 feet long (including the entrance), and the lid of the sarcophagus, which contains a portrait of the King in bas-relief, was so huge that no local efforts could move it (*Homiletic Review*, 1913, p. 355, and Davis, *The Tomb of Harmahabi and Touatankhamanou*). [2] Named after the Syrian god, Set or Sutekh, an illustration of Semitic influence: *cf.* Pleyte, *Sur quelques monuments relatifs au dieu Set* (Leyden, 1863), p. 15, who traces the influence of Set from dynasty to dynasty. [3] His route in this dry and trackless desert has been studied by Tomkins, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1884, p. 59 f. [4] Meyer, *Die Israeliten* (1906), p. 225 f., identifies these Shasu with the Khabiri-Hebrews, and believes that as the Israelites were already settled in Canaan, the Shasu may have been the southern contingents of the Hebrew stock, perhaps the tribe of Simeon settled in the Negeb. This is quite possible and probable. Böhl (*Kanaanäer u. Hebräer* (1911), p. 80), however, thinks the Shasu referred to here may have been Edomites. [5] On the supposition that "Pa-Kanana," the 'Canaan," which Seti claims to have conquered, means Jerusalem, Hall (*Near East*, p. 356) believes that Seti captured the capital itself. But this is doubtful. Conder (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, p. 175) identifies "Canaan" with the ruined fortress of Kan'an, S.W. of Hebron. [6] Smith in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1901, p. 344: *Jerusalem*, ii. 19.

ship, not a mere imitation by an Asiatic sculptor. It must have been erected by some Egyptian official of high rank and of some wealth. He may have been the commandant of the fort erected by Seti to overawe the restless tribes on the east of Jordan. The stone does not so much commemorate the victory of the Pharaoh, as evidence the loyalty of its dedicator to his King. The officer wished to depict his sovereign adoring the god Amen and the goddess Mut, and with great pains he caused this very fine memorial to be carved.[1]

From the Hauran, Seti passed to Lebanon, where he captured the city of Yenoam. Kadesh also opened its gates to him; and such was the terror revived in these quarters by the presence once more of an Egyptian sovereign that all the local dynasts hastened to make their submission. The conqueror forced them to show their loyalty by hewing down pines and cedars on Lebanon in his presence, to serve as lofty poles and flagstaffs before his temples in Thebes, and to be available for the construction of his sacred Nile barges. It is possible that he may have advanced as far north as Simyra and Ullaza in Phœnicia, and he also claims that the island of Asi (Cyprus) sent him tribute.

But what is of peculiar interest to us is the fact that he mentions the subjugation of the tribe of Asher,[2] north of Mount Carmel, between Kadesh and Megiddo,[3] with its own prince Ka-da-ira-di-y.[4] It is one more indication of the fact for which we have already discovered so many other corroborations, that, long ere this, Israel had quitted Egypt and had been settled in their new Palestinian home. This ravaging of Canaan with its Hebrew inhabitants coincides exactly with the period described in the Book of Judges as that which followed the death of Joshua and of the elders who outlived him. *They forsook the Lord and served Baal and the Ashtaroth: and the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of the spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies.*[5] The harrying of the land by Seti is described as a bitter punishment for apostasy from *Jehovah, the God of their father, which brought them out of the land of Egypt.*[6] Thus, once again Canaan was nominally annexed to Egypt, and to a certain degree it was almost as much a part of the Pharaoh's empire as in the palmy days of Thothmes III.

Still another humiliation seems to have followed the religious defections of the Hebrews. Seti I in his Syrian campaign attacked Phœnicia, and thus obtained possession of the splendid fleet of ships for which Tyre and Sidon, Beirût and Aradus were always famous. In these ships, as well as by land, immense crowds of miserable captive Canaanite princes and Syrian slaves were transported to Egypt. Among these prisoners were many of the Khabiri-Hebrews, who thus were brought back to that land of bondage whence their fathers had triumphantly emerged. May we not see in this a remarkable commentary on the threatened judgment for apostasy, *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with*

[1] See W. Max Müller in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 78. [2] *Papyrus Anastasi*, i. 23: W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 236: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 140 a. [3] Little can be said for Sethe's attempt (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anz.*, 1904, p. 936) to prove that the "Asher" referred to in the papyrus is the great city of Assur and the empire of Assyria! [4] Böhl (*Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, p. 80) Hebraizes the word into קערדי or נזרדי and affirms that the name is un-Semitic. On the other hand, Prof. Obbink (*Theol. Tijdsch.* 1909, p. 254) attempts a clever elucidation of the word as truly Semitic. [5] Judg. 2.[13 14] [6] v.[12]

ships, by the way whereof I said unto thee 'Thou shalt see it no more again'; and there ye shall sell yourselves unto your enemies for bondmen and for bondwomen, and no man shall buy you.[1]

On his return home, Seti enjoyed a great reception from his people, who saw in his exploits a repetition of the glorious campaigns of the previous dynasty. Some of the miserable crowd of captured Palestinian princes the Pharaoh sacrificed to Amen on his arrival at Thebes. Two hundred feet of the north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak he covered with inscriptions and battle scenes, recording his Syrian conquests. The list of towns and territories alleged to have been captured is of great interest.[2] Prof. W. Max Müller has recently re-studied it, and has discovered a number of important names.[3] They include Raphia, Eltekeh,[4] a priests' city in the tribe of Dan, Accho[5] on the coastline of the tribe of Asher, Tyre[6] and possibly Palætyrus on the mainland, Hazor[7] and Beth-anath[8] in Naphtali, Yenoam in South Lebanon, Ullaza in Phœnicia, Qa-ma-ud, the "Gumidi" of the Amarna Tablets, the "Gammadim" of Ezekiel,[9] and Asi or Cyprus. To this list Sayce[10] adds the names of Carmel,[11] Bethel, Pella, and Qamham or Chimham.[12] It is noteworthy that very few of these places captured by Seti actually belonged to the Israelites, or were in any way occupied by the Hebrews. Indeed it is expressly stated that Accho, Hazor, and Beth-anath remained as Canaanite cities, and that the Hebrews did not drive out their early inhabitants.[13] The brunt of this campaign therefore fell on cities that were mainly non-Israelitic.

In his fourth year Seti I was again in Palestine. This time he marched from Phœnicia over the mountains into the Great Valley (the Biqā'a) and attacked Kadesh. Here he came into direct collision with the Hittites, and the battle ended in victory for the Egyptians. Yet, it was not a *débâcle*: and Seti prudently abstained from the further prosecution of a campaign which threatened to cost him dearly.[14] He made a treaty with Mursil, the Hittite monarch, and returned to Thebes.

Canaan being thus pacified, an era of building ensued in the Nile Valley. Mines[15] and quarries were re-opened in many localities, while chapels which had been allowed to fall into ruin were restored from the Delta to the Third Cataract. In Sinai we can trace evidences of Seti I's architectural energy.[16] The old road from Coptos to the Red Sea through the Wady Hammamat was restored, and a papyrus chart—the oldest map in the world—has been discovered, which reveals how the Pharaoh marked out the route across the desert to the gold mines in that region.[17] The footpaths are traced running among the mountains, and there are also shown the various boring shafts, the positions of the wells dug by royal command and the different caravan stations. Everywhere, Seti strove to undo the effects of the iconoclastic fanaticism of Akhnaton, and to complete the work of restoration begun by Horemheb.

[1] Deut. 28.[68] If this be really the event to which this passage refers, it has a marked bearing on the question of the date of Deuteronomy, which modern criticism, as a rule, assigns to the period when it was discovered in the House of the Lord in the time of Josiah (2 Ki. 22[8]). [2] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 16, 17: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 126–130. [3] Müller, *Egyptol. Res.*, i. 43. [4] The "Altaqu" of Sennacherib, now Beit Likia, 2 miles S. of Bethhoron the Nether. Jos. 19,[44] 21.[23] The first Pharaoh to mention it is Horemheb: it is not referred to in the Amarna Letters. [5] The modern Acre: Judg. 1.[31] [6] Jos. 19,[29] etc. [7] Jos. 11,[1 10-13] 12,[19] 19,[36] Jud. 4,[2 17] etc. [8] Jos. 19,[38] Jud. 1.[33] [9] Ezek. 27.[11] [10] Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 157. [11] Jos. 15,[55] 1 Sam. 25.[2] [12] *Cf.* Jer. 41.[17] [13] Jud. 1,[31] 1.[33] [14] See Guieysse, *Rec. de Travaux*, xi. 52, and Lushington, *T.S.B.A.*, vi. (1878) 509–534. [15] See Chabas, *Les Inscriptions des Mines d'Or*, Chalons-sur-Saône, 1862. [16] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 108. [17] See Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, Pl. xxii.

The famous "Memnonium"[1] at Abydos, the centre of the Osiris worship, with its seven chapels dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, Amen, Harmachis, Ptah, and Seti himself, is one of his chief memorials.[2] Seti's grandson, Merenptah, in his mean desire to win glory for himself, inscribed his own cartouche on every available portion of this temple: but the structure is really the work of Seti,[3] built for the special worship of Osiris and for the celebration of the Mysteries. On its walls are inscribed every possible title to Osiris, such as, Osiris, chief of the gods; Osiris, Ruler of the cycle of the gods; Osiris, the Great One of Eternity; Osiris, eldest Son of his Father; Osiris, the soul of the gods; Osiris, Ruler of the Underworld, etc., etc.[4] The temple contains on its main wall the celebrated "Tablet of Abydos," a list of 76 sovereigns of Egypt from Menes to Seti himself, a catalogue which has been of great service in determining the order of the successive monarchs.

Immediately alongside of this temple erected by Seti, there was discovered by Naville a building unique of its kind, which has attracted much attention. It consists of a large rectangular structure, approached by a passage, hall, and chamber discovered by Professor Petrie and Miss Murray in 1903. These led by another passage and chamber, erected by Merenptah, and excavated in 1912 by Naville and Peet, into a vast hall, 100 feet long and 60 wide, lined with pillars, which Naville unearthed in 1914. All round the hall are 17 cells opening on to a ledge. In the centre of the hall, separated from the ledges by a stretch of water, stands an island with parallel rows of columns reared upon it, and with stairs at both ends leading down to the water. Beyond this sacred tank is a passage leading into a dark chamber which evidently was regarded as the tomb of Osiris. A hole in one of the corners of the room showed that it had been rifled by robbers. The whole structure is of such massive architecture, and of such an archaic type of severe simplicity that Naville has no hesitation in putting the date of its erection to the time of the IVth Dynasty, though both Seti I and Merenptah seem to have had some share in "restoring" it.[5] But the sacred tank is unquestionably the "well" of which Strabo speaks as being below the temple, and built like the labyrinth of Hawara, though on a smaller scale.[6]

But Seti's greatest work was the erection at Karnak of the immense Hypostyle Hall, or Hall of Columns, planned by his father and left unfinished. It measures 340 feet in length, and 168 feet in width, and contained 134 columns. One of these was reared by Rameses I, 79 by Seti I, and 54 by Rameses II. Twelve columns are 68 feet high and 35 feet in circumference, while 122 are about 43 feet high and 27 feet in circumference.[7] The massiveness[8] and costliness of these architectural labours evidence that, though the old Empire of the Thothmidæ had considerably shrunk, there was, nevertheless, a volume of tribute money rolling in in sufficient abundance to make the Pharaoh by far the wealthiest monarch in the world. His funerary chapel he prepared on the most palatial scale

[1] Called so by Strabo. [2] See Mariette, *Abydos*, i. 6, and especially Caulfield, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos*. [3] For text of, and notes on, this inscription, see Gauthier, *La grande Inscription Dedicatoire d'Abydos* in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Étude* (1912), iv. 1–148. [4] See Margaret A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 1904, p. 3. [5] See Naville in *Journ. of Egyptian Archæology*, vol. i., pt. iii. (1914), p. 159 f. [6] Strabo. [7] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 14. [8] Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 21) says that its vast size which so strikes us, is not the grandeur of strength, but the bulkiness of disease. Many of the sandstone columns have been crushed with their own weight, and when one goes over, a whole row falls like ninepins, as happened in 1899.

at Kurna opposite Thebes. For 470 feet he dug into the bowels of the mountain, hollowing out a labyrinth of galleries and halls, and descending 100 feet below the level of the valley. It was discovered by Belzoni [1] in 1817, and its magnificence has caused it to be regarded as the most splendid and wonderful of all the Royal Tombs. Its walls and staircases are covered with inscriptions and scenes from *The Book of the Dead*.[2]

When Seti died, the Egyptian Empire might seem to be as strong and vigorous as in the greatest days of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Its wealth was enormous; its art bold, striking, and noble; and its successful invasions of Syria and of Libya had inaugurated a time of peace. Yet, with all this ostensible strength and glory, Egypt was beginning to decay, and in Seti's reign she displayed to the world a sure sign of growing weakness. Just as China in the time of her enfeeblement (B.C. 214) erected the Great Wall, 1,500 miles in length, in the vain attempt to keep out the northern Tartars; just as Rome, in the era of her decline, built the great rampart from the Tyne to the Solway to prevent the incursions of the wild Caledonians, and fortified the 200-mile wall from the Danube to the Rhine to ward off the Alemanni of Germany; [3] so Seti I betrayed to mankind the incipient weakness of his empire by building a wall across the isthmus of Suez to hold back the swarms of Asiatic Shasu or Bedouin. Centuries earlier there had been here a chain of forts, for they are referred to in the XIIth Dynasty *Romance of Sinuhit*.[4] Sinuhit mentions how he came to the frontier wall and found his way stopped by the sentries who in daily rotation guarded the rampart. But the barrier cannot have been very formidable, for after hiding in the bushes, he was able to dodge the sentries, to scale the wall, and to escape over it into the desert beyond. Now, however, Seti I felt compelled to erect the low rampart into a really strong fortification to keep back the Asiatic hordes. The old line of forts was known in Scripture as *Shur*,[5] and the road which led through it, and past it, was "*The Way of Shur*." [6] Diodorus [7] says that "Sesostris (Rameses II) built from Pelusium to Heliopolis (about 184 miles) a great wall, commenced by his father, Seti I, as a bulwark against the Asiatics." It is not a very probable route, and the likelihood is that the wall, as restored during the XIXth Dynasty, ran from the Mediterranean to the head of the Heroöpolitan Gulf. But in any case it marked the increasing feebleness of the Empire, and proclaimed that Egypt was not now what it once had been.

Whether Seti I associated his son RAMESES II (B.C. 1324–1258) with him on the throne or not is a disputed point,[8] but the new Pharaoh certainly began to reign at an early age. His elder brother, who was intended for the succession, either died a natural death, or perished in some palace intrigue on the decease of his father, for his figure has been carefully erased from the monuments. The youthful monarch was compelled at once to signalize his prowess in war, for on the death of Seti the tribes both of Libya [9] and of Nubia broke into revolt, and only after hard fighting were

[1] Belzoni, *Travels* (3rd Edit.) i. 359 f. [2] For an account of Seti's tomb, see Bononi-Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I, King of Egypt*, 1864. [3] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, i. 331 (ed. Bury). [4] See p. 77. [5] Gen. 20,[1] 25,[18] 1 Sam. 15,[7] *As thou goest to Shur that is before Egypt*: 1 Sam. 27.[5] [6] Gen. 16.[7] [7] Diod. i. 57. [8] Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v. 18) declares that Rameses II told an untruth when he inscribed on the temple of Seti I at Abydos that he had been co-regent with his father. [9] At Marsa Matruh, a small port 150 miles west of Alexandria (anciently known as Parætonium) there is a small island known as "The Isle of the Jew." Oric Bates has shown (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxvii. (1915) 201) that excavations have revealed an early Semitic settlement of the time of Rameses II, probably the fortress which Rameses attacked.

these rebellions crushed. Rameses was now, in his fourth year, in a position to take the old road towards Canaan, and to attempt to rival the exploits of his father in the field of Palestinian conquest.

But since the days of the great Thothmes and of Amenhotep the Magnificent, the situation as regards Syria had materially altered. For one thing, the Hebrews were now in possession of the land, and the mountainous backbone was in particular strongly held by them. Only the strip bordering the Mediterranean was still more or less nominally under Egyptian rule. But more than that. For many years now the Hittite power had been consolidating in the north. The remarkable discoveries of recent years in the territories ruled by this great and almost forgotten people have cast a flood of light upon a position of ancient history which badly needed illumination.[1] Those strange monuments, those sculptured rocks, the weird figures cut on precipices, the still undeciphered script, the vast remains of walls, palaces, fortresses, and magazines which modern exploration has brought to light, have unfolded a new romance of history as thrilling as any with which we have long been familiar. The early incursions of Wright[2] and Sayce[3] into the history of this lost Hittite Empire have been followed by a host of other investigators, such as Humann and Puchstein,[4] Jensen,[5] Messerschmidt,[6] Winckler,[7] Myres,[8] Hogarth,[9] and especially Garstang,[10] who in his fine monograph has systematized for us all that previous explorers have discovered, and has added much of his own. Hall[11] also has brought order out of chaos in the matter of the inter-relations of the Hittite and the Egyptian Empires. As a result of these masterly investigations, instead of the nebulous vagueness to which we had been accustomed, we now see a great strong, thoroughly organized Hittite Kingdom, with its metropolis, its subsidiary walled cities, its trained armies, its royal libraries, its national archives, its splendid Court, its massive temples, its dynasties of sovereigns. This resurrection of a vigorous Hittite Empire from the limbo of a forgotten past is as strange a romance of the beginning of the 20th century as was the re-discovery of Nineveh in the middle of the nineteenth.

It will be well to glance very briefly at the events which led to the Great Hittite War.[12] With Khattusil I, the Ist Dynasty of the Hittite Kingdom seems to have taken shape. His rule was consolidated and greatly expanded by his son Shubbiluliuma (or Sapalulu as he is called in the Egyptian monuments), who made Boghaz Kyöi his capital, and encinctured

[1] It is remarkable to read books of 30 years ago on the Hittite problem, and to note the extraordinary development which has meantime taken place in our knowledge of this race. See Hommel, *Die vorsemitischen Kulturen in Ægypter und Babylonien*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 175 f. Sayce (*Biblical World*, Jan. 1905) seeks to show that Hittites settled in Palestine as early as the XIIth Dynasty. He relies on a statement by a noble, Nessumontu, dated 24th year of Amenemhat I, that he overthrew the Asiatic troglodytes, the sand-dwellers. Breasted (*ibid.*, p. 153) adversely criticizes this, and maintains that the incident was merely a foray against Semitic tribesmen east of the Delta. [2] *The Empire of the Hittites*, 1884. [3] *The Hittites, the story of a forgotten Empire*, 1892 and 1903: *P.S.B.A.*, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1909. [4] *Reisen in Kleinasien u. Nord. Syrien*, 1890, who followed in 1912 with an exhaustive treatise, *Boghasköi die Bauwerke*. [5] *Hittiter u. Armenier*, 1898, and in Hilprecht, *Research in Bible Lands*, pp. 755–793 (1905). [6] *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, 1900, 1902, 1906: *The Hittites*, 1903. [7] *Mittheil d. deutsch. orient. Gesell. zu Berlin*, No. 35 (1907), pp. 1–71. [8] *Liverpool Annals*, i. (1908). [9] "Hittite Problems and the Excavation of Carchemish" in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, v. (1911), translated and curtailed in *Annual Report Smithsonian Instit.* (Washington), 1909, p. 677. [10] *The Land of the Hittites*, 1910. [11] *Near East*, chap. viii (1913), pp. 326–395. [12] Luckenbill has an excellent outline of Hittite history, so far as modern research has unravelled it, in *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, xviii. (1914) 24–58.

it with formidable fortifications. Its acropolis had a wall one and a half miles in length—with a width across of three-quarters of a mile, while the whole circuit of the city's defences amounted to three and a half miles. The wall was over 12 feet in height, and its average thickness was 14 feet.[1] From this strong capital fortress the Hittite monarch dominated a wide slice of Asia Minor, and from the head waters of the Halys and the Euphrates he gradually extended his power down into the regions nearer the Mediterranean sea-level. Carchemish on the Euphrates and Zenjirli in the lower hills became places of great military importance.

The political confusion which occurred towards the close of the reign of Amenhotep III, and the convulsions of the Egyptian state under the fantastic eccentricities of Akhnaton gave to the Hittite monarch the desired opportunity to attack Naharaina. Entering into alliance with the Amorites, Sapululu invaded this little buffer state, and in a second campaign reduced Aleppo, Ni, Katna and other cities. We have already seen how the Amarna Letters reveal the welter of intrigue, barefaced treachery, and downright lying which was in vogue amongst the Canaanite and Syrian dynasts, as they coquetted alternately with the Egyptians and with the Hittites, and sought to keep in with both Great Powers. When Palestine was more and more subjugated by the Khabiri-Hebrews, and Egyptian supremacy in the north of Syria faded away, Sapululu seized the occasion to invade Mitanni once again, and to annex it formally to his Kingdom. He dethroned the King and placed his son Tushratta on his seat. This success was the climax to years of wily diplomacy and hard warfare. Ere he died, Sapululu was able to strike a treaty with Horemheb[2] on such equal terms that the Hittites were left in undisputed possession of Naharaina and the Amorite country to the north, while the possession of Phœnicia and of Canaan remained an open question to be decided later.

Under the vigorous Seti I, as we have seen, the collision between these Great Powers was resumed. Mursil (or according to the Egyptian spelling, Maursar) was now on the Hittite throne, and ruled from the Black Sea to Mount Carmel and from Phrygia to the frontier of Assyria. The Powers grappled with each other near Kadesh, and the disciplined Egyptians put the more untrained Hittites to flight. Then came the treaty I have already referred to.

For some fifteen years after this battle peace was preserved. But with the accession of the imperious and headstrong Rameses II, Egyptians and Hittites were again in deathgrips. In his fourth year the Pharaoh marched through Palestine. A reminiscence of his presence is to be seen in a fragment of an alabaster vase bearing his name found by Macalister at Gezer,[3] as well as a scarab with his cartouche which had also on it a well-known type of an Egyptian charioteer.[4] In violation of his father's treaty he now attempted to wrest from his rival Mursil the sovereignty of Syria and of the north-west. A motley throng gathered to the standard of the Hittite King. Confederates arrived from every part of Asia Minor as far as Mount Caucasus.[5] The clash of the two nations once again took place at Kadesh on the Orontes.[6]

[1] Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 201. [2] It was arranged between the contracting monarchs that the Dog River, near Beirût, should be the boundary between their respective domains. [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, p. 186. [4] *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 274. [5] For the identification of the various races which formed this huge league, see Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 389. [6] The site of the battle has been identified by Conder at Tell Neby Mendeh, on the left bank of the Orontes, about 4 miles S. of the Lake of Homs : see the interesting report of the discovery in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 163 f. : and Besant, *Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land*, p. 155 f.

We have several accounts of the battle.[1] It is described on the walls of the temples at Abydos[2] and at Thebes;[3] on a stele in the temple of Abu-Simbel in Nubia hewn out of the rock;[4] and, again, in the spirited epic of the poet Pentaur, who must have been an eye-witness of the engagement.[5] These narratives supplement each other, and give us the Egyptian version of this renowned battle. They tell of the false information given by spies which nearly led to a disaster, of the exploits of Rameses, of his hewing down his foes like the mighty god Sutekh, of the frightful carnage brought on the enemy by the teeth and claws of the Pharaoh's tame lion, of the danger of the King when he was surrounded by 2,500 pairs of horses, of his appeal to Amen for help, of the succour sent by the god, and of the overwhelming victory of the Egyptians, the Orontes being choked with the carcases of the slain Hittites. It is noteworthy, however, that there is no mention of tribute from the enemy, and the retreat of Rameses after the battle seems to indicate that the losses on the Egyptian side were also extremely severe.

No sooner had the Pharaoh returned to Thebes and enjoyed his triumph than once again the Hittites flew to arms. Palestine was invaded. Galilee and Southern Canaan were alike overrun by the new Hittite King Mutallu (or Mautenra), and Rameses had to begin once more to reconquer all the provinces that had been lost.[6] Commencing with the storming of Ashkelon, Rameses finished at Mount Tabor where the Hittite garrison was expelled only after a siege.[7] The Pharaoh seems even to have crossed over the Jordan into Bashan, for near Tell 'Ashtarah is still to be seen the well-known so-called "Job Stone," discovered by Schumacher,[8] on which Rameses II is depicted worshipping a divinity whose crown, horn, and Semitic title indicate that it represents some native Canaanite deity for whom the conqueror felt some reverence.[9] It is not known who the god or goddess was, but the divinity may have been identified in Rameses' mind with some one in the Egyptian pantheon.[10]

From Canaan the victorious Pharaoh now pushed northwards up the coast. At the Dog River near Beirût he set up three stelæ of himself which still survive:[11] at Tunip he set up a statue of his royal person: a city in

[1] Breasted (*Chicago Univ. Decennial Public.* 1st Ser., v. 81) has examined afresh the whole story of the battle, and cast fresh light on some details. [2] Gauthier has re-edited the great inscription at Abydos in Chassinat, *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, 1914. [3] Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscript.*, 2nd Ser., Pl. 52: Tomkins, *T.S.B.A.*, vii. (1881) 390–406: *P.S.B.A.*, iv. 6-9. The story is also brilliantly told in the German novel, *Uarda*, by Georg Ebers. [4] Champollion, *Monuments*, i. 64, 65. [5] Birch, *Select Papyri*, i., Pl. xxiv. f.: De Rougé, *Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, Paris, 1856: Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, pp. 239–243: Lushington, *R.P.*, 1st Ser., ii. 65–78: *P.S.B.A.*, iii. (1874) 83–103: Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 123 f. [6] The list of towns mentioned by Rameses II on the walls of the Ramesseum and at Karnak as having been captured by him in Syria is confined mostly to central Israel (Ephraim) and the adjoining regions of South Galilee. Not many names can be identified with Biblical sites: but the list comprises names such as Jacob-el (see p. 143): Roshqadosh (=Holyhead), some promontory on the coast: Shamashana: Accho (*cf.* Jud. 1 [31]): Sumur in S. Phœnicia near Byblos: Hadasha, etc. (see W. M. Müller, *Egyptol. Res.* i. 47: ii. 100 f.). [7] W. Max Müller (*op. cit.*, ii. 163) denies the identification of Dapur with Tabor. He gives a full account, however, of the inscription regarding the siege of the place. [8] Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 189. [9] Clermont-Ganneau calls her "a mysterious non-Egyptian divinity" (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 23), and makes valuable suggestions as to her identity. [10] Erman in *Zeit. d. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver.*, xiv. (1892) 142: xv. (1893) 205: also *P.S.B.A.*, xvi. 90: Sayce (*Patriarch. Palest.*, p. 161) suggests that the god is Yakin-Zephon, "Yakin of the North," with the full face and crown of Osiris (see also Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 81). [11] Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, iii. 197) has published them.

South Lebanon he re-named after himself: [1] and Arvad capitulated to his arms.[2] But his successes were short-lived. So long as Mutallu was on the throne, the Hittites kept up incessant warfare against the Egyptians, and for some fifteen years Rameses had a constant struggle to hold his own.[3] At last on the accession of a new Hittite monarch, Khattusil or Khetasar, both sovereigns recognized that neither of them had gained in permanence one square yard of the other's territory. Countless lives and enormous treasure had been sacrificed without the faintest corresponding gain. The Hittites proposed peace, and Rameses was only too glad to agree.

On the temple walls of Karnak and the Ramesseum the treaty thus arrived at was engraved. By it the monarchs mutually pledged their word to suspend hostilities, and to render aid to one another if either was attacked by a third party.[4] In 1907, Winckler discovered, in the Royal Library of the Hittite capital at Boghaz Kyöi, parts in cuneiform of the original draft of the treaty.[5] It is a very elaborate and unique document. It shows that the Hittite Empire was every bit as strong as the Egyptian. The sovereigns treated on equal terms; and the decisive language of the compact struck the deathblow to any hopes the Pharaoh may have cherished of recovering the extensive territory once ruled over by the great XVIIIth Dynasty monarchs. The peace was preserved till the end of the long reign of Rameses II. In the 34th year of his reign the Pharaoh actually married the daughter of the Hittite King, and raised her to the chief rank.[6] Thereupon the Hittite monarch himself paid a state visit to Thebes,[7] and henceforth remained the firm ally of Egypt.[8]

That the Hebrews were involved in these struggles is evident from what has been stated as to the localities swept by the opposing Egyptian and Hittite armies. The presence of sporadic colonies of Hittites in Palestine at this era is referred to in not a few Biblical statements. In the Amarna period it had been reported by the spies sent out by Moses that *Amalek dwelleth in the land of the South; and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountains.*[9] The command was explicit, *Of the cities of these peoples thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them, the Hittite,*[10] etc. This was in fulfilment of the old promise made to Moses at the Burning Bush, *I am come down to bring them up unto a good land and a large, unto the place of the Canaanite,*

[1] W. Max Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 273) concluded that the town of Rameses was some place in the Lebanon region: Breasted (*The Battle of Kadesh*, p. 11) thinks it may have been near the mouth of the Dog River at Beirût. Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, p. 221) and A. H. Gardiner (*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918), p. 180) places it in the Delta to the east of Thel. [2] An evidence of Egyptian influence in Byblos is afforded by a Theban monument of the XIXth Dynasty, discovered there by Maspero, which shows the identification of the Egyptian goddess, Hathor, with the Phœnician Baal-Gebal, *Corp. Inscrip. Semit.*, i. (1881) 1. [3] The inscriptions at Karnak show that these wars were mainly in Galilee. For the list of towns conquered, and their identifications, see Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 220: *Egypt. Res.*, i. 45: Petrie, *P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), p. 317. [4] Goodwin, *R.P.*, 1st Ser., iv. 25 f.: Chabas, *Voyage d'un Egyptien*, 1886, p. 33: Sayce, *The Hittites*, p. 29: W. Max Müller, *Mittheil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1902, pt. v. 193. [5] Winckler, *Die im Sommer*, 1906, *in Kleinasien ausgeführten Ausgrabungen*, and *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, ix. 621, and *Mitth. d. Deutschen Orient. Gesell.*, No. 35 (1907) 21–23. See also Garstang in *Liverpool Annals of Archæol. and Anthrop.*, i. 42. [6] For the extraordinary folk-tale of how the god Khonsu was despatched from Egypt to Bekhten (Bactria ?) to heal the sister of this Hittite princess, who was possessed by a devil, see Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 55: Maspero, *New Light on Anc. Egypt*, p. 146. [7] Hall (*Near East*, p. 371) says the marriage was celebrated at Tanis. [8] It was, doubtless after this, regarded as a wise political policy to consider the Hittite Kingdom as forming a buffer state between the Nile Valley and the rising power of Assyria. The arrival in Egypt of the Hittite King was commemorated on the front of Rameses' temple at Abu Simbel. [9] Numb. 13.[29] [10] Deut. 20.[16 17]

and the Hittite, and the Amorite ;[1] renewed on the night of the Exodus, *The Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite and the Hittite ;*[2] and repeated at Sinai, *Mine angel shall go before thee and bring thee in unto the Amorite and the Hittite :*[3] *I will send the hornet before thee which shall drive out the Canaanite and the Hittite :*[4] *observe thou that which I command thee this day, behold, I drive out before thee the Amorite and the Hittite.*[5] The promise of Joshua was *from the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites shall be your border :*[6] *the living God is among you, and He will without fail drive out from before you the Hittite.*[7] When the Hebrews were successfully sweeping all before them we are told that *all the Kings which were beyond the Jordan . . . the Hittites heard thereof, and they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua :*[8] *Jabin sent to the Kings that were in the north . . . to the Hittite :*[9] *these are the Kings of the land whom Joshua smote . . . the Hittite :*[10] *thus saith the Lord, the men of Jericho fought against you, and the Hittite, and I delivered them into your hand.*[11] After the capture of Bethel, the traitor who had betrayed the city to the Hebrews *went into the land of the Hittites, and built a city, and called the name thereof Luz.*[12] As this city was situated a little west of Banias, it was well within the territory assigned to the Israelites. But the Hebrews did not carry out the divine command as regards the extermination of the Palestinian Hittite colonies. They *dwelt among the Hittites,* and *they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods.*[13] Thus, when Rameses II waged war in Galilee and Ephraim against the Hittites, the misery of the times must have been shared in by the Israelites who were settled amongst them.

But another, and a more peaceful, inter-relation between Egypt and Palestine of this date must be referred to. During Rameses' reign there was composed a kind of geographical romance styled *The Travels of a Mohar.*[14] Some literary Egyptian with a turn for sarcasm compiled a facetious story of the adventures which a tourist in Palestine would meet with. The author professes to have traversed Canaan from end to end, and he describes to a stay-at-home friend in Egypt what a dreadful place Palestine is. While the book is distinctly a romance,[15] and no stress can be laid on its descriptions *literatim et verbatim,* it nevertheless displays a very striking degree of intimacy with things and places in Canaan. The anarchy and confusion and general insecurity of life exhibited in the narrative form a remarkable commentary on the statement in Judges which refers to this same epoch. *In those days there was no King in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.*[16]

The papyrus enumerates no fewer than 56 places, of which 18 are north of Tyre and 38 in Palestine proper. Conder[17] has exhaustively gone into the question of the identification of these sites with place-names mentioned in Joshua and Judges, and he has drawn up the following list of towns

[1] Ex. 3.[8 17] [2] Ex. 13.[5] [3] Ex. 23.[23] [4] Ex. 23.[28] [5] Ex. 34.[11] [6] Jos. 1.[4] [7] Jos. 3.[10] [8] Jos. 9.[1] [9] Jos. 11.[3] [10] Jos. 12.[7 8] [11] Jos. 24.[2 11] [12] Jud. 1.[26] [13] Jud. 3.[5 6] [14] Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays,* 1858, p. 267, from a hieratic papyrus in the British Museum : Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien en Syrie,* 1866 : *R.P.,* ii. (1875) 103 : Sayce, *Pat. Pal.,* p. 209 : Maspero, *Du Genre Epistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'Epoque Pharaonique,* 1872. [15] Lauth (*Moses der Ebräer,* Münich, 1868, p. 37) has a preposterous essay to prove that the Mohar is Moses ! [16] Jud. 21.[25] The last three chapters of Judges are misplaced : they really form a part of the beginning of the period dealt with in the Book, for in them Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, is still high-priest (*cf.* 20[28]). [17] *P.E.F.Q.,* 1876, p. 74.

and villages to which the Mohar makes reference—Great Sidon,[1] Zarephath,[2] Tyre,[3] Kanah,[4] Achshaph,[5] Hammath,[6] Maron,[7] Kadesh-Naphtali,[8] Beth-Anath,[9] Edrei,[10] Harosheth,[11] Horem,[12] Bethshan,[13] Jezreel,[14] Megiddo,[15] Joppa,[16] Rehoboth,[17] and Gaza.[18] Other spots referred to may possibly be identified with Tarichæa,[19] Hukok,[20] Tsephath or Safed, and Raphia.[21] To these, Sayce[22] has added Tibhath,[23] Mearah,[24] Beirût,[25] Gebal,[26] the "mountain of Asher" (another interesting corroboration of the fact that the tribe was already settled in Canaan), the "mountain of Shechem" (either Ebal or Gerizim, both of which are nearly 3,000 feet above the sea), Hazor,[27] Adam,[28] Takhis or Thahash,[29] Kirjath-Anab and Beth-Sopher (place-names which seem to be the result of an ignorant transposition of the names of two neighbouring cities, Kirjath-Sepher and Beth-Anab [30]), Bethel, Adullam, and others. Whatever may be the basis of the romance, whether it be the diary of a real tourist who wished to show off his extensive geographical knowledge, or an imaginary description of countries of which the litterateur had merely heard, the document is certainly of living human interest.[31] It shows that Palestine in its length and breadth was to a cultured inhabitant of Egypt no unfamiliar territory, and that in the later years of Rameses II (when the book was composed) Canaan was still theoretically reckoned as part of the Egyptian Empire.[32]

Sated with his Syrian campaigns, Rameses II now entered on that vast career of building which has stamped his personality on every site from one end of Egypt to the other. Countless monuments of every description, size, and purpose, for a thousand miles up and down both banks of the Nile, evidence his extraordinary mania for erecting memorials of his greatness, while their vast number attest the extreme length of his reign, and the wealth and prodigality of his resources. Yet his colossal vanity made him behave very unfairly towards the works of his predecessors. The cartouches of earlier monarchs he deliberately erased, and temples, pylons, stelæ, etc., of every age were appropriated and re-inscribed with his own name.[33] Notwithstanding this meanness, Rameses II has left stupendous monuments of his architectural zeal. Heliopolis [34] and Memphis were enriched with new structures. At the latter site, Petrie discovered in 1908 a gateway of red granite which Rameses had removed from the temple of the Sun at Abusir, along with a pair of figures, 10 feet high, also in red granite, of Ptah and of himself.[35] He finished the mausoleum at Memphis, and lavishly embellished the city with architectural designs of his own—granite and sandstone chambers to the east of the Sacred Lake,[36] monumental gateways to the south,[37] and before one of them a fine colossal

[1] Jos. 11.[8] [2] 1 Ki. 17.[9] [3] Jos. 19.[29] [4] Jos. 19.[28] [5] Jos. 19.[25] [6] Jos. 19.[35] [7] Jos. 11.[1] (where read "Maron" instead of "Madon"). [8] Jos. 12.[22] [9] Jos. 19.[38] [10] Jos. 19.[37] [11] Jud. 4.[2] [12] Jos. 19.[38] [13] Jos. 17.[11] [14] Jos. 19.[18] [15] Jos. 12.[21] [16] Jos. 19.[46] [17] Gen. 26.[22] [18] Jos. 15.[47] [19] Josephus, *Life*, 32. [20] Jos. 19.[34] [21] Josephus[4] *Antiq.*, xiii. 15, 4. [22] *Patriar. Pal.*, p. 216 f. [23] 1 Chr. 18.[8] [24] Jos. 13., [25] Tomkins (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1885, p. 108) identifies "Bartha" with Beirût. [26] 1 Ki. 5[18], Psa. 83[7], Ezek. 27.[9] [27] Jos. 11.[10] [28] Jos. 19.[33] [29] Gen. 22.[24] [30] Jos. 15.[49 50] [31] Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, i. 1 (1911), concludes that the story of the Mohar is really a didactic geographical treatise in rhetorical form. [32] Petrie has discovered at Lachish a cavetto cornice of this period, carved on a thin slab, which was placed over a doorway as a lintel. It is of typical Egyptian character. [33] For example, at Bubastis (Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 36). [34] Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxvi. 14. [35] *Arch. Rep.*, 1912, p. 19, and *Memphis*, i. 6 (1909). [36] Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 422. [37] Herod. ii. 107–110.

figure in granite, originally 50 feet in height.[1] At Abydos he completed the " Memnonium "[2] begun by his father. At Thebes he finished the great Hypostyle Hall, adding to it 54 columns; extended the temple of Amenhotep III; carved out colossal seated and standing statues of himself; and reared aloft gigantic granite obelisks.[3]

The Ramesseum, dedicated to Amen-Ra, is his *chef d'œuvre*.[4] It was formed of a succession of pillared courts leading from larger to smaller ones.[5] Each chamber was splendidly adorned, the solid roof studded with stars on a blue ground, the wall covered with sculptures depicting his martial exploits, and exhibiting many instances of horrible cruelty towards captives. Rameses loved to portray the torturing of prisoners, the sack of cities, the counting of the loot, the congratulations of priests on his return from war, the high-spirited chariot horses, the rows of slaves imploring mercy. Before the Ramesseum stood one of the largest statues[6] in the world (excelled in Egypt only by the Tanis statue to be mentioned), a figure of the Pharaoh 58 feet high, and weighing not less than 885 tons.[7] Its vastness can scarcely now be realized, for it has been thrown down and destroyed. It must have measured 22 feet from shoulder to shoulder. A toe is 3 feet long, a foot 5 feet across, an ear 3 feet 4 inches![8] Every figure of Rameses throughout Egypt is on the same colossal scale. The King is a god: he and his horses are always ten times the size of the rest of the army; his subjects (nobles though they be) are mere pygmies, while he and the gods are represented as of the same stature. The deities take him by the hand as if he were one of themselves; they introduce him to

[1] For centuries this colossal statue lay prostrate in the waters of the annual inundation. Major Bagnold raised it in 1888 (*P.S.B.A.*, 1888, x. 452–463). [2] So-called by Strabo and the Greeks, a corruption of the name by which Rameses II styled himself " Mi-Amon "=" beloved of Amon," corrupted into " Memnon." [3] One of these is now in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. [4] For full details of this gigantic structure, see Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 1896. Breasted's words (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 450) may be quoted, " He who stands for the first time in the shadow of its overwhelming colonnades, that forest of mighty shafts, the largest ever erected by human hands, crowned by the swelling capitals of the nave, on each one of which a hundred men may stand together—he who observes the vast sweep of its aisles—roofed with hundred-ton architraves—and knows that its walls would contain the entire Cathedral of Nôtre Dâme, and leave plenty of room to spare—he who notes the colossal portal over which once lay a lintel block over 40 feet long, and weighing some 150 tons, will be filled with respect for the age that produced this, the largest columned hall ever raised by man." [5] In 1895, Quibell discovered in and around the Ramesseum over 3,000 pieces of hieratic ostraka. These were examined by Spiegelberg, and published in 1898. They reveal that close beside the temple was a school where boys were taught Egyptian orthography by dictation of the well-known classical texts. There must also have been a school for teaching sculpture hard by (Spiegelberg-Quibell, *Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri in the Ramesseum*, 1898). [6] Diodorus (i. 4) spoke of it as the statue of " Osymandyas," a late corruption of Rameses II's throne name, " Usermaat-Ra," pronounced " Usimare." [7] So Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 65. Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 78) says 1,000 tons: so Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 445). [8] Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 420) says, " A man could sleep crouched up in the hollow of one of its ears as if on a sofa." Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. xxxviii.) says, " By some extraordinary catastrophe, the statue has been thrown down, and the Arabs have scooped their mill-stones out of his face, but you can tell what he was—the largest statue in the world. Far and wide that enormous head must have been seen, eyes, mouth and ears. Far and wide, you must have seen his vast hands resting on his elephantine knees . . the only part of the temple or palace at all in proportion to him must have been the gateway which rose in pyramidal towers, now broken down, and rolling in a wild ruin down to the plain. Nothing which now exists in the world can give any notion of what the effect must have been when he was erect. Nero, towering above the Colosseum, may have been something like it, but he was of bronze, and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object: Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world. No one who entered that building, whether it were temple or palace, could have thought of anything else but the stupendous being who thus had raised himself up above the whole world of gods and men."

Amen. With one hand he crushes hordes of his foes, with the other he clasps that of his patron Ra.[1] Rameses is deified brute force. The same feature of boundless pride embodied in immense statues is exhibited at Abu Simbel, where a gigantic temple was hewn out of the mountain face, and the very rocks carved into four colossal figures of Rameses, each of them 60 feet high.[2]

But it was Tanis in the Delta which Rameses II practically rebuilt, embellished with many a beautiful temple and tapering obelisk, and raised to the rank of a capital. Its romantic history is worthy of more than a mere passing allusion. Tanis, called in the Hebrew Bible *Zoan*,[3] and to-day known as *San*, is located in the dreariest and most desolate part of the Delta, on the extreme northern edge of a vast morass. Not even a palm tree is to-day to be seen: no tourists penetrate to its site: the spot is given over to solitude except for a collection of miserable, unhealthy, filthy mud huts, surrounded by "a sickening mass of dead fish and live babies, fowls and flies."[4] Tanis is "a desolation of mud and swamp, impassable in winter, and only dried into an impalpable salt dust by the heat of mid-summer. The flat expanse, as level as the sea, covered with slowly dying salt pools, may be crossed for miles with only the dreary changes of dust, black mud, water, and black mud again. The only objects which break the flatness of the barren horizon are the low mounds of the cities of the dead: these alone remain to show that this region was once a living land, whose people prospered on the earth. The reddened top of the highest of these mounds may be seen, rising out of the flickering haze on the horizon, some hours before it is reached. That is the great city of San, the capital of Lower Egypt!"[5]

Far back in some remote and unknown era, a band of colonists selected a sandy island in this desolate region, and on the river bank began to build the town which was destined to grow into a splendid metropolis. The sea, though now distant, may at that epoch have washed the city's ramparts. The town at its highest elevation rose only 30 or 40 feet above the plain, although, as we have seen,[6] there are indications that within recent years there has been a gradual subsidence of the Mediterranean end of the Delta, and a corresponding elevation of the Red Sea end. Between two sand dunes the settlers chose the site of their temple to be the centre of their new home. Originally a humble enough shrine, it grew in succeeding centuries so considerably that it came to occupy a great area, extending 1,000 feet from end to end.

It is difficult to know how far back we have to go to find the first beginnings of the city. The Scriptural note, *Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt*[7] does not help us, for we cannot tell the date of the foundation of Hebron. Yet the phrase excites our curiosity. What connection was there between the Palestinian hilltown which contains the sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and this ancient city which lifted

[1] Manning, *The Land of the Pharaohs*, p. 122. [2] See Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, and Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. ii. In clearing the façade of this temple, Barsanti found a hypæthral chapel of Rameses II of unique type. It still contained the ritual furniture for the worship of the Sun-god and of Thoth. The furniture comprised a shrine upon an altar-shaped base containing a solar scarabæus with a lunar ape of Thoth, an altar approached by steps, having statues of four adoring apes upon it at the corners, and two obelisks. For a full description of the temple, see Dümichen, *Der Ægyptische Felsentempel von Abu-Simbel und seine Bildwerke und Inschriften*, Berlin, 1869. [3] Zoan is mentioned in Scripture seven times. [4] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. (1885), p. 1. This admirable monograph gives an excellent account of the early history of the city. [5] Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 1. [6] See p. 164. [7] Num. 13.[22]

itself above the broad swamps that form an extension of Lake Menzaleh? Was there community of origin? [1] Were Hebron and Zoan alike founded by Semites? Were the founders akin to each other, or antagonistic, and why are the two cities coupled together in ancient tradition? No answer has as yet been forthcoming to these questions: we are wholly in the dark.

Among the ruins of the temple are two blocks of granite bearing the name of Meri-Ra, or Pepi I, of the VIth Dynasty. As Pepi I was one of the early conquerors of Canaan,[2] it may be that it was through his Palestinian campaigns that the early connection between Hebron and Tanis was formed. But from the nature of the granite it seems likely that the statue was really brought to Tanis in later ages from Dendera,[3] and that the city did not originate so early. Very abundantly, however, is the vigour of the XIIth Dynasty represented. A red granite colossus of Amenemhat I;[4] an Osiroid statue of Senusert I in black granite of most exquisite workmanship;[5] a black granite colossus of Amenemhat II; a colossus in yellow quartzite of Senusert II; a statue of his wife Nefert in black granite bearing a massive wig which surrounds her cheeks and descends to her breast;[6] a restoration of the temple of Senusert III in pink granite, with an inscription calling him "Beloved of Osiris," show the devotion of the XIIth Dynasty monarchs to the spot.[7]

In 1861, Mariette [8] discovered at Tanis an avenue of human-headed sphinxes which he at first ascribed to the Hyksos regime from the fact that the name of Apepi was cut on their right shoulders. Subsequently, De Rougé [9] showed that Apepi had appropriated the work of an earlier monarch.[10] Later, Maspero pointed out that Pasebkhanut II of the XXIst Dynasty had also tampered with the sphinxes. Finally in 1893, Golénischeff [11] ended a long controversy by proving that the sphinxes were really the work of Amenemhat III of the XIIth Dynasty, whose physiognomy is portrayed in them. Indeed the whole district between Tanis and Bubastis is thickly studded with monuments which tell of the "Golden Age" of Egypt under the Amenemhats and Senuserts, wherever excavations are attempted. At spots such as Fakus [12] or Tell-Nebesheh,[13] fragments of stelæ, statues, porticoes, columns, architraves, obelisks, and sphinxes make their appearance.

The only record we have of the presence in Tanis of the Kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty is the statement that the Hebrews, then resident in the land of Goshen at no great distance, were oppressed by them, and that here some of the plagues were seen in operation. God *set his signs in Egypt and his wonders in the field of Zoan:* [14] *marvellous things did He in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan.*[15]

[1] *Cf.* Chapman in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 985, art. ZOAN. [2] See p. 65. [3] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 4. Yet Griffith, *Tanis*, ii. 15, claims Pepi I as the founder of temples in Dendera, Tanis, Heliopolis, and Bubastis, in chronological order. [4] The large, smiling face, thick lips, and benevolent rather than energetic countenance, are described by Amelia B. Edwards in *Harper's New Monthly*, 1886, p. 716. [5] In the XIXth Dynasty, Merenptah basely appropriated and spoiled both the colossus and the statue. [6] Figured in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 501, who describes the difference in the feeling of the artists who worked in stone in Dynasties IV—VI from that of the eminent sculptors of the XIIth Dynasty. [7] See under Senusert III, p. 84. [8] Mariette, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1864, pp. 233, 264. [9] *Rev. Archéologique*, 1861, p. 250. [10] It is evident from this that some of these XVIth Dynasty Kings were in no way devoted solely to the cult of their Semitic gods, Sutekh or Ptah, but rather followers of Osiris, and the gods of Upper Egypt. [11] *Rec. de Travaux*, xv. 131–136. [12] See Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh*, p. 22. [13] Petrie, *Nebesheh*, 1888, Pl. ix. 1. [14] Psa. 78.[43] [15] Psa. 78.[12]

But by the time of the XIXth Dynasty, the Pharaohs were recognizing that if they were to keep a watchful eye on their shadowy Canaanite possessions they must not spend all their days far up the Nile at Thebes. They must remain in the Delta, within easy striking distance of Palestine in the event of a revolt. It was, therefore, one of the distinguishing features of the reign of Rameses II that he transformed Tanis from being a provincial town into one of the great capitals of Egypt, making it a rival even to Memphis or Thebes.[1] He introduced to the spot a large new population, and beautified the city with the utmost splendour of architecture.[2] He erected a gigantic pylon before the great temple with huge granite colossi of himself 22 feet in height.

But the most extraordinary exhibition of the pride and might of Rameses was seen in the enormous statue of himself near the pylon, which towered above all the other buildings, and dwarfed even the sacred sanctuary. Merely fragments of the colossus now remain, but from measurements of the surviving portions, it is possible to reconstruct the whole. The figure alone must have been 75–80 feet high: the crown another 14½ feet, the pedestal 27 inches. Thus, the huge statue, the largest ever executed, must have stood erect 92 feet, carved probably out of one block of stone, and in all likelihood weighing 900 tons![3] This immense mountain of a man stood gazing across the plain, visible miles away, "a colossus unsurpassed by any monolith of previous or later times." Beyond the pylon, for upwards of 150 feet, Rameses reared an avenue of columns, all monoliths, shaft and capital being in one piece, 39 feet high. Beyond this avenue of obelisks and monuments a great historical series of royal statues stood in a line across the temple.[4] Every statue and monument of earlier monarchs, Theban or Hyksos, he shamelessly appropriated, and his cartouche is found everywhere, after erasing that of the founder. Although when resident in Thebes, Rameses joined with the priests of Amen in denouncing the cult of Set, associated as it was with memories of the hated Hyksos, when he dwelt in Tanis it was Sutekh or Set whom he specially honoured.[5] Rameses II believed in "doing at Rome as the Romans do," for the population of Zoan was largely Semitic, and he desired to be popular. Even his favourite daughter Rameses named "Bint-Anath," a Semitic name meaning "daughter of Anath," a Syrian goddess. One of the royal horses was named "Anath-herte," "Anath is satisfied,"[6] showing how keenly the Pharaoh wished to stand well in the estimation of his Semitic subjects. Tanis was therefore more Semitic than Egyptian, yet it appeared to the wondering eyes of the Arab tribes of the desert as the amazing city of tapering obelisks, white-pillared avenues, black sphinxes, red granite statues, and colossal stone personifications of the awful power of the Pharaoh.

That Rameses II still retained nominal sovereignty over Sinai is evidenced by his rebuilding the sanctuary wall at Serabit-el-Khadem, and by his erection of several stelæ there.[7] He began a canal from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, which was intended to unite the Nile with the Red

[1] See De Rougé, *Note sur les principaux résultats des Foullles éxecutées en Egypte*, Paris, 1861. [2] He erected no fewer than 14 obelisks, all of which are now prostrate (Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 445). [3] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 22, 23. [4] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 15. [5] At Avaris, Petrie (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 15) discovered scarabs of Rameses II, one of which showed him sacrificing a gazelle to Ptah: another revealed Sutekh with the horned cap and long streamer winged like Baal-zebub of of Ekron, and standing on a lion in the manner of a Syrian god. [6] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 449. [7] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 108.

Sea,[1] but he never completed it. To meet his enormous outlays on building he developed the gold mines of the Wady 'Ulaki near Kubban,[2] in addition to other mines which yielded a steady revenue. For it must be remembered that by this time Canaan, which in the period of the great XVIIIth Dynasty Kings had contributed so substantial a part of the wealth of Egypt, had practically ceased to send any tribute, and it was incumbent on the Pharaoh to look around for new sources of the necessary gold.

The claim that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the Oppression has often been made,[3] and still is,[4] but it has little to commend it, and an ever-growing mass of evidence is steadily accumulating against it. The main reason for the assertion was the statement in Exodus that the Israelites *built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Raamses.*[5] I have already shown how inadequate a foundation this is on which to build a theory so extensive and so precarious in the light of other considerations. There was a territory known as "Rameses" as far back as the period of the Hyksos.[6] The site of the city known by that name is now ascertained to be Tell er Retâbeh. But excavations on the spot reveal that its origin must be pushed back much further than the time of Rameses II. At the early period indicated it may not have borne the name of "Rameses," which "may perfectly well be the interpretation of a scribe who knew its name as that of an Egyptian city which existed in his time in and near the land of Goshen."[7] Conder even suggested[8] that the name of the city originally appeared in a cuneiform tablet, and was represented by an ideogram which in later ages was transcribed as "Raamses." He imagined that the Hyksos city Zoan, which under the restoration of Rameses II was called "Pi-Ramessu," or "the chief town of Rameses," may have been intended.[9] If the identification be correct, it is abundantly evident that, as Tanis was already in existence in the XIIth Dynasty and famous in the XVIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, the most that the Israelites could have done would be to "rebuild" it. Yet, it is practically certain that Raamses is not Tanis, but Tell er Retâbeh, and as Petrie[10] has found there stone vases of the Old Kingdom, with weights and scarabs of Dynasties IX to XII, it is clear that the "building" by the Hebrews can have been only some extensive restorations.[11]

But though the unhappy distinction of being the Pharaoh of the Oppression belongs to Thothmes III rather than to Rameses II, there are enough memorials of the latter to show the utter heartlessness and the supreme pride of a man who regarded his fellow-mortals as beings of entirely a different clay from himself. He died in the 67th year of his reign, aged about 100 years. His mummy, discovered at Deir-al-Bahari,[12] is now in

[1] Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, i. xiv.: Strabo, i. 1, 31: xvii. 1, 25: Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 29. [2] Birch, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Liter.*, 1852: *R.P.*, viii. 75. [3] E.g. by Lepsius, *Chronol.*, p. 323 f. *Realencycl. f. Prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, i. 173: Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, i. p. ccxii. and v. 133: Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptol.*, i. 43: *Recherches*, p. 139: Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, ii. 76: Delitzsch, *Genesis*,[4] p. 450: Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 128: Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 78: Richm, *Handwörterbuch d. biblischen Alterthums*, p. 333. [4] So still Sayce, Petrie, Budge, Griffith, etc. [5] Ex. 1.[11] [6] In the time of Joseph, Gen. 47.[11] [7] Hall, *Near East*, p. 405. [8] Conder, *The First Bible*, p. 165. [9] *Cf.* Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthum*, p. 240. [10] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 28 f. [11] Unquestionably Rameses II built a temple in Raamses, for Petrie (*ibid.*, p. 29) discovered the temple fort on which the Pharaoh is depicted smiting a Syrian before the god, Atmu. [12] A bright, suggestive article, "Finding Pharaoh," or the rediscovery of the tomb of Rameses II, is written by E. L. Wilson in *The Century Illust. Monthly Magaz.*, xxxiv. (1887), p. 3: and another on "Pharaoh the Oppressor and his daughter in the light of the monuments," by John A. Paine, *ibid.*, p. 11, although in each case the identification of Rameses II with the Pharaoh of the Oppression is erroneous.

the Cairo Museum.[1] The classical writers of later ages[2] spoke of him under the name of "Sesostris," and attributed to him many world-wide exploits to which he can lay no claim. So far from being the universal conqueror who subdued Thrace, Colchis, Scythia, Media, Persia, and India, at the close of his reign Egypt was actually a more limited Empire than before the rise of the great XVIIIth Dynasty. The years of war with the Hittites had drained and exhausted the vitality of the nation. The lavish expenditure on temple and sanctuary building from one end of Egypt to the other, all of which when completed required to be subsidized, endowed and equipped with their companies of priests: the vast luxury and unwholesome prodigality with which Rameses II sought to outdo even the magnificence of Amenhotep III; the costliness of his huge seraglio and of the army of parasitic retainers at his Court: the senile decay which overtook him in his closing years, and which prevented him from taking any steps to defend his dominions from swarms of invaders—all these things conspired to bring Egypt to the brink of bankruptcy and ruin. Had he reigned longer, his entire empire would have collapsed. But in succeeding ages, men forgot these ominous signs of decay, a halo of glory gathered round his head, and he has been known for centuries, unworthy though he was of the title, as "Rameses the Great."

[1] It was unrolled by Maspero in 1886 (Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 560). Excellent photographs of Rameses II, his mummy and his statues, etc., will be found in Brugsch-Maspero, *La Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari*, Cairo, 1881. [2] Herod., ii. 102–110, who states that he had himself seen the image of Sesostris carved on the rock on the road between Ephesus and Phokæa with the words on it, "I have won this land with the shoulders." That the image is really of Hittite origin was proved by Sayce, who has told the story of his visit to the spot, and of his identification of the inscriptions in *The Hittites*, pp. 54–70. See also Diodorus, i. 53–57.

CHAPTER XVIII

Merenptah and the Close of the XIXth Dynasty

From the 111 sons and 51 daughters [1] of Rameses II, whose names are given on an inscription at Wady Sebu'a, Merenptah, the thirteenth son, succeeded (B.C. 1258–1238). The twelve older sons of Rameses had predeceased their aged father, including Kha-em-uast, his favourite, who was high-priest of Ptah, the real founder of the Serapeum,[2] and a man of such force of character that, if he had lived, the course of history might have been greatly changed. Merenptah was already an old man when he stepped on the throne.[3]

He was immediately called on to face revolts in almost every part of his empire. In his third year he was compelled to make a warlike incursion into Canaan, which had attempted to throw off the Egyptian yoke. The evidence for this military expedition is found in the famous "Merenptah-Stele," discovered by Petrie at Thebes in 1896, which has had an epoch-making influence in modifying the views of Egyptologists as to the date of the Exodus. Utilizing the back of a magnificent black granite stele of Amenhotep III, Merenptah inscribed thereon a pæan of triumph—"Devastated is Tehennu (Libya): Kheta (the Hittites) is pacified: Canaan is seized upon by calamity of every kind: Ascalon is carried away: Gezer is captured: Yenoam [4] is made as a thing that is nought: Israel is wasted, he hath no seed: Khal (Palestine) is become as a widow before Egypt: and all the lands together are at peace. Every one that is rebellious is bound by King Merenptah, given life like the Sun every day!" [5]

This celebrated inscription has already gathered round it a great literature. When its discovery was first reported,[6] there was with many scholars [7] a disposition to maintain that "wasting" of the people of Israel referred to the extermination of the male children of the Hebrews during their Oppression in Egypt.[8] But this theory was soon abandoned as

[1] He must have had many more besides those enumerated: he also married several of his own daughters! *Cf.* Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 533, art. Children. [2] Till his time each Apis Bull had been interred in a separate tomb. But now a tunnel was cut out of the solid rock, and each Bull was placed in a special funerary chamber, which was afterwards walled up. [3] He had been associated with his father on the throne for some time in the period of his father's abject senile decay. [4] Probably Yanuh near Tyre, the Janoah of 2 Ki. 15^{29}, see A. E. Whatham in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lxxv. (1918) p. 547. [5] See Spiegelberg in *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxiv. (1896), p. 1. In 1910, Legrain succeeded in restoring a number of newly-found fragments of the inscription, and in inserting them into their correct places in the stele. The portions were published in *Rec. de Travaux*, xxxi. 176. [6] By Prof. Petrie in *Contemp. Rev.*, May 1896. [7] So Macintyre, Colbeck, Lias in *Expos. Times*, vii. 445: Sayce, *ibid.*, p. 522: viii. 89: Dawson, *ib.*, viii. 17: Sellin, *Neue Kirchzeitschrift*, No. 6 (1896). [8] Ex. $1.^{15\ 22}$

untenable. The conclusion was inevitable, namely, that Israel must have quitted Egypt much earlier than the time of Merenptah and the Hebrews must already have been settled in Canaan.

This position, however, has not yet met with universal acceptance.[1] For example, Steindorff[2] drew attention to the fact that, in the inscription, "Israel" has affixed to it the determinative for "foreign people," not "foreign country." Meyer[3] has explained this to mean that "Israel at that time had not yet finally settled down." But the absence of the determinative for "foreign land" merely proves that the settlement of the Hebrews in Palestine was so recent that the Egyptian officials had not yet adapted their minds to the new conditions. For many centuries Palestine had been known to Egypt under the names "Haru," "Khal," "Pa-Kanana," etc. Now, however, Canaan was largely occupied by the victorious incomers, the Hebrews. Nevertheless, the permanence of their possession of the land was still in Egyptian eyes doubtful, while the former heathen inhabitants still abounded in such numbers that, although Israel was predominant, the country was scarcely as yet finally associated with their name. It was difficult for the conservative Egyptian scribes to grasp the idea that Palestine must now have its name changed in their vocabulary, and that the Israelites were really the possessors of that territory and not mere temporary squatters. Yet this indication of Egyptian indecision is a very faithful reflection of the actual state of affairs as depicted in the Books of Joshua and Judges.

The alternatives to the conclusion that Israel must have been settled in Palestine by the time of Merenptah are these: (1) Israel had just escaped from Egypt on the death of Rameses II and on the accession of Merenptah: (2) Israel had not even by this time gone down from Canaan into Egypt, or begun the years of bondage there: or (3) part of Israel may have remained on in Palestine, and part may have gone down to Egypt, and the Egyptian contingent, after a successful Exodus, may have rejoined their compatriots. It will be well to examine these three alternatives to what I regard as the only satisfactory solution of the problem, viz., that Israel entered Egypt under the Hyksos, that the Oppression took place mainly under Thothmes III, that the Exodus happened under Amenhotep II, and that the "Israel" mentioned in the Merenptah-stele are the Khabiri-Hebrews who had recently been settled as the conquerors of Palestine.

(1) The supposition that the "Israel" of the stele were the Hebrews who had escaped from Egypt after the decease of Rameses II, the alleged "Pharaoh of the Oppression," is negatived by the fact that it was in the *third* year of his reign that Merenptah ravaged the Israelites.[4] Where, then, is there room for the forty years' wandering in the wilderness? The theory plays utter havoc with the Biblical story. If Merenptah be the "Pharaoh of the Exodus," it implies an entire recasting of the Scripture narrative, which again and again records a sojourn in the Sinai peninsula of forty years. The theory also is open to the serious difficulty that the

[1] Brandt (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, Sept. 1906) believes that Merenptah attacked the Israelites while they were out of Egypt, but holds that the inscription does not make it clear whether the latter were settled in Palestine as yet, or not. Agreeing practically with this view is Mullens, *Expos. Times*, viii. (1897) 286. [2] *Zeit. f. alttest. Wissens.* 1896, pt. ii. 331. [3] Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, etc., 1906, p. 223, "Israel damals noch nicht zur vollen sesshaftigkeit gelangt." [4] The cogency of this is acknowledged by Prof. W. M. Müller (*Encycl. Bibl.*, iii. 3688, art. PHARAOH), who says that the "Merenptah-theory" has been finally upset by this discovery.

Khabiri, whom we have seen must be identified with the Hebrews, were already settled in Canaan in the Amarna period, during the preceding Dynasty.

(2) The second alternative is that the Israelites had as yet never quitted Canaan, that their residence in Egypt was still to come, and that, therefore, it was possible for Merenptah to describe them as dwelling in Palestine. This is Professor Eerdmans' contention.[1] He ruthlessly contracts the Old Testament chronology, places the descent into Egypt of the patriarchs and their families in the years subsequent to Merenptah's invasion, under Siptah the last of the XIXth Dynasty, and dates the Exodus as taking place in the lifetime of Rameses XII! Though Eerdmans is able to bring out some striking coincidences, the theory is so impossible to reconcile with the Old Testament that it may be left on one side, for if the Hebrews quitted Egypt as late as Rameses XII, whose reign lasted from B.C. 1115 to B.C. 1088, where is there room for the long period of the Judges before Saul comes on the scene about B.C. 1050? The scheme is too revolutionary and fantastic to win acceptance. All the evidence goes to prove that the Hebrews migrated from Canaan down to Egypt centuries earlier.

(3) The last alternative is that only part of "Israel" descended into Egypt with Jacob, that part remained behind in Canaan, and that it was this remnant "Israel" whom Merenptah attacked, while their compatriots were still in the Sinai desert, having successfully emerged from Egypt on the death of Rameses II. This theory is a very popular one at present, but scarcely two of its advocates agree as to details.[2] Thus, Burney,[3] reasoning from the identity of the Khabiri with the Hebrews; the fact that Seti speaks of the tribe of Asher; the evidence as to the ravaging of Israel obtained from the Merenptah-stele; the supposition that "Gad" as a tribal name is probably connected with the deity Gad, the patron of Fortune,[4] whose name is found in Baal-gad[5] and Migdal-gad;[6] and from the fact that Asher and Gad were inferior tribes as descendants of the concubine Zilpah, argues that Dan and Naphtali, sons by another concubine, were equally inferior. He therefore regards these four tribes as being part of the Khabiri who entered Canaan some centuries before the mass of the Israelites under Joshua. They took no part in the Exodus, and knew not Moses. They worshipped Jehovah under the form of a calf. But Moses revealed to the "Goshen tribes" the true name and nature of Jehovah. When these "Goshen tribes" under Joshua entered Palestine, they found their brethren already there, not knowing the prohibition of images as in the second commandment of the Decalogue. Hence the "Goshen" Israelites had to contend not merely with the Canaanite

[1] Eerdmans, *Expositor*, Sept. 1908: *Alt-testamentliche Studien*, ii. (1908), p. 67 f.
[2] Stade (*Biblische Theologie d. A.T.* (1905) 58) divides the Hebrew race into the "Jacob" tribes and the "Israel" tribes. The former migrated into Egypt, and came out under Merenptah: the latter were in Canaan before the time of Merenptah. So also Weinheimer (*Zeit. Morgenl. Ges.*, lxvi. (1912) 365–388), who urges that the "Hebrews" are differentiated from the "Israelites" both in the Old Testament and in the Egyptian inscriptions, and that the invasion of Palestine by the "Hebrews" is to be identified with that by the Khabiri, whereas the settlement of the "Israelites" did not take place till two centuries later. Steuernagel (*Die Einwanderung der Israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan*, 1901) argues that the "Leah tribes" were already in Canaan at the Amarna period, the "Rachel tribes" merely entered Canaan under Joshua. [3] *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, April, 1908. [4] Isa. 65.[11]
[5] Jos. 13.[5] [6] Jos. 15.[37] Luckenbill (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.* xxii. (1918) p. 41) maintains that "Israel" conquered Canaan in the Amarna period, but one (Levi?) or more of the *Southern* tribes sojourned in Egypt in the time of Rameses II.

beastliness, but with the semi-paganism of the four tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher. Thus ensued a constant struggle between two ideals in religion until the prophets arose to vindicate the views of the "Goshen tribes." [1]

How far removed this theory is from that unfolded in the Biblical narrative is manifest. These four "inferior" tribes are repeatedly referred to in Scripture as being an integral part of the host that quitted Egypt at the time of the Exodus. All through the Wilderness wanderings, these tribes are as much in evidence as any of the rest, indeed the tribe of Dan is markedly prominent both in a good and a bad degree. For it was not only *Oholiab of the tribe of Dan* [2] who was the skilled artificer of the Tabernacle, but it was the son of *an Israelitish woman, whose father was an Egyptian, Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan,* [3] who in the wilderness was stoned to death for blasphemy.

Petrie's view [4] is somewhat akin to Burney's. He thinks that "some Israelites continued in Palestine during most, or all, of the time that the others were in Egypt," and that the "Israel" devastated by Merenptah consisted of those tribes which either never descended at all into Egypt, but remained on in Palestine, or else which returned to Canaan as soon as the famine in Joseph's time was over.[5] To this it may be answered that the repeated assertion of the Bible is that *all* the sons of Jacob migrated simultaneously to Egypt,[6] and there is neither mention nor hint that any of them, even the "inferior" tribes, remained in Canaan. Reference is always made to the fact that the tribes in the wilderness were *twelve* in number, not eight or ten as necessitated by the above theory. *Moses builded twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel:* [7] *the stones* of the high-priest's breastplate *shall be according to the names of the children of Israel, twelve:* [8] *the princes of Israel, being twelve men, they were each one for his father's house:* [9] *I took twelve men of you, one man for every tribe:* [10] it was *twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a man,* [11] who carried the *twelve stones* [12] from the Jordan to commemorate the crossing of the river by the *twelve tribes*, and so on. In addition, Eerdmans has pertinently argued [13] that we know nothing of tribes that did not go down to Egypt. If there were such tribes, would they have forgotten this remarkable fact in their national history? Would they have failed to record it? The sojourn in Egypt was inglorious. It was a nation of slaves whom Moses rescued. If there were tribes that never were in bondage in the Delta, would they not have gloried in the fact, and have refused to be identified

[1] Similarly Prof. L. B. Paton maintains (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, xviii. (1914), p. 208: in *J. of Bibl. Lit.*, xxxii. (1913), pp. 1-53) that Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah the older Leah tribes of the genealogies, were identical with the Khabiri migration of the Amarna letters. The younger Leah tribes, Issachar and Zebulon, were a later wave of the Khabiri migration, or an offshoot from the older Leah tribes. The Rachel tribes came out of Egypt under Moses and Joshua, and about B.C. 1200 forced their way into Canaan between the two divisions of the Leah tribes. [2] Ex. 31,[6] 35,[34] 38.[23] [3] Lev. 24.[10 11] In addition to these, *Dan*, as a tribe, is mentioned in Num. 1,[12 38 39] 2,[25 31] 7,[66] 10,[25] 13,[12] 26,[42] 34,[22] Deut. 27,[13] 33,[22] Jos. 19,[40 47 48] 21[5 23]; *Naphtali*, as a tribe, is referred to in Num. 1,[15 42 43] 2,[29] 7,[78] 10,[27] 13,[14] 26,[48 50] 34,[28] Deut. 27,[13] 32,[23] 34,[2] Jos. 19,[32 39] 20,[7] 21[6 32]; *Gad* is mentioned as a tribe in Num. 1,[14 24 25] 2,[14] 7,[42] 10,[20] 13,[15] 26,[15 18] 32,[1 2 6 25 29 31 33 34] 34,[14] Deut. 27,[13] 33,[20] Jos. 4,[12] 13,[24 28] 18,[7] 20,[8] 21,[7 38] 22[9-34]; *Asher* as a tribe is noticed in Num. 1,[13 40 41] 2,[27] 7,[72] 10,[26] 13,[13] 26,[44 47] 34,[27] Deut. 27,[13] 33,[24] Jos. 19.[24 31 34] [4] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 35. [5] This is also the view of Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, 1909, p. 39. [6] Gen. 46,[16 17 23 24] Ex. 1.[4] [7] Ex. 24.[4] [8] Ex. 28.[21] [9] Num. 1.[44] [10] Deut. 1.[23] [11] Jos. 3,[13] 4.[2] [12] Jos. 4.[3] [13] We may use his argument here quite legitimately, though Eerdmans, as we have seen (p. 245), employs it in support of his own untenable hypothesis that the Descent into Egypt took place at the end of the XIXth Dynasty.

and included with those who had been serfs in Egypt? Yet not a hint of this do we get: the nation is uniformly treated as one solid whole.

Equally unsatisfactory is the theory of Spiegelberg.[1] As we have seen, he had at first contended that the stele regarded "Israel" as merely a tribe, without definite geographical location, but a re-study[2] of the monument led him to change his view, and to arrive at the conviction that a particular territory was indeed intended. So far good; but few are likely to follow him in his subsequent opinion that the Khabiri-Hebrews settled in Palestine were ravaged by Seti I; that they kept in touch with their brethren, the "Goshen tribes" in Egypt; that Merenptah subdued them; that they afterwards assisted the "Goshen tribes" to quit Egypt; that the latter, however, returned to Egypt, and that about B.C. 1100 they took part in battles which eventually freed Syria and Palestine from the Egyptian supremacy. To such a theory, and to many analogous,[3] the contention of Prof. Lieblein[4] applies with great force that the idea that there were large contingents of the Hebrews who remained behind in Palestine, and did not descend into Egypt, is negatived (if one accepts the Bible narrative as accurate at all) by the fact that, when the Hebrews eventually reached Canaan, they met with none but enemies, who were all by the Divine command to be exterminated. This could not have been the case had the dwellers there been of the same family, for then these compatriots of theirs ought to have received the incomers as friends and allies. Why the total silence of the Bible as to these alleged fellow tribesmen and kindred Israelites? Why are the inhabitants of Canaan uniformly described as so vile that the land spued them out? *For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled:*[5] *the land vomiteth out her inhabitants.*[6] Maspero agrees with Lieblein's strictures, but says that "the parentage must have been forgotten at the time of the Exodus!"[7] Professor Prášek,[8] who believes that the tribes of Judah, Asher and Simeon remained behind in Palestine when the tribes of Joseph and Jacob ("viewed as one whole, a single tribe of Israel") descended into Egypt, goes the length of asserting that "the movements of the latter, the 'Goshen tribes,' from Paran onward, were probably carried on in conjunction with the tribes of Judah and Simeon," who co-operated in the subjugation of Canaan. Of course, there is not a word of proof of this: it is pure conjecture, not history.

As these three alternatives, therefore, present extraordinary difficulties, and necessitate violations of the Biblical narrative, and as they involve a drastic re-casting of the whole scheme of Scriptural chronology, many of the leading Egyptologists have been compelled to discard altogether the untenable theory that Merenptah was the "Pharaoh of the Exodus," and to revert to the view which is entirely consistent with the statements of the Bible and the evidence of the monuments, namely, that the departure from Egypt took place during the XVIIIth Dynasty. Thus, Fries[9] considers that "the mention of Israel on the stele necessitates the placing of the Exodus earlier than the time of Merenptah." Prof. Breasted[10] affirms that "the idea that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus

[1] Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Ægypten im Lichte d. ægyptischen Monumente*, Strasburg, 1904. [2] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xi. 403. [3] L. E. Steele (*Irish Church Quarterly*, i. (1908), p. 136) has still another view that under Amenhotep III, Hebrew colonists returned from Egypt and settled in groups in Palestine. [4] *P.S.B.A.*, 1907, xxix. 216. [5] Lev. 18.[27] [6] Lev. 18.[25] [7] *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 444. [8] *Expos. Times*, xi. (1900), p. 507. [9] *Sphinx*, i. 207. [10] *Biblical World*, 1897, p. 62.

must be given up, unless the Wilderness wandering be given up also." Prof. W. Max Müller [1] says that "the popular theory that Merenptah was the 'Pharaoh of the Exodus' has been completely routed by the discovery of the 'Israel' stele." Even Wallis Budge,[2] who argues strongly for the old Merenptah-Exodus theory, is forced to confess that, if Israel be truly mentioned on the stele, "we must admit that the Israelites left Egypt *before* the reign of Merenptah, and were settled in Palestine at the time his inscription was written." Böhl [3] maintains that "the Israelites did not quit Egypt for the first time under Merenptah, but had already emigrated under an earlier Pharaoh." In this he is supported by Prof. Obbink.[4] Hommel,[5] after strenuously maintaining the Merenptah-Exodus theory, has made a recantation of his former views, and now urges that Amenhotep II must have been the monarch under whom the Exodus took place.[6] Lieblein,[7] who had long been a *vox clamantis in deserto*, rejoiced when the Merenptah-stele appeared to confirm his once discredited views, and hailed the new evidence which annihilated the falsely cherished date of the Exodus. Hall [8] has accepted the evidence of the stele, and believes that the Israelites who descended from the hills to fight against Merenptah were indeed the Hebrews, who had been settled in Canaan for many years.[9] Luckenbill is driven to the same conclusion: [10] and Daressy has expressed his grave doubts whether Merenptah by any possibility could have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus.[11]

That the conquest of Palestine referred to on the stele was no mere idle boast is evidenced by other testimony. The so-called "Diary of a Frontier-Officer," [12] from the third year of Merenptah's reign, mentions a well, a fortress, and a city, all of which are named after Merenptah, and twice he speaks of "the place where the King was." Count von Calice [13] has identified the well with that twice referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures [14] as *the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah*, which he reads as *the fountain of Merenptah*. If, as Conder [15] suggests, the spot be the same as Etam, now Ain Atan, south of Bethlehem at the so-called Pools of Solomon, it shows us the Pharaoh in the very heart of the Israelite territory, encamped within striking distance of Jerusalem, the capital.[16] The identification has been accepted by Sayce.[17] Again, that the capture of Gezer had entailed much toil is witnessed to by the fact that Merenptah assumed the special title "Conqueror of Gezer" in his inscription in the temple of Amada.[18] Macalister also found in Gezer [19] an ivory pectoral

[1] *Egypt. Res.*, i. 27. [2] *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 108. [3] Böhl, *Kanaanäer u. Hebräer*, pp. 82, 91, 95. [4] *Theol. Tijdsch.*, 1909, pp. 238–258. [5] *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 227: *Expos. Times*, viii. 15. [6] *Expos. Times*, x. 210, 278. [7] *P.S.B.A.*, xxi. (1899) 65. [8] *Near East*, p. 413. [9] If the Bible statement that Moses was 80 years of age at the time when he stood before Pharaoh is accepted, it is manifest that this completely rules out Merenptah as the Pharaoh of the Exodus. If Moses was born, as is supposed on this theory, during the reign of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and as Rameses II reigned 67 years, how could Moses be 80 in the third year of Merenptah? [10] *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, xxii. (1918) 39. [11] Daressy in *Bull. Inst. Egypt.*, v. ser. xi. (1917–18) 39. [12] *Papyrus Anastasi III*: Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iii. 629–635: Gressman–Ranke, *Altorient. Texte u. Bilder zum A.T.* (1909) i. 249. [13] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1903, p. 224. [14] Jos. 19,[9] 18,[15] מעין מי נפתוח [15] In Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 513. Others suggest *Lifta*, 3 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, but not with such good reason. [16] Lieblein, *op. cit.*, says that this fountain was probably named so, after an encampment of Merenptah during the war in the fifth year of his reign. [17] *Expos. Times*, xxix. (1917), p. 72. [18] Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iii. 259, 606. [19] Macalister also found in the same stratum a large collection of coloured paste beads, scarabs, a head of Sebek in paste, and many other Egyptian objects (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 122).

bearing his cartouche.[1] If then we piece together the evidence, we see that Merenptah first of all attacked Ascalon[2] in the Shephelah, then Gezer,[3] then Yenoam. It is difficult to identify this spot. Daressy[4] proposed to locate it at Janum[5] or Beni-Naim, east of Hebron, and he conjectured that the Israelites ravaged by Merenptah were settled round Hebron, near the tombs of their patriarchs. If this be so, great must have been the anguish of the Hebrews as they again saw their old foes in the very centre of their land, not merely on the seaside plain but far up in the mountains of Judah! Others have identified Yenoam with Jabneel,[6] and still others with Yenoam in Lebanon which Seti I had captured.[7] In any case, whatever may have been the route followed by Merenptah, we see Canaan once more ravaged by a cruel conqueror, and a Pharaoh attempting to repeat the old desolating tactics of the monarchs of the XVIIIth Dynasty.[8]

Two years after this Palestinian campaign, Merenptah was face to face with a foe who nearly overturned his throne. There came against Egypt a coalition of enemies more formidable than any since the Hyksos invasion. No longer was Egypt the victorious ravager of the territories of others: she had now to stand at bay, and very narrowly did she escape a complete overthrow. The different peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa along the Mediterranean seaboard, smarting over the wrongs of centuries, united in a vast league to crush the great proud empire which had treated them with such callous indifference to their feelings. From almost every shore of the Ægean and the Levant, and even from far-off Italy, fleets of corsairs swarmed down on the Delta. The sea was white with the sails of ships filled with men consumed with a passion to humble the arrogance of the Pharaoh, and to annex a portion of the enormous wealth of Egypt. Besides the Libyans of North Africa there were Shardina (Sardinians,[9] or perhaps Sardians[10] from Asia Minor), Tursha (Etruscans,[11] or Tylissians of Crete[12]), Akaiwasha (Achæans[13] or Greeks from Peloponnesus) Luka (Lycians), Shakerusha (Sagalassians of Pisidia[14]), and the Mashauash (Maxyes[15]).

[1] *The Excavation of Gezer*, i. 15: ii. 331. [2] *Cf.* Judg. 1.[18] [3] *Cf.* Judg. 1.[29] [4] *Rec. de Trav.*, xxi. 30, and *Rev. Archéol.*, 1898, p. 263: *cf.* Clermont-Ganneau, *ibid.*, p. 429. [5] Jos. 15.[53] [6] Jos. 15,[11] the Jamnia of 1 Mac. 4.[15] [7] Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 201. [8] It is likely that to this period we must also ascribe the bronze Egyptian idol with gold collar, and the bronze statuette of a she-goat with two kids sucking, which Bliss dug up at Lachish (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 12), as well as the large kohl vase found at Lachish by Petrie, which was certainly imported from Egypt (Petrie, *Tell-el-Hesy* (1891), p. 43). All these considerations go to show how untenable is Naville's contention (*Journ. of Egypt. Archæol.*, 1915, ii., pt. iv. 195) that Merenptah never invaded Syria at all. He takes the inscription to refer merely to Merenptah's victory over the Libyans, and says it is impossible that in the early part of his reign he could have marched through Palestine. The references to Gezer and Ascalon he explains by saying that there had been war between these two townships, in which Gezer was the conqueror. But is it in the least likely that the Pharaoh would take note, on a triumphal stele in *Thebes*, of the victory of one petty Canaanite town over another in a territory over 500 miles distant? Surely not. And moreover, Prof. Naville ignores the archæological evidence for the presence of Merenptah in Palestine, which I have just mentioned. His analysis of "The Diary of a Frontier Official" is equally unsatisfactory. His explanation of the reference on the stele to Israel is so indefinite and ambiguous, that it is impossible to understand what he really means. One cannot help feeling that the whole argument is vitiated by a determination to cling to the notion that Merenptah must be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, an idea against which facts are accumulating every year. [9] So Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 113, who thinks they also include other tribes lying towards Carthage: so also Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 467, and Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, i. 27. [10] Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 366. [11] So Müller and Breasted, *op. cit.* [12] Hall, *ibid.* [13] It is interesting to note here the august name of "Greeks" on a monument of the thirteenth century B.C. [14] Breasted (*op. cit.*, p. 467) identifies them with the Sicilians. [15] On the identity of these various allies, see Petrie, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 36: Max Müller, *P.S.B.A.*, 1887–88, x. 147–154: 287–289: Golénischeff, *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xl. 101: Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 173.

In great fear, Merenptah fortified the cities of the Delta, and then attacked the invaders near Memphis. The foreign coalition was defeated with immense slaughter, thousands being killed and thousands captured. The booty was prodigious, and included 9,000 copper swords and over 120,000 other weapons. It was a narrow escape, and Egypt knew it. In a revulsion of joy when the danger had passed, the land exulted exceedingly. Merenptah signalized his victory by carving the famous stele above referred to, which has had such an extraordinary influence in modifying the views of Egyptologists as to the date of the Exodus.

It is of interest to observe that an inscription of Merenptah has been discovered with a significant statement on it referring to the land of Goshen where the Israelites had been settled. "The country around," he states, "was not cultivated, but left as a pasture for cattle, because of the strangers. It was abandoned since the time of the ancestors." Another proof is thus furnished, that since the date of the departure of the Hebrews, the territory formerly occupied by them had been left practically uncultivated and wild. The statement of Merenptah is therefore in close agreement with what we have already seen to have been the condition of the land of Goshen under Amenhotep III, who had used it as a great game preserve.[1] It is also a further piece of evidence revealing the impossibility of the Exodus having taken place under Merenptah. In the 8th year of the latter's reign, we find the officer in charge of the "Shur," the frontier wall, stating that in accordance with royal instructions he had admitted through the wall, and had settled in Thuku (Succoth) and by the Lakes of Pi-tum (Pithom), certain tribes of the Shasu (Bedouin) with their cattle, to feed themselves and their herds under the protection of Pharaoh.[2] If the Exodus had only just taken place, is it likely that Merenptah would have been willing to admit tribes of other Semites so soon afterwards? Would not he, and all Egypt, by this time have been sick of Hebrews and all Semitic allies? [3]

The fact that Merenptah was an old man at his accession, and the circumstance that he succeeded a monarch who had eclipsed all others in the number and grandeur of his architectural efforts, prevented him from leaving a name behind him as a great builder. He copied Rameses II's bad habit of destroying the monuments of his predecessors, and usurping their works as if they were his own. Thus he demolished the splendid sanctuary of Amenhotep III on the western plains of Thebes,[4] and sawed asunder its magnificent statues to serve as blocks for the erection of a mortuary temple for himself.[5] At Tanis he built largely, appropriating XIIth Dynasty statues and Hyksos sphinxes with cool impartiality. The palace he erected at Memphis has been excavated by the Philadelphia Expedition under Fisher, and proves to be one of the most imposing, magnificent, and luxurious private residences ever built. Its Throne Room, its bathrooms, bedrooms, and place for the royal couch, were all on the most splendid scale.[6] The temple he constructed or rebuilt at Memphis, unearthed by Petrie,[7] seems to be the "temple of Proteus," described by Herodotus.[8] The temple of Aphrodite mentioned by the

[1] See p. 201. [2] *Papyrus Anastasi*, vi., and Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*,[2] ii. 133. [3] See on this point Lieblein, *P.S.B.A.*, xxi. (1899), p. 65 f. [4] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 471. [5] This temple is described by Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, 1897, p. 11. [6] Fisher in *Philad. Museum Journal*, viii., No. 4 (1917). [7] *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1907–08, p. 15: Petrie, *Memphis*, i. 11. His palace at Memphis was excavated by the University of Pennsylvania: a description of its plan and its contents was given by C. S. Fisher in *The Museum Journal*, viii. (1917), pp. 211–230. [8] Herod. ii. 112.

Greek historians as being within the temenos of the Proteus temple was probably a shrine of Hathor. Merenptah also erected a stele at Serabit-el-Khadem, and inscribed a doorway there, thus maintaining the old tradition of sovereignty over the Sinai peninsula.[1] His tomb he prepared in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and his mummy is now in the Cairo Museum.

Confusion and anarchy followed the decease of Merenptah, and even the order of succession of the remaining Kings of the XIXth Dynasty is wholly uncertain.[2] The most probable view is that a usurper, AMENMESES (B.C. 1238–1237), seized the throne, and reigned a short time.[3] Beyond repairing some temples, and building a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, he did nothing worthy of remembrance.

The next sovereign of the Dynasty seems to have been SETI II (B.C. 1237–1232), who as governor of Nubia used his opportunities at the propitious moment to seize the vacant throne. Little, however, did he do to win renown. Some fleeting success in Palestine in his second year, a few restorations of crumbling temples, the erection of a small sanctuary at Karnak, and some other trifling building operations, summarize the energies of his brief rule.[4] Reigning from Tanis, he asserted his overlordship of Sinai by inscribing his name on the pylon of the temple at Serabit-el-Khadem.[5]

It was during his reign that a scribe Anna composed the celebrated *Tale of the Two Brothers*,[6] which has often been asserted to be the original of the Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.[7] The trend of recent criticism, however, is in an entirely different direction. While some have urged that a legend of the real incident which took place during the Hyksos period may have lingered on and become a folk-tale by the time of the XIXth Dynasty, it is certainly much more likely that the two narratives have nothing whatsoever of a common origin. Gardiner[8] has shown that Bata, the hero of the story, is a mythological personage, as the elder brother is clearly Anubis. And as the name Bata has been recovered in a hieratic ostrakon in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, it shows that the idea that the Tale refers to Joseph rests on no solid foundation. The actors are divine, and the incidents are derived mostly from the mythological traditions of the Egyptians.

Seti II seems to have been succeeded by SIPTAH[9] (*c.* B.C. 1232–1224) and his royal wife, TA-USERT,[10] who expunged the cartouche of their hated predecessor from all available monuments, and kept up the fiction of a

[1] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 108. [2] On the disputed question of these successions, see Petrie, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904), p. 37 : Reisner in *J. of Egypt. Arch.*, vi. (1920), p. 49 : Ayrton (*P.S.B.A.*, xxviii. 185) arranges the succession thus :—Ta-usert was wife of Seti II : surviving him, she reigned for a time independently : Amenmeses then usurped the throne, but Siptah, son of Ta-usert, was put into possession of his rights by Bai. According to Maspero, Ta-usert was the queen of Siptah, and afterwards queen of his successor, Seti II (see Davis, *The Tomb of Siptah, the Monkey Tomb, and the Gold Tomb*, 1909). Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v. 133) gives the order—Seti II, Amenmeses, Siptah. [3] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 121, inverts the order of succession, and regards Amenmeses as a son of Seti II. [4] There are those who make brave attempts to show that the Exodus of the Israelites took place during Seti II's reign. The theory is hopeless. The latest attempt is by Whatham in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lxxv. (1918), p. 543. [5] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 108. [6] See Renouf, *R.P.*, ii. 133 : Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 2 Ser., 1895, p. 36 : Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 1906 : Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile*, pp. 115–120. [7] Gen. 39.[7 20] [8] *P.S.B.A.*, xxvii. (1905), p. 185. [9] Daressy (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxxiv. 39) has shown that as the real designation of Siptah is Rameses, he is really Rameses III, and all the Ramessids after Rameses II are thus wrongly numbered ! [10] Ta-usert's tomb was explored in 1907, and yielded magnificent necklaces, pendants, bangles, rings, etc. in gold and silver *P.S.B.A.*, 1908, p. 74).

vigorous empire for some eight years.[1] The real ruler of the country, however, was the chancellor Bai, and the energy of Siptah was, in legend at least, overshadowed[2] by that of his royal wife through whom his accession was legitimized.[3] An inscription at Wady Halfa mentions the fact that a "royal ambassador" was sent by the Pharaoh to Syria. What amount of intercourse with Canaan this implies is quite unknown: it may have been nothing more than some commercial transaction.[4]

[1] For an account of the temple of Ta-usert, see Petrie, *Six Temples* (1897), p. 13: Siptah's temple is also described, p. 16. [2] Prof. Elliot Smith, on examining the mummy of Siptah, has discovered that he suffered from a club-foot (*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, i., pt. iii. (1914), p. 189). [3] For the discovery of the tomb of Siptah, see Ayrton, *P.S.B.A.*, xxviii. (1906), p. 96. [4] Sayce in *Rec. de Trav.*, xvii. 161.

CHAPTER XIX

The Twentieth Dynasty

The period subsequent to the close of the XIXth Dynasty was marked by utter anarchy.[1] Egypt groaned under the tyranny of a Syrian usurper whose real name was unknown, although it used to be read as Arisu[2] (B.C. 1224–1206). By what means he reached the place of power we know not, yet it is remarkable to note that Canaan now avenged herself on her old oppressor. Every governor in the Nile Valley was compelled to pay tribute to the foreign upstart, and the tax, of course, came out of the pockets of the lower classes. Assassinations were rife, famine decimated the population, Libyan invaders plundered far and wide, and deep was the misery of the land. To the proud Thebans it must have been peculiarly galling to remember how, in olden times, their fathers had driven out the Semitic Hyksos, and had conquered Palestine. Now they were themselves under the heel of the loathed Semite!

It was therefore with intense relief and joy that at last Egypt saw another strong man arise to found a new dynasty, and to vindicate the ancient majesty of Thebes from the insults of this Asiatic usurper. This patriot was Setnekht, probably a descendant of Rameses II. In his brief reign (B.C. 1206–1202) he expelled the Syrian tyrant, restored peace to the distracted land,[3] and handed over a united Kingdom at his death to his son Rameses III[4] (B.C. 1202–1170).[5]

But Rameses III needed all the courage and ability (of which he had no small store) to save Egypt from destruction at the hands of savage invaders. The ancient empire was rapidly decaying. She was like a wounded lioness around whom meaner beasts of prey were gathering,

[1] See Eisenlohr, *T.S.B.A.*, i. 355–384: *The Great Harris Papyrus*, ed. Birch, Pl. 76: Birch, *R.P.*, 1st Ser., viii. 46–47. [2] As we have already seen (p. 245). Prof. Eerdmans (*Expos.*, Sept. 1908) thinks there is a possibility that in "Arisu" we find a corruption of "Joseph." It is certain that Genesis tells us the same particulars about Joseph as the *Great Harris Papyrus* tells about "Yersew" or "Arisu." But if the Israelites merely entered Egypt under Siptah, and left it under Rameses XII in B.C. 1100, it is absolutely impossible to find room for the whole period of the Wilderness Wanderings, and of the Judges, before the arrival on the scene of David about B.C. 1000. Another equally absurd idea is that of Forbes (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1897, p. 226) that Arisu was Aaron, the brother of Moses! Similarly Heath (*The Exodus Papyri*, 1855, p. 9 f.) pleads that the Exodus took place during the reign of this Syrian usurper, while Seti II was in hiding for thirteen years in Ethiopia. But his absurd identifications have long been exposed. See Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, and De Rougé, *Moïse et les Hébreux*, p. 6. [3] He erected the last of the Wady Maghara steles at the temple of Serabit-el-Khadem (Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 108). [4] The story of the rescue of Egypt from this anarchy is told by Rameses III (*R.P.*, 1st Ser., vi. 23–70: viii. 5–52). [5] The dates of the XXth Dynasty have been revised by Petrie, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904).

licking their chops in anticipation of a royal feast! Forgetting the defeat inflicted on them by Merenptah half a century before, the Libyans and their sea-allies twice flung themselves on Egypt, and twice were hurled back by Rameses with enormous loss.

The first attack took place in the fifth year of the new reign. The coalition of foes was gathered from a strikingly wide area, revealing how intimate were the relations subsisting in this early age between the various peoples of the Mediterranean basin, maritime and otherwise. In the league were Libyans from North Africa, Philistines and Teukrians from Crete, Greeks from the Ægean, Sardians and other peoples from Asia Minor, tribes from Seir or Edom, Bedouin nomads and other wandering races.[1] But the Pharaoh gained the day. There was a fierce naval and land encounter; the coalition was shattered: 12,500 of the foe were left on the field, and 1,000 were captured. For the time, Egypt breathed again, and there were great rejoicings that Rameses had annihilated the vast piratical armada from over the seas.[2]

In his eighth year Rameses III had a still more formidable confederation to face. It was an invasion more alarming than any since the period of the Hyksos; and had not the King possessed an unusual amount of martial energy and strategic skill, it would have gone hard with the Empire. It would almost seem as if every nation bordering the Mediterranean, from Italy in the West to Crete and Cyprus in the east, joined in the attack by sea, while thousands of Asiatic foes poured down from the highlands of Asia Minor in numbers that seemed incalculable.

To the Bible student the most interesting of these groups of invaders is the *Philistines*, who now for the first time make their appearance in general history.[3] It is now agreed that the Philistines came from Crete, and therefore that the old identification[4] of the "Pulusati" of the Egyptian monuments with the Philistines was correct.[5] What has been designated the "Late Minoan III" period of Cretan civilization was characterized by ceaseless upheaval, a grim contrast to the old halcyon days of the grand Minoan Era. The entire Eastern Mediterranean was now a welter of migrations, expulsions, wars, and piracies. Two centuries before, the sack of Knossos had ended the glories of the Cretan Empire, but the ancient thalassocracy lingered on in ever diminishing volume. Now through the pressure of new nations pushing down from the north, the "Peoples of the Sea" were forced to sail forth from their ancestral home in Crete in search of new settlements. These warlike refugees precipitated themselves on the

[1] For attempted identifications of these peoples, see King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 368, and Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 150. Müller (*Egypt. Res.*, ii. 117 f.) elaborately discusses the question of the Shardini and their allies, the Libyans. [2] See also Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX^me^ Dynastie*, 1873, p. 34 f. [3] The question is embarrassed by the mention of Philistines in Gen. 21,[32 34] 26,[1 8 14 15 18] Ex. 13,[17] 15,[14] 23,[31] Jos. 13,[2 3] etc. Various explanations of this are possible. There may have been sporadic migrations of Philistines from Crete into Palestine at a date much earlier than that during which the main body appeared. Or the term may be used in the Hexateuch to signify the people of the country which was afterwards colonized and owned by the Philistines, a mere geographical expression, or employed proleptically. See the question discussed by W. J. Beecher in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 847, art. PHILISTINES. Hall (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxi. (1909), p. 233) criticizes the theory that would admit of Philistines being in Palestine in the Patriarchal Age (especially Noordtzij, *De Filistijnen, hun Afkomst en Geschiedenis*, 1905), and maintains Moore's view (*Encycl. Bibl.*, art. PHILISTINES) that the Genesis references are quite unhistorical. Martin A. Meyer, *Hist. of the City of Gaza*, p. 27, considers the references simply anachronisms. [4] Osburn, *Egypt, her testimony to he truth* (1846), pp. 107, 137, 141, with representations of Philistine war galleys. [5] So now Lenormant, Meyer, Maspero, Petrie, Budge, Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, pp. 368 387–390), Hall, *Ann. of Brit. School at Athens*, viii. 157: *Near East*, p. 71 f.

coastline of the Levant, and devastated the shore from Cilicia in the north to Phœnicia in the south.[1] It was a permanent occupation of Palestine which they planned, for they brought with them their wives, children, and entire possessions. While their immense fleet of war galleys crept along the coast, their heavy, two-wheeled oxcarts lumbered down the shore carrying their womankind and chattels. Before landing in Syria they had ransacked Cyprus. The remnant of the Hittite power had been unable to face the storm and had retired inland: and now, as the swarm poured southwards towards the Delta, it seemed impossible that Egypt could escape submergence.

In this crisis Rameses acted with promptness and valour. Not waiting to be attacked, he advanced from his frontier fortress Zar, and marched into Canaan to meet the foe. His fleet meanwhile sailed northwards, and lay ready for emergencies. A tremendous land battle ended in the utter rout of the invaders, who fled to the seashore to embark with all speed. But in the nick of time the Egyptian war-galleys arrived. The hapless fugitives were caught "between two fires." The Pharaoh's ships rammed the pirate vessels and sank them. There was a savage slaughter and the Philistine fleet was annihilated.[2] It is curious to note that the Egyptians had fighting on their side as mercenaries "Shardini," or Sardinians, and other Italian peoples. They fought against other Shardini who were allies of the Philistines. Though the site of the battle is uncertain, some placing it in one of the harbours of Phœnicia,[3] others at the mouth of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile,[4] the onward advance of the Philistines was checked. The remnant that escaped the sword were permitted to settle down in the Palestinian Shephelah, and from this date we find the Philistines occupying a strip of the Canaanite territory,[5] and proving a formidable body of enemies to the Hebrew tribes who occupied the mountain districts. In course of time they actually gave their name to the whole country of "Palestine," or "Philistine-land," though it was merely an insignificant section of it which they really held.[6]

This invasion, with its sequel of a permanent settlement of Philistine foes within the land allotted to the twelve tribes, is not infrequently referred to in Scripture. *The Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor* (Crete) *destroyed the Avvim* (early Neolithic races) *which dwelt in villages as far as Gaza.*[7] *Have not I brought up the Philistines from Caphtor?*[8] *The Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the isle of Caphtor.*[9] The early geographical list in Genesis similarly described them as *the Caphtorim, whence*

[1] Yet Conder strangely denies the connection between the Philistines and Crete (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1909, p. 268). [2] The fight is depicted on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu. The Philistines and their allies have light galleys, with high prows and lofty sterns, adorned with heads of fierce birds at stem and stern, and furnished with a single bank of oars. The Egyptian ships are lower in the water, the bows are decorated with animal heads, but the sterns are plain. [3] So Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 480. [4] So Hall, *Near East*, p. 382. [5] See Myres, "The Philistine graves found at Gezer," in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, p. 240 f. [6] The LXX always translates the word "Philistines" by Ἀλλοφυλαι—aliens. The inhabitants of Gaza used to maintain that there was a connection between their god Marna and the Cretan Jupiter. Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 2) asserts that the peoples of Palestine were immigrants from Crete. The early name of Gaza was Minoa from Minos, the famous Cretan King. For abundant proofs revealed by recent excavations in Philistine cities, that the late Ægean culture discovered in Palestine was of Cretan origin, see F. B. Welch, "The influence of the Ægean civilization on South Palestine," in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 342. See further, R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines, their history and civilization*, 1913. For the remarkable parallel between the history of the Philistines and that of the Hebrews, their different destinies, and the deep religious reason for their diversity of fortune, see G. A Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 175. [7] Deut. 2[23] [8] Amos 9.[7] [9] Jer. 47.[4]

went forth the Philistines.[1] After the time of Rameses III, the Philistines with their fierce and warlike disposition, their knowledge of technical arts and crafts brought from that wonderful Ægean civilization of which they were the final representatives, and their alliance with the surviving remnants of the primitive races of Canaan, the Rephaim (or giants) and others,[2] proved irreconcilable foes to Israel during the latter period of the Judges, until their power was at last shattered by Saul and David. But their presence in the south-west of Canaan was not without its benefits. They acted as an effective buffer State between Egypt and Palestine,[3] and from the era of Rameses III we hear no more of inroads by Egyptian armies until the reign of Solomon.[4]

The victorious Pharaoh deemed it politic to make a triumphal progress through the regions which the Philistines had lately traversed. He swept through Canaan in the old grand style of the Thothmidæ. He stormed at least five walled cities,[5] and his track was marked by blazing townships and ruined cornfields. He claims to have advanced as far as Naharaina and the Euphrates, but there is reason to believe that Rameses simply copied [6] on his monument names of places which he found on the stelæ of his predecessors, and which he himself never visited. Nevertheless, we are not without evidences of his presence in Canaan.[7] From the strata in Lachish which correspond to this period, Bliss [8] unearthed a bronze figure of Ptah probably once coated all over with gold. At Gezer, Macalister found a fragment of a green alabaster vase bearing the name of Rameses III.[9] Rameses himself records that cities were set apart in Palestine for Amen-Ra, and that he built in "Pa-kanana" (Canaan) a mysterious house like "the horizon of heaven which is in the sky" (*i.e.*, the abode of the Sun-god) with a great statue of "Amen-of-Rameses-ruler-of-Heliopolis," to which the people of Canaan brought tribute, "for it was divine." [10] Where in Palestine this temple of Amen stood, with its great image of the Sun-god, we have no idea : [11] but its erection must have betokened a re-emergence of the old

[1] Gen. 10.[14] As mentioned on p. 170, the clause regarding the Philistines seems misplaced. It should come after Caphtorim. [2] See p. 26. Goliath was politically a Philistine, though racially he was probably one of the Rephaim, a relic of the primitive Neolithic races that had once held Palestine in their grip. [3] See Sayce, *Expos. Times*, viii. 182. [4] The title borne by the five Philistine princes—*seren* סֶרֶן 1 Sam. 5 [8]—suggests an affinity with the Hellenic τύραννος, a word which may go back to Ægean times, and may have been taken over into Hellenism from Knossian days. (Kretschmer, *Einleit. in die Gesch. d. Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 373, 377.) [5] In the *Great Harris Papyrus*, Rameses III says "I filled his (Amen's) house with male and female slaves whom I brought from the lands of the Asiatics." [6] Müller (*Egypt. Res.* i. 49) has shown that Rameses III, or his architect, simply went to the temple of Karnak, and copied the necessary amount of names of Syrian towns from the lists of Thothmes III and Rameses II, without asking if those names agreed in the least with those in the region where he himself had warred. In his haste he copied even some African names among the Syrian ones! "However, this kind of lazy piracy was, at all times, so common among the Egyptian scribes that most likely they saw no fraud in it, and we may doubt if its discovery was ever punished. The whole difference between the amiable superficiality of the Egyptians and the stern, dry, but accurate mind of the Semites is recognized in such frequent cases. In Babylon and Nineveh such patent dishonesty has no real analogies. There impaling and mutilation may have punished what in Egypt was a small literary liberty." Notwithstanding this severe criticism, the list of Rameses III gives us such Biblical names as Beth-dagon, Jos. 15 [41] : Qar-betaqa=Qirbezeq, from Bezek; *cf.* Adoni-bezek : Rani-el=Levi-el ? : Tisupi (the thunder god of N. Syria)=Teshup, etc. [7] Mackenzie (*Excavations at Ain Shems* (*Beth-Shemesh*), 1913, p. 56) shows that some of the tombs at Bethshemesh of this period reveal traces of Egyptian influence. [8] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 68, 131 f. [9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1908, pp. 84, 111. [10] Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 77 : Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iv. 123. [11] Maspero (*Hist. Anc.*, ii. 475) says that Pa-Kanana means a city of Galilee : Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 205) identifies the word with Canaan generally : Conder (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, p. 255) with Kanah near Tyre.

claim of Egypt over Palestine, inasmuch as the Canaanite dynasts were compelled to offer tribute to it every year.

It is highly probable that we have a definite allusion to this campaign of Rameses III in the narrative in Judges of the twenty years' oppression of the Israelites by Jabin II of Hazor. For *the captain of his host was Sisera, who dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles: he had nine hundred chariots of iron, and twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.*[1] The name "Sisera" has a marked affinity with Egyptian nomenclature:[2] it may mean *Ses-Ra*, "servant (or child) of Ra."[3] He was probably the *paka*, or Egyptian Resident at the Court of Jabin, and with his formidable military force maintained the Egyptian suzerainty over the land. The contemporaneous chronology of Egypt and of Canaan permits of this identification,[4] and we thus see that when Barak destroyed the power of Jabin, and Sisera was slain, it was really a blow struck by the Hebrews against their ancient oppressors the Egyptians. It is certainly remarkable that the opening words of the song of Deborah represent it as a victory over "Pharaohs."[5]

Lieblein,[6] moreover, asserts that the refrain in the song, *The Kings came and fought; then fought the Kings of Canaan, in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo*,[7] sounds like the dull and distant roar of the battles of the Pharaoh at Taanach and Megiddo to the south-east of Carmel, on the principal route of nearly all the invading Egyptian armies. It is further quite a likely supposition that the words spoken in the time of Jephthah refer to this latest Ramessid oppression, and not to the far back captivity in Egypt in the time of Moses: *The Lord said unto the Children of Israel "Did not I save you from the Egyptians, and from the Philistines?"*[8] The collocation of these two races, so formidable as foes to the Israelites, shows that there is every reason why the words should not be applied to the period of the Exodus, but rather to the much more recent deliverance from the oppression of the Egyptian overlordship of Rameses III.

Two years after his repulse of the Northerners, Rameses sustained the last of the three great Libyan attacks on Egypt. The Maxyes from the neighbourhood of the modern Tunis impelled the tribes of Libya bordering on the western frontier of Egypt to invade the Delta once more. But the campaign ended as before.[9] With some difficulty, yet decisively, the Pharaoh hurled back his foes, killing 2,175 men, capturing 1,494 men and 558 women, and carrying off enormous spoil. The Libyan King was made a prisoner, his son slain, and the Libyan nation was made incapable of further aggressive action. Egypt was a third time saved by the vigour and ability of her monarch. A raid upon the Edomites of Mount Seir,[10] who had broken into revolt, probably finished Rameses' martial exploits and he now gave himself up to the peaceful development of his country's resources.

Under his firm and wise government, Egypt again blossomed out into great prosperity. He established mercantile fleets on the Red Sea and the

[1] Judg. 4.[3] [2] For another derivation of Sisera from Hittite sources, see Sayce, *Expos. Times*, x. 202. [3] Conder, *The Hittites and their Language*, p. 51. Haynes, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, p. 254. [4] Petrie's date for Rameses III is B.C. 1202–1170: the Biblical chronology (see p. 515) makes the oppression of Jabin to begin in B.C. 1212, and to end with the deliverance under Barak and Deborah in B.C. 1192. [5] Jud. 5,[2] בִּפְרֹעַ פְּרָעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל which by a different pointing yields the equally good sense *when Pharaohs broke loose on Israel.* [6] *P.S.B.A.*, xxix. (1907), p. 217. [7] Jud. 5.[19] [8] Jud. 10.[11] [9] For the geography of the Libyan campaign, see Golénischeff, *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xl. 101. [10] The Sāaire may be identified with the Edomites of Seir (Gen. 36[20]), the *Bene-Seir*: see Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 136.

Mediterranean. He built a fortified reservoir on the road to Canaan [1] to facilitate the passage of caravans to and from Palestine. He re-opened the copper and turquoise mines in Sinai, and the gold mines in Nubia and on the Red Sea littoral. He maintained police on the main trade routes, encouraged agriculture, and rebuilt temples. The stability of Egypt being now restored, and a strong, just government in power, the merchant princes of Syria resumed active trade with the Nile Valley, exporting in particular immense beams of cedar from Lebanon which were employed in the construction of the sacred barges of Amen at Thebes.[2] Egypt profited greatly by this commerce and rapidly advanced in material wealth. It was with justice that Rameses could affirm "I made the whole country to be covered with blossom-bearing trees,[3] and I made all the people to sit down beneath their shade. I made it possible for an Egyptian woman to walk with a bold and free step whithersoever she pleased, and no vile person molested her on her way . . . I settled the land in the place where it was laid waste: the land was well satisfied in my reign."[4] Yet other records show that, notwithstanding this outward prosperity, there was going on a serious decay of private morals.[5] The enormous wealth of Egypt was sapping the nobler elements in the national character. The golden river that poured in from her mines, her commerce, her tributary provinces, while it added to the glory and prestige of the Pharaoh, did nothing to make the nation strong for purity and righteousness, nor indeed contributed to its real stability.

The zeal of Rameses III in building is attested by his so-called "Pavilion" and his great temple erected at Medînet Habu. It has been thought by some [6] that the former was erected on the model of the kind of Syrian forts which he had seen in northern Canaan. Hölscher, [7] however, maintains that this is not so, but that it is really typical of Egyptian fortifications, though specially adapted in its artistic purpose to form a fine approach to the temple and palace beyond. It has two rectangular towers and a wall enclosing a courtyard. On its walls Rameses has depicted the great scenes of his life—his victories over his numerous foes. The racial features and characteristics of each different nation are exhibited with remarkable fidelity.[8] There are Hittites with thick noses and turned up boots, Canaanites with full or small beards, Libyans light and dark in hue, Philistines in their warships and oxcarts, negroes with aprons or full robes, and many another type. The Great Temple, similarly adorned with reliefs giving an autobiography of the Pharaoh,[9] stands 500 feet long by 160 feet wide, and affords a wonderful evidence of the wealth, as well as the artistic and engineering skill of the age.

All over Egypt, as far up the Nile as Wady Halfa, Rameses III built largely. At Tell-el-Yahudiyeh [10] he erected a royal palace of granite, limestone, and alabaster covered with enamelled terra-cotta plaques: [11]

[1] Between Mount Casius and Raphia. [2] Rameses III had a sacred barge for Amen, which was 224 feet long (Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 209). [3] This planting of trees must have been peculiarly grateful to the Egyptian populace in a land destitute of natural forests. But Rameses had seen the beautiful woods of Canaan, and the wooded features of Palestine were copied 1,000 miles away up the Nile. [4] *Great Harris Papyrus* in Birch, *R.P.* viii. 49, 50. [5] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 156. [6] *e.g.*, by Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 162. [7] Hölscher was the architect of the Egyptian Expedition of the Deutsche-Orient-Gesellschaft: *cf.* his work, *Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu*. [8] See Daressy, *Medinet Habu* and *Ann. du Service*, xi. 49. [9] Birch, "The Annals of Rameses III" in *R.P.*, 1st Ser., vi. 17–20. [10] Afterwards the site of Onias' Jewish temple of Leontopolis. [11] Hayter-Lewis in *T.S.B.A.* (1881), vi. 177–192 · Griffith, *Antiquities of Tell-el-Yahûdîyeh*: Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, pp. 5–12.

at Thebes, Heliopolis,[1] Memphis, Raamses,[2] and other spots his restorations are numerous. The temple of Ptah in Memphis owed much to him, and it was in connection with these extensions that Herodotus narrates the extraordinary story of the headless thief.[3] For Rameses III is the famous "Rampsinitus"[4] of the "father of history," and the "Remphis" of Diodorus.[5] His building of a great temple to Amen-Ra in Canaan, probably at Kanah,[6] seven miles south-east of Tyre, has already been mentioned.[7] His gifts to the priesthood, and his endowments of the temples, were on a scale of stupendous munificence. Amongst other donations he enumerates 426,965 water-fowl; 1,075,635 rings, scarabs, etc.; 2,382,650 sacks of fruit; 6,272,431 loaves of bread; 19,130,032 measures of vegetables; 1,933,766 jars of honey, oil, etc., and—strangely associated with these provisions—"nine towns of Syria!"[8] Egypt was more and more becoming a country where the priesthood was all powerful.[9]

Towards the end of his reign, a palace conspiracy to murder the King was hatched. The plot, however, was betrayed. After a trial, forty men and six of the Court ladies were executed, others implicated being ordered to commit suicide.[10] It is remarkable that one of the special judges commissioned to try the criminals was a Syrian named Maharbaal ("Baal hastens"). It shows the prevalence at the Egyptian Court of foreigners whose fidelity was beneficial to the Pharaoh in a hotbed of intrigue. Maspero[11] believes that he has discovered the body of the chief conspirator Penta-urt, a son of the King by a concubine Thi. From the appearance of the face, hands, and feet, it is evident that the rogue was either bandaged alive, and made into a mummy while still living, or that he passed away in terrible agony from some virulent poison.

The tomb of Rameses III in the Sacred Valley is very magnificent and large, being about 400 feet in length. In it were found some golden *Bügelkannen*, or false-necked vases of Ægean form, revealing the close connection between Egypt and the fast decaying Cretan civilization. When he was laid to rest Egypt mourned, for Rameses had done a great work for his country. He found it in misery, invaded, insulted, impoverished: he left it contented and prosperous. Though he had taken as his model his great predecessor Rameses II, imitating him even to the extent of carrying about with him a tame lion, he abstained from wasteful wars of conquest. Once he had vindicated the majesty of the Pharaoh in his successful campaigns against foreign foes, he sheathed the sword, and devoted himself to the arts of peace. His successors for several centuries lived on in the prestige of the victories he had gained, and his administration contributed so greatly to the commercial wealth of the country that for many years the lot of the Egyptians was an enviable one.

[1] Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 491) says that in making the great temple-balances for weighing the offerings to Ra at Heliopolis nearly 212 lbs. of gold, and 461 lbs. of silver, were consumed. On a chapel of a Mnevis Bull built by Rameses III near Heliopolis, see Ahmed-Bey Kamal in *Rec. de Trav.*, 1903, p. 29 f. [2] *i.e.*, Tell-er-Retabeh, see Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 30. [3] Herod. ii. 121. [4] See Roeder in Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, ix., article RAMPSINITUS. [5] Diod., i. 62. [6] Jos. 19.[28] [7] See p. 256. [8] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, v. 168. [9] An inventory in the *Harris Papyrus* shows that unitedly the temples of Egypt possessed over 107,000 slaves, *i.e.*, one person in every 50–80 of the population was temple-property (Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 491). The total holdings of the temples in land amounted to 15 % of the available land of the country; they owned 500,000 head of cattle, 88 ships, 53 workshops and shipyards, and 169 towns. All this vast property was exempt from taxation! [10] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 164: Budge, *op. cit.*, v. 172–176: Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 498, and especially Le Page-Renouf, *R.P.*, 1st Ser., viii. 53–65, "Abstract of Criminal Proceedings in a case of Conspiracy." [11] Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 480: *Les Momies Royales*, i. 563.

His successors in the XXth Dynasty did nothing to emulate the fame of their great ancestor. They existed rather than reigned.[1] They all bore the Rameses-name :[2] they could not shake it off. To them a Pharaoh who was not a Rameses was impossible ! But the famous second and third Kings of that name would have scorned the *fainéant* puppets who succeeded them, and masqueraded in their name. RAMESES IV (B.C. 1171–1165) conducted some petty repairs on buildings here and there.[3] He made a road from the Red Sea to the Nile near the Wady Hammâmât ; built on it somewhere a temple to Isis, employing in the work 8,368 men, of whom 900 died from overstrain ; and erected a porch in the sanctuary at Serabit-el-Khadem, where his cartouche is seen.[4] We can put little stress on the flattering tale on a stele[5] that the Syrians brought tribute to him. It may have been some case of *backshîsh* contributed by some enterprising Canaanite adventurer with the view of securing further favours. It was Rameses IV who compiled the enormous Harris Papyrus, in which, on a roll 130 feet long and containing 117 columns about 12 inches high, he enumerated the pious benefactions of his father, Rameses III, to the three chief gods of Egypt, Amen, Ra, and Ptah. This was with the hope repeatedly expressed that the son of such a father would win the favour of heaven and be granted a long life.[6]

RAMESES V (B.C. 1165–1162), the brother or son of Rameses III, it is not known which, RAMESES VI[7] (B.C. 1162–1159), RAMESES VII (B.C. 1159–1157), RAMESES VIII (B.C. 1157–1156) and RAMESES IX (B.C. 1156–1136), all sons or near relations of Rameses III, seemingly did nothing except enjoy the riches accumulated by their father.[8] Their energies were devoted almost exclusively to the preparation of magnificent tombs for themselves. Their statues reveal them as " heavy and squat, and without refinement, with protruding eyes, thick lips, flattened and commonplace noses, round and expressionless faces."[9] The vaulted ceilings of the tombs of the VIth and of the IXth Rameses show astronomical figures, and the decipherment of these star tables betokens that they are records of culminations.[10] Rameses VI is the last Pharaoh who seems to have had

[1] The tombs of two boy princes, sons of Rameses III, who died early, Kha-em-Uast and Amen-Khepeshf, have been fully described by Dr. Colin Campbell, *Two Theban Princes*, 1910. [2] See Hall, *Near East*, p. 389. [3] For the discovery of a colonnade and foundation deposits of Rameses IV, see Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 1912, p. 48. [4] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 91. [5] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 223. [6] For his tomb, see Lepsius, *Grundplan des Grabes König Ramses IV in einem Turiner Papyrus*, Berlin, 1867, and *Uber die Masse im Felsengrabe Ramses IV* in *Zeit. f. Æg. Sp.*, xxii. (1884), p. 1-5 : see Carter and Gardiner, *J. of Egypt. Arch.*, iv. (1917), p. 130. [7] Wiedemann (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xiii. 49) has drawn attention to a text in the tomb of Rameses VI, which seems to locate the Keftiu, so often mentioned in the monuments, in the northern islands, *e.g.*, Cyprus, etc. He suggests that Crete was reached by way of the " Keftiu " islands, but that it was not the home itself of the Keftiu. Similarly Wainwright in *Liverpool Annals of Archæol.*, vi. 24, maintains that the Keftiu were inhabitants of Cilicia, not of Crete. But is it not a matter of wind ? Ramsay (in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 378 f., art. ROADS AND TRAVEL IN N.T.) has shown the difficulty of navigation in the voyage from Egypt to Italy. He points out how by the constancy of the prevailing winds, ships were forced to sail north, first of all to Cyprus and to skirt Cilicia if they wished to reach Crete. [8] At Gezer, Macalister dug up several steatite scarabs of Rameses VIII, showing that in some degree his influence spread into Palestine (Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 324). And in the time of Rameses IX, when his contemporary, Gideon, was freeing Palestine from the Midianites, we come across indications of an Egyptian custom in the fact that the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna were cut off. This was a cruel Nilotic practice imported into Canaan (Judg. 8 [6]). See E. W. Hollingworth in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911), p. 49. [9] Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 482. [10] They have been investigated by Gensler, *Die Thebanischen Tafeln stündlicher sternaufgänge aus den Gräbern der Könige Ramses VI und Ramses IX*, Leipzig, 1872 : Renouf in *T.S.B.A.*, iii. : and Count Schack-Schackenburg, *Ægypt. Studien*, Heft ii (1894).

anything to do with the great temple of Serabit-el-Khadem. There are no more inscriptions there till Roman times.[1]

In the reign of Rameses IX there took place a wholesale rifling of tombs by a gang of thieves, who, with great daring and ingenuity and with utter lack of religious scruple, robbed the richly furnished sepulchral chapels of the kings of earlier dynasties.[2] The spoliation of these royal tombs was enormous, and the loot was overwhelming in abundance. Such was the widespread corruption of the Government officials under these weak Ramessids that many of them lived on the proceeds of this systematic robbery. Through the treachery of an accomplice the rogues were, however, caught. A Royal Commissioner was ordered to draw up a report on the damage done, but the thieves seem to have used bribery and to have escaped serious punishment.[3] The utter weakness of the Government was revealed in the grant by Rameses IX to Amenhotep, the high-priest of Amen-Ra at Thebes, of the right to levy taxes for the support of the temple and priesthood.[4] The high-priest built for himself a palace of almost royal grandeur, and began to aim at supreme authority. In the hands of this enormously rich and powerful corporation of unscrupulous priests the feeble Ramessids were as wax. The Theban priests dictated their commands to the sovereign, and he meekly obeyed.

Under RAMESES X (B.C. 1136–1130) the tomb robberies continued almost unchecked, the ringleaders being actually the priests and scribes. High officials and their wives connived at the rifling of these rich sepulchres, and grew wealthy with the gold ornaments ruthlessly stripped off the mummies of hundreds of Egypt's famous and opulent kings, queens, and nobles.[5] Of RAMESES XI (B.C. 1130–1129) nothing is known ; and although 27 years are credited to RAMESES XII (B.C. 1129–1102) his *régime* was unmarked by any exploit worth recording, as he was a mere puppet in the hands of the all-powerful priests of Amen.

At last the priesthood resolved to seize the throne and to exercise kingship in name as well as in fact. HER-HERU, the high-priest of Amen, even before the death of the last Rameses,[6] assumed the royal uræus, and took over the command of all the troops. Backed by the whole aristocracy and bureaucracy of Thebes, who were entirely under the thumb of the wealthy religious caste, he soon was in such a position of strength as to style himself the first monarch of a new dynasty. But the influence of Amen was far from being paramount in the Delta. Heliopolis, Memphis, Tanis, and other cities in the north, refused to recognize the sovereignty of this upstart priest-King. A descendant of Rameses II—NESSUBANEBTET—proclaimed himself King of the Delta, and thus once again Egypt was divided into two rival Kingdoms. While Her-Heru took the name of

[1] Petrie, *Res. in Sinai*, p. 108. [2] Birch, *Select Papyri*, ii. 1–8 (Plates) : Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, p. 24. [3] Maspero, *Une Enquête judiciaire à Thèbes au temps de la XX^e Dynastie*, Paris, 1871 : see also T. Eric Peet, " The Great Tomb Robberies of the Ramesside Age : Papyri Mayer A and B in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, ii., pt. iii. (1915), p. 173 : pt. iv., p. 204. [4] Considerable light on the nature of the functionaries of the court, and of the high-priest, is shed by a papyrus preserved in Turin of the age of Rameses IX : see Lieblein, *Deux Papyrus hiératiques de Musée de Turin*, Christiania, 1868. [5] It was during the reign of Rameses X that the Egyptian envoys to Byblos were detained there for 17 years till they died, so feeble had Egypt become, and so contemptible in the eyes of the Syrian dynasts. One can imagine how a Thothmes, an Amenhotep, or one of the earlier Ramessids, would have treated an insult like this ! [6] How Rameses XII came by his death we have no means of knowing. He may have lingered on and died a natural death after being deposed, or he may have been exiled to the Great Oasis and died there.

Si-Amen, and reigned over Upper Egypt from Thebes, his rival assumed the royal crown at Tanis, his name being Grecized into Smendes. The XXth Dynasty, therefore, which had emerged from anarchy, ended in impotence and fission; and the new XXIst Dynasty, as a *house divided against itself*, exhibited all the shame and feebleness attaching to that state.

CHAPTER XX

The XXIst Dynasty, and David and Solomon

The partition of Egypt into two separate monarchies, after so many centuries of union under one crown, obliges us to look at the history of the contemporary sections of the XXIst Dynasty in their diverse fortunes. We shall deal with :—

1. *The XXIst (Theban) Dynasty*

Her-Heru, or as he styled himself Si-Amen, "the child of Amen" (*c.* B.C. 1102-1086),[1] when he raised himself from being high-priest and usurped the royal power, assumed all the ancient and grandiloquent titles which the proudest Pharaohs of former ages had employed. By his marriage with Netchemet, a princess of the royal family, he obtained legal sanction to his accession. He seems to have lived on good terms with his rival at Tanis, for a curious and most interesting papyrus[2] unfolds a strange tale of the adventures of an envoy from Thebes to Lebanon, in whose commercial enterprise the Tanite Pharaoh seems to have had a share.

Her-Heru despatched a certain priest-official Una-Amen, or Wenamon, on an expedition to Syria, to procure cedar wood from Lebanon for the sacred barge of Amen-Ra.[3] The envoy, in passing, called on Nessubanebtet, the King of the Delta, with a letter from his royal master inviting the co-operation of his Tanite brother-ruler. The Deltaic Pharaoh consented.

Wenamon set sail for Palestine[4] and in due course arrived at Dor[5] on the coast of Canaan. Evidently, with the customary crassness of the priestly mind, Her-Heru was entirely ignorant of the fact that the world had moved since the old days when Palestine was at the beck and call of Egypt.[6] He was living in a fool's paradise, imagining that Canaan was still a fief of the Egyptian Kingdom in fact as well as in name. His envoy was soon undeceived. While he was laying in fresh provisions for his further voyage, his crew stole all the money he had brought for the purchase of the timber. He appealed to Batir (or Badiel) the dynast of Dor, who, while

[1] The dates of the XXIst Dynasty are taken from Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii.
[2] Golénischeff in *Rec. de Travaux*, xv. 88 : Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, ii. 582 : a good translation is in Weigall, *Treasury of Ancient Egypt*, p. 112 f. [3] Sethe (*Sitzb. Berlin Akad.*, 1906, p. 356) has shown the importance of the cedar forests of Lebanon to the Egyptians from the earliest times, and of Kapni (Byblos) as the port for Lebanon. He quotes a fragmentary inscription from a Theban tomb, proving that it describes an expedition to Byblos to obtain cedar. [4] In a ship commanded by a Syrian captain. [5] Jos. 11,[2] Tantura, 8 miles N. of Caesarea, on a rocky promontory. [6] He actually put on his inscription the amazing statement that the Syrian princes bowed down every day to his might ! (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iv. 623).

promising aid, did nothing, and changed his treatment of his visitor from lavish hospitality to acts of harshness, evidently desiring to get rid of the obnoxious Egyptian. In despair Wenamon sent back one of his ships to Egypt for fresh supplies and more money.

When they arrived he continued his voyage to Byblos.[1] There he requested an interview with its King Zakarbaal. Yet for nineteen days this was refused him, although he carried with him a holy statue of "Amen-of-the-Way," a sacred image on which no common eye might gaze, and which was reputed to confer life and health! At last one of the Byblos courtiers was seized with religious frenzy which lasted a whole night. In this state of ecstasy he ordered the Egyptian to be summoned, which was done. Then followed a parleying between Wenamon and the King. The King admitted that Egypt owed her civilization to Amen, and that that civilization had benefited other lands; but he refused to acknowledge the political supremacy of Egypt.[2] After much persuasion, however, Wenamon induced the King to grant the wood, overcoming him by the argument that the claims of Amen over the sea and over Lebanon were paramount. This victory in diplomacy was commemorated by Zakarbaal's carving of an inscription intimating his obedience to Amen-Ra.[3]

Thus far all had come right. By the help of 300 men the cedars were felled, and with the aid of 300 oxen were dragged to the sea-shore, where they were piled ready for shipment. At this inauspicious moment there sailed into the harbour eleven pirate ships. They refused to allow Wenamon to depart: they snapped their fingers at Amen-Ra and the alleged sovereignty of Egypt; they charged the envoy with having unjustly accused some of their kinsmen of theft at Dor. Wenamon sat down and wept in despair. The King of Byblos took pity on him, and sent him presents, among them being an Egyptian dancing girl whose songs might cheer him up. The pirates demanded that Wenamon should be imprisoned: the King declared he had no power to detain an ambassador of powerful Egypt. He would therefore send the envoy away, but when once Wenamon was on the high seas, the pirates might give chase, and then Amen defend his own—if he could! The Egyptian thereupon embarked and set sail. Whether the pirates pursued him or not we do not know, for a storm arose, and he was driven across to Cyprus.[4] Here the natives were about to kill him, when he appealed to the queen Hathaba whom he met, to whom he pointed out that even in far-off Thebes it was known that justice alone ruled in Cyprus. He warned the queen of the awful consequences of killing an envoy of Amen, and by the queen's orders his life was spared.

It is tantalizing that just here the papyrus breaks off, and we learn no more of his adventures. But the narrative is a fascinating sidelight cast on the state of Palestine during the period of the later Judges. The incident

[1] Byblos is Gebal (Jos. 13,[5] 1 Ki. 5,[18] Psa. 83,[7] Ezek. 27[9]), now the ruined town Jebeil, midway between Beirût and Tripolis. [2] He says: "I am neither thy servant, nor the servant of him that sent thee." He affirms that he had kept in captivity for 17 years some ambassadors who had come from Rameses X, and he offers to show their graves to Wenamon! [3] See Erman, *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xxxviii. (1900), p. 19. As late as B.C. 400 the people of Byblos represented the ancient goddess of their city as a Hathor (Golénischeff, *l.c.*: Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 395). As early as the Middle Kingdom, the mistress of Byblos is referred to, inasmuch as women took the title of the goddess for their own name (*Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, xlii. 109). [4] Hall (*Journ. of the Manchester Egypt. and Oriental Society*, i. (1913), pp. 33–45) seeks to show that Cyprus is neither Asi nor Alashiya. Asi, he avers, is some part of the south coast of Asia Minor: while Alashiya was on the coast north of Phœnicia, or in Cilicia. He believed, therefore, that Wenamon was driven to Cilicia, not Cyprus.

is contemporaneous with the Ammonite oppression on the east of the Jordan which was ended through the valour of Jephthah,[1] and also with the Philistine oppression on the west of Jordan which lasted for forty years.[2] It reveals the utter contempt into which the traditional sovereignty of Egypt over Canaan had fallen, and how the days of the stern rule of Thothmes III and his successors had completely vanished. Palestine and Syria had cast off all fear of Egypt's power, and her once unquestioned supremacy was now but a faint memory. Into such disdain had the weak rule of the later Ramessids and the priestly influences at work brought the renown of the Pharaoh!

The successors of Her-Heru in the occupancy of the throne and of the high priesthood at Thebes were feeble indeed. PAI-ANKH, his son, seemingly never actually reigned, but officiated merely as viceroy in the absence of his father.[3] PAI-NETCHEM I (B.C. 1086-1074) (or as he is otherwise called PINEZEM) married the daughter of the Tanite King Pasebkhanut I. His wife died in childbirth, and her infant was laid beside her in her mummy case.[4] But the marriage had again united the two rival Royal Houses, and on the death of the Tanite Pharaoh, the Theban King extended his sway over the whole land.[5] It was then deemed prudent to disunite the two functions of high-priest and King. Accordingly, while Pai-Netchem I retained the throne, his two sons, Masaherth and Men-Kheper-Ra, in succession were the high-priests of Amen.

But the misery of the land was intense. If the later Ramessids had been slack in their government, their remissness was far outdone by the utter incompetence of these priestly monarchs. While the ecclesiastics lived in luxury and opulence, the populace starved, as trade and commerce were reduced to a vanishing point. Twice at least the people broke into revolt against the mercilessness of their religio-royal rulers, and "hundreds of thousands" of poor citizens were banished to the Great Oasis. It was evidently only through fear of a great popular rising that the last-named high-priest recalled these exiles, and gave up the practice of "administrative measures" of this sort. To such a depth of shame had proud Thebes fallen!

When his father died, MEN-KHEPER-RA began to assume royal state, and to adopt the royal cartouche (B.C. 1074-1025). At the same time he commenced to fortify southern Egypt against the north, and to take up a hostile attitude towards his Tanite colleague. But his schemes failed. His son PAI-NETCHEM II (B.C. 1025-1006), who succeeded him, held an uncertain royal rank. High-priest and commander-in-chief, but without funds to keep the temples in repair, and without ambition to win renown, he did nothing of note. The last King of the Theban line was PASEBKHANUT (B.C. 1006-952), and with him the XXIst (Theban) Dynasty expired. Low indeed was the famous city from whose "hundred gates" victorious armies had once marched forth to maintain an Empire that stretched from Nubia to Cappadocia. Her soldiers were now largely slaves and mercenaries. The rule of the priest-Kings had exercised such a withering and benumbing influence on the social life of the commonwealth that Egypt had become to the world at large *une quantité négligeable*.

[1] Jud. 10,[8] 11.[4-33] [2] Jud. 10[7]=13.[1] [3] For details of his reign, see A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Manchester Egypt. and Orient. Soc.*, i. (1913), p. 57, "A political Crime in Ancient Egypt," translated from Erman's article, "Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz in Ægypten," *Abhand. d. Königl. Akad. d. Wissens*, 1913 (Phil. Hist. Klasse, No. 1). [4] Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 577. [5] Petrie (*P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 283) has worked out the intricate family relationships of the two rival houses of the XXIst Dynasty.

II. *The XXIst (Tanite) Dynasty*

We must now go back to the closing period of the XXth Dynasty when, during the feeble rule of the later Ramessids, Tanis was more and more coming to the front, and was regarded as, after Thebes, the premier city in Egypt. When the priests of Thebes usurped the royal insignia, Tanis openly revolted, and proclaimed the Delta to be a state independent of the ecclesiastical rulers up the Nile. The Tanite branch of the XXIst Dynasty opened with NESSUBANEBTET (or SMENDES, as Manetho calls him) (B.C. 1102-1076), who was probably a descendant of Rameses II, and in any case was married to a Theban princess of royal rank named Thent-Amen. That he recognized his throne to be superior to that of his Theban rival is evidenced by the fact that when an overflow from the sacred lake of Thothmes III threatened to undermine and destroy one of the vast temples of Amenhotep III at Luxor, it was he, and not the Theban priest-King Her-Heru, who sent 3,000 men to hew stone in the ancient quarry at Gebelen, and repair the damage.[1] The priest-King was evidently conscious of the higher claims of his co-monarch, for he made no protest while Smendes carried out these building operations under his very nose.

We have also seen how[2] both Pharaohs co-operated on friendly terms in the cedar buying expedition of Wenamon. We learn likewise of the alarm of the Tanite King on receiving news of the subversion of the Hittite Kingdom by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser I, and of his consternation on hearing that the latter had penetrated as far west as Arvad, had sailed over the Mediterranean, and had asserted his sovereignty over it by spearing a great dolphin. There was no saying what further exploits in the direction of Egypt this bold new Assyrian conqueror might attempt, and Nessubanebtet deemed it prudent to send such a formidable warrior suitable gifts. Among these we find mention made of a crocodile and a hippopotamus, both of which were carried to Nineveh, and exhibited there as extraordinary monsters.

He was followed by PASEBKHANUT I (B.C. 1076-1035), of whom a few monuments survive, among others the fine serpentine statues of the "Niles of the South and North," now in the Cairo Museum. He built the enormous brick wall which surrounds the entire temple area in Tanis, each brick bearing his cartouche. Petrie[3] calculates that there must have been over twenty millions of these large bricks (each 16-18 inches long) used in the construction of the wall. The wall is about 3600 feet long, 80 feet thick, and was probably 30 feet high, but it is unknown against what possible enemy this vast fortification was reared. His daughter Maat-ka-Ra married his Theban rival, Pai-Netchem I.

A shadowy King NEFER-KA-RA probably reigned four years (B.C. 1035-1031), and was followed by AMEN-EM-APT (*c.* B.C. 1031-1022), whose only monument is an addition to the temple of Gizeh begun by Pasebkhanut I. SI-AMEN (*c.* B.C. 1022-996) must have restored and adorned the temple of Rameses II and other buildings in his capital, for Mariette discovered under the floor of the sanctuary a quantity of gold, copper, and porcelain tablets bearing his name.[4] The restoration of the temple involved enormous labour.[5] His works at Memphis and Heliopolis show that the Kings of

[1] From a discovery by Daressy in 1888: cf. *Rec. de Travaux*, x. 133 f.: Maspero, *R.P.* (N.S.), v. 17. [2] See p. 263. [3] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 19. [4] *Tanis*, ii. 12. [5] Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 674.

Tanis frequently resided in these cities, and revered their ancient sacredness and majesty.

It was during this period of Egypt's eclipse as a world power that the Judges of Israel had been superseded by the first two Kings, Saul and David. Eli, one of the last of the Judges, had evidently some traditional connection with Egypt, for besides giving his son the name of *Phinehas*,[1] an Egyptian word meaning "the negro,"[2] the LXX has preserved for us a hint that Eli's ancestors were actually slaves in the palace of the Pharaoh, when it renders the passage[3] *There came a man of God unto Eli, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Did I reveal myself unto the house of thy father, when they were in Egypt, servants* (δούλων) *to the House of Pharaoh?* Eli, Samson,[4] Samuel[5] and Saul,[6] in a series of battles crippled the Philistines who occupied the Shephelah, and who, with their superiority in arms and civilization, had extended their rule into the mountainous uplands. These Cretan warriors had proved a most formidable foe, for they had 30,000 *chariots and* 6,000 *horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea-shore in multitude.*[7] They had forced the Hebrews to *hide themselves in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in holes, and in cisterns.*[8] They had disarmed the Israelite population so that *in the day of battle there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people.*[9] But now the impotence of Egypt in her divided state, and the abandonment of her old custom of dictating the management of the internal affairs of Canaan, gave Saul an opportunity of waging an incessant *sore war against the Philistines*[10] all through his reign. More than that, Saul pushed his conquests right up to the frontier of Egypt. The wild tribes of the desert, which had always been a source of anxiety to caravans passing betwixt Canaan and the Delta, he exterminated, claiming thus an overlordship of territory which for more than 3,000 years had belonged at all times nominally, and often in reality, to the Egyptian Crown. *Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah as thou goest to Shur that is before Egypt*:[11] *he took Agag, the King of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.*[12] It is quite possible that it may have been due to fear of the rising power of Israel under its first warlike King that Pasebkhanut I erected the strong ramparts of Tanis to which reference has been made.[13]

But though Saul thus scorned the old-time fiction of Egyptian suzerainty over Palestine, he could not rid his own mind of subserviency to the subtle power of Egyptian religion. In the misery of his last days he had recourse to the witch at Endor, who practised arts of blackness borrowed directly from Egypt, the native home of necrolatry. When he commanded her, *Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I shall name unto thee,*[14] he was merely ordering her to repeat on Canaanite soil the dark mysteries of necromancy of which the priests of the Nile Valley were past masters.[15]

Through David's valour the power of the Philistines was still more undermined. His victory over Goliath,[16] one of the last representatives of the primitive Rephaim or giants, who had made himself a political ally of the Cretan immigrants, was followed by other triumphs over the same warlike race.[17] Even during his time of outlawry, David showed, like Saul,

[1] 1 Sam. 2.[34] [2] *Cf.* p. 146. [3] 1 Sam. 2.[27] [4] Jud. 14[1]–16.[31] [5] 1 Sam. 7.[5-14] [6] 1 Sam. 13[1]–14,[48] 23.[28] [7] 1 Sam. 13.[5] [8] v.[6] [9] v.[22] [10] 1 Sam. 14.[52] [11] For the meaning of "Shur," see pp. 77, 230. [12] 1 Sam. 15.[7, 8] [13] p. 266. [14] 1 Sam. 28.[8] [15] For Egyptian necromancy and sorcery, see Bochart. *Hierozoicon*, iii. 161: Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Mosis u. Ægypt*, p. 97. [16] 1 Sam. 17.[1-54] [17] 1 Sam. 18,[27] 19,[8] 2 Sam. 5,[17-25] 8,[1] 21,[18] 23.[8-17]

contempt for the fictitious sovereignty of Egypt over the desert east of the Delta. *The inhabitants of the land which were of old, as thou goest to Shur even unto the land of Egypt, David smote, and saved neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep, and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels.*[1] It was in this same district that a little later David *found an Egyptian in the field*,[2] left to perish by his brutal master, who when revived with bread and water, told his tale, *I am a young man of Egypt, slave to an Amalekite*,[3] and thus led David to the camping-place of the marauders, where all but 400 were put to the sword.

During the reign of David there are sporadic evidences of the presence in Palestine of natives of the Nile Valley. One of David's mighty men was *Benaiah-ben-Jehoiada. He slew an Egyptian, a man of great stature, five cubits high*:[4] *and in the Egyptian's hand was a spear like a weaver's beam*;[5] *and he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear.*[6] Who this gigantic Egyptian champion was, or what was the occasion of his encounter with Benaiah, we do not know, but his presence in Palestine at this era is interesting.

Another curious association of David with Egypt may be traced in the passage where we read that *David fought against the Philistines and David waxed faint. And Ishbi-benob, who was of the sons of the giant . . . being girded with a new* (sword), *thought to have slain David. But Abishai-ben-Zeruiah succoured him and smote the Philistine and killed him.*[7] Tomkins[8] has pointed out that the absence of a noun after the word *new* may be accounted for by the supposition either that the word has been unintentionally dropped, or that the word is not an adjective at all, and does not mean *new*. If we read חפ׳ש (*khopesh*) instead of חד׳ש (*khodesh=new*) we discover that the giant was armed with a very deadly Egyptian weapon, the *khopesh*, frequently seen in the hands of Pharaohs on the temple walls, but also used as a common instrument of war by Egyptian soldiers, and their auxiliaries and mercenaries. As the Egyptians were in close touch, and perhaps even in alliance with the Philistines, it is quite natural to find this Philistine champion armed with the formidable Nilotic weapon which so nearly cost David his life.

David seems to have adopted for his new Kingdom a military organization based on what was the practice in Egypt. His *Gibborim* were divided into three companies of 200 each; over every 20 men was an officer, making 30 officers in all, who were known as the "*Shalish*" or "one of three."[9] Again, over each company of 200 with their ten officers he placed a Colonel, and the three Colonels had over them a General. Thus the whole regiment of his *Gibborim* consisted of 634 men. This was practically the same arrangement as obtained in Egypt.[10] Amenhotep II *took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all of them.*[11]

It may also be that in seeking to carry out a census[12] of his people David was merely following what was a recognized Egyptian practice. The scheme may not only have been for military vainglory, but "as a basis for a regular system of fixed taxation, to meet the requirements of an organized government."[13]

[1] 1 Sam. 27.[8 9] [2] 1 Sam. 30.[11] [3] v.[13] [4] Nearly 7½ feet. [5] LXX ὡς ξύλον διαβάθρας, "like the side of a ladder": so Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, iii. 142, "the beam of a bridge." [6] 1 Chr. 11[28]=2 Sam. 23.[21] [7] 2 Sam. 21.[15-17] [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1886, p. 202. [9] 2 Sam. 23.[19] [10] Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, iii. 140. [11] Ex. 14.[7] [12] 2 Sam. 24.[1-9] [13] White in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 568.

Other Egyptian connections are traceable in the story of Absalom. With reference to the weighing of his hair it is of interest to note that Herodotus [1] mentions that it was the practice in Egypt for fathers to cut off their children's hair, to weigh the hair in a scale against silver, and to give to the temple of their god the monetary equivalent of the weight of the tresses. It is significant that *it was at every year's end that Absalom polled his head*, and that *he weighed the hair of his head at two hundred shekels* of silver, *after the King's weight*.[2] The *year's end* was the recognized season of pilgrimage, and possibly the silver equivalent of the weight of his hair was dedicated to Jehovah with ostentatious hypocrisy, in imitation of the Egyptian custom. It is probable also that *the pillar* which *Absalom in his lifetime had reared up for himself* [3] was in the form of an obelisk or of an ordinary Egyptian stele.

In the narrative of the battle in which Absalom was slain, reference is suddenly made to one whose dark skin betokened his Ethiopic birthplace: *Then said Joab to the Cushite, go, tell the King what thou hast seen. And the Cushite bowed himself unto Joab and ran.*[4] Evidently the negro stranger was unfamiliar with the trans-Jordanic territory, for *Ahimaaz ran by way of the Plain and overran the Cushite.*[5] He may have been a Nubian slave belonging to Joab. Circumstances were now changed, indeed, from the time when Hebrew slaves were the commonest of chattels in Egypt.[6]

While David was consolidating his Kingdom in Palestine, the XXIst (Tanite) Dynasty was drawing to a close. Following the unillustrious reign of BINNACHES (*c.* B.C. 996-987) there came that of PASEBKHANUT II (*c.* B.C. 987-944) with whose death the Dynasty expired. But though these Tanite Pharaohs waged no foreign wars, and were unambitious of martial fame, Zoan under their auspices grew to be very important and influential. Its glory now eclipsed that of Thebes, which was suffering from the misgovernment of its priest-Kings; and although it could never actually rival that hoary and venerable metropolis Tanis blazed forth as the most magnificent city in the Delta. The swamps surrounding it were drained, cultivated, and made to yield enormous crops. There was a vast export trade in fish, corn, linen, woollen goods, ornaments of glass, silver, gold and copper. Her fleets engaged in commerce over the Mediterranean. Her harbour was capacious and secure. Her canals were carefully attended to and kept deep by dredging. Zoan was the first port of arrival for all vessels visiting Egypt, and the first emporium of trade for all caravans coming into the Delta from Canaan by the overland route. Little wonder that Tanis continued her fame from the time of Rameses II who had so beautified the spot, and that in the days of David and Solomon she was regarded as a city of royal eminence and dignity.

It was Pasebkhanut II to whom, in all probability, Hadad III, King of Edom, fled from the sword of David and Joab. *For it came to pass, when David was in Edom, and Joab, the captain of the host . . . had smitten every male in Edom . . . that Hadad* [7] *fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants*

[1] Herod. ii. 65. [2] 2 Sam. 14.[26] [3] 2 Sam. 18.[18] Heb. מַצֵּבֶת *mazzebeth*; LXX στηλη, "stele." [4] 2 Sam. 18.[21] [5] v.[23] [6] No stress can be laid on another reference in the title of Psalm 7, "*Shiggaion of David, which he sang unto the Lord concerning the words of Cush a Benjamite.*" This man may have been another imported Nubian who had become a proselyte, and was reckoned as belonging to the tribe of Benjamin: but we know absolutely nothing of him. [7] His father, Hadad II, was probably killed: his mother, *Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab* (1 Chr. 1 [50]), according to Hall (*Near East*, p. 431) was an Egyptian.

with him, to go into Egypt, Hadad being yet a little child. And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran; [1] *and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh King of Egypt,* [2] *who gave him an house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land. And Hadad found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes* [3] *the queen.* [4] *And the sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house;* [5] *and Genubath was in Pharaoh's house among the sons of Pharaoh.*[6]

The scantiness of these political references to Egypt during David's reign is a tribute alike to the strength of his government, and to the quiescence, as a whole, of the XXIst Dynasty. The Deltaic monarchs were easily kept at a safe distance from the Palestinian territory which had once been part of the patrimony of the Pharaohs.

It was Pasebkhanut II with whom also *Solomon made affinity,* when he *took Pharaoh's daughter and brought her into the city of David,*[7] and following the Egyptian custom, the ceremony of placing the royal crown on his head was observed on this his marriage day. He did not assume it at first when he seated himself on his father's throne; but when his wedding with the Egyptian princess took place, he had to conform to the Egyptian usage which decreed that mere elevation to the throne was not enough, the monarch must actually be *crowned. Behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals.*[8] To some it has seemed incredible that a proud Egyptian monarch would bestow his daughter on a King so recently established in his dominion as Solomon. Winckler [9] and Cheyne [10] have tried hard to discover evidence to prove that it was the daughter of a King of *Musri* (not of Mitzraim) in North Arabia whom Solomon married; but their arguments are overwhelmed by recent archæological research. Macalister, reporting on his excavations at Gezer, has bluntly stated [11] "of the hypothetical land of Musri (which ought to be revealing some evidences of its existence through Solomon's marriage with its supposed princess) no trace has yet been found." [12]

There is, further, no force in the objection that a match between a Pharaoh's daughter and a Hebrew King was beneath the dignity of the former. Solomon had been born in the purple. He inherited a kingdom, acquired through David's successful wars of forty years, which in extent was as large as that ruled by the Tanite sovereign, for *Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms, from the River* [13] *unto the land of the Philistines, and unto*

[1] Either El-Paran, which may perhaps be Nakhl in the heart of the Tih, or Kadesh-Barnea. [2] It is noteworthy that the Pharaoh at Tanis is regarded as the sole ruler of Egypt. The Theban *fainéant* was not recognized as a legitimate sovereign. [3] LXX, "Thekemina." [4] Winckler (*Alttest. Untersuch.* 1-6) and Cheyne (*Encycl. Bibl.*, s.v. HADAD, and *Bible Problems*, 1904, pp. 156-190) deny this marriage on the ground that "Mitzraim" means "Musri" in N. Arabia, and that an Egyptian Pharaoh would never give his sister-in-law as wife to a fugitive, petty prince. But the XXIst Dynasty was not like the XVIIIth or XIXth, and its monarch was doubtless glad of any State alliance which would ensure immunity from attack. [5] *i.e.*, adopted as a royal child. [6] 1 Ki. 11.[15-20] [7] 1 Ki. 3.[1] [8] Cant. 3.[11] [9] *Alttest. Untersuch.* p. 168 f.: *Altorient. Forsch.*, i. 24-41, 337 f. [10] In *Bible Problems*, pp. 156-190, where he goes through every passage in which Mitzraim is mentioned, and claims nearly all for his hypothetical Musri. [11] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 309. [12] Meyer (*Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 360) has satisfactorily disposed of this theory of Winckler that there was an Arabian Musri distinct from Mitzraim (Egypt). Hall (*Near East*, pp. 433, 435) similarly brushes aside Cheyne and Winckler's views as being utterly baseless. In the *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iii. (1916), p. 70, he says, "The late Prof. Winckler's Musri theory, now dead and buried, was simply a mare's nest. It was an erroneous theory based on supposed evidence that will not hold water." [13] *i.e.*, the Euphrates.

the border of Egypt. [1] His riches were greater than Egypt's, if not at the beginning of his reign, certainly after a few years; *the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was* 666 *talents of gold.*[2] His commerce was much more extended than that of the Pharaoh at Zoan; *the King had at sea a navy of Tarshish . . . once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks.* [3] His fame for wisdom was infinitely superior to that which the Nile Valley could offer; *Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt,* [4] *i.e.* the proverbial philosophy of Kegemni, Ptah-hotep, Amenemhat, and other sages, as well as the scientific, astronomical, and medical lore for which Egypt was renowned. The comparison with "the wisdom of Egypt" proves that the latter was well known and highly esteemed in Palestine, so that an estimate of its value relative to the wisdom of Solomon could be arrived at. A marriage, finally, between the Royal Houses of Egypt and of Canaan meant also, to a certain extent, a re-assertion of the old claim of the former to the suzerainty of Palestine; but more definitely it meant that peace would be established to the mutual benefit of both countries, that the trade-route to the rich lands of Mesopotamia and Babylon would be kept open, and thereby that Egypt's wealth would be increased.

Pasebkhanut II made the marriage of his daughter the occasion of demonstrating his ancestral right to govern the Shephelah.[5] Before the wedding he *had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.*[6] What was the reason for this rupture between Gezer and the Pharaoh we are not informed, but as Palestine was still traditionally a fief of the Egyptian crown, the Tanite King considered he had a perfect right to deal with a rebel city after this fashion.[7] But it is of deep interest to note that Macalister in his excavation of Gezer discovered evidences both of the capture of the city and of its subsequent rebuilding by Solomon. The actual spot on the north side where the wall was stormed by the Egyptian troops has been found,[8] along with the later repairs executed by the Jewish King. Further, when Pasebkhanut had massacred the Canaanites, who probably formed the majority of the population of Gezer, Solomon would find he had a much smaller body of citizens to provide for than before, and did not need to erect so large a city. Precisely in accordance with this, Macalister discovered that, after the fifth stratum (the stratum corresponding to the Solomonic age), the Eastern Hill [9] was entirely deserted. It shows no later buildings, except some Maccabæan waterworks.[10]

Evidences of Nilotic influences in Gezer Macalister found in abundance. In the stratum representing the period from the Judges to Solomon, he unearthed a portion of a funerary statue inscribed on the foot in Egyptian

[1] 1 Ki. 4.[21] The *border of Egypt* was the Wady el-Arish, the ancient boundary between Canaan and Egypt. [2] 1 Ki. 10,[14] equal in value to £3,996,000. [3] 1 Ki. 9,[26-28] 10.[22] [4] 1 Ki. 4.[30] [5] Hall (*Near East*, p. 433) supposes that Pasebkhanut handed over Gaza to Solomon as a dowry along with his daughter, for Solomon is said to have reigned *from Tiphsah even to Gaza* (1 Ki. 4 [24]). Till then, this important trade centre had been held by the Philistines, but the Egyptian King, as overlord of Palestine, compelled his dependants to hand it over to his son-in law. [6] 1 Ki. 9.[16] [7] It is curious that a tradition of this ancient burning of Gezer by Pharaoh has lingered among the ruins of the spot to the present day. Macalister (*Excavation of Gezer*, i. 20) found an old watercourse still bearing the name "Kanaat Bint el Kafir"="the conduit of the infidel's (*i.e.*, Pharaoh's) daughter." [8] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 30. [9] Gezer was built on two *tells*, with a depression in between. [10] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 11.

hieroglyphics speaking of a royal offering to Osiris.[1] In the stratum corresponding to the age of Solomon he found two green enamelled paste figures of the Horus-eye, a pendant amulet with a figure of Isis, and scarabs in profusion.[2] In the stratum immediately subsequent to the Solomonic era, there was discovered a scarab showing a man standing between two ostriches (birds found in the Upper Nile), another, distorted by fire, bearing the impress of a crocodile, and several with the uræus.[3] The explorer's verdict is: "It is evident that at all times the most popular Egyptian divinity in Gezer was the god of dancing and other pleasurable excitement—Besh. At least two—I ought perhaps to say, three or four—of his figures are found to one symbolizing any other deity."[4]

Much discussion has taken place over another passage in connection with Solomon's reign. *The horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; and the King's merchants received them in droves, each drove at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for an hundred and fifty; and so for all the Kings of the Hittites, and for the Kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means.*[5] It has been argued by Winckler [6] that Egypt could never have exported horses on a large scale, for its confined Nile Valley did not furnish sufficiently wide pasture land on which vast herds of horses might be reared.[7] He concludes, therefore, that *Musri* means here not Mitzraim, but a North Syrian state of that name. In this he has been followed by Sir George Adam Smith.[8]

The right understanding of the statement may, however, be obtained through the Septuagint reading of the passage.[9] "The going forth of Solomon's horsemen was also out of Egypt and the King's merchants were of Thekoue; and they received them out of Thekoue at a price."[10] "Thekoue" is a compound of the Egyptian prefix *Ta*, meaning "the land,"[11] and *Kuë*, or Cilicia,[12] whose broad plains were the breeding grounds of numerous studs of horses.[13] This is entirely in keeping with the statement of the Chronicler: *They brought horses for Solomon out of Egypt, and out of all lands.*[14] Thus while Cilicia was *one* of the markets for the export of horses to Jerusalem, there is no ground for denying that Egypt was another.

The truth is that references to the abundance of horses in the Nile Valley and Delta are numerous, both in the Bible and on the monuments.[15] Horses were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos about B.C. 1800. Joseph (during the Hyksos *régime*) was *made to ride in the second chariot.*[16] He also *sent waggons to bring down his father Jacob* from Canaan to Egypt,[17] and *made ready his chariot and went up to meet Israel his father.*[18] At

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 37. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 48. [3] *Ib.* p. 211. [4] *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 228. [5] 1 Ki. 10,[28 29] 2 Chr. 1.[16 17] [6] *Alttest. Untersuch.* p. 108 f. [7] See Taylor, *Expos. Times*, vii. 406. [8] *Jerusalem*, i. 324. [9] καὶ ἡ ἔξοδος Σαλωμῶν τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ Θεκουὲ ἔμποροι τοῦ βασιλέως · καὶ ἐλάμβανον ἐκ Θεκουὲ ἐν ἀλλάγματι κ.τ.λ. [10] So also Jerome. [11] This would be familiar to the Alexandrian Jewish scholars who translated the LXX (Tomkins, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1885, p. 111). [12] Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, iii. 9) seems to have been the first to point out this true interpretation of the LXX reading. [13] The upland plateaux of Asia Minor were also eminently suited for this purpose. Cappadocia (Tubal) paid tribute in "great horses" (Winckler, *Altorient. Forschung.* p. 28). Tyre is stated by Ezekiel to have traded with Togarmah (part of Armenia) *with horses and warhorses and mules* (Ezek. 27 [14]). Herodotus (iii. 90) enumerates among the revenues of Darius I, "From the Cilicians 360 white horses, one for every day." [14] 2 Chr. 9.[28] [15] The whole subject of the early cultivation of the horse in Egypt has been discussed by Lefébure (*Sphinx*, v. 97) in favour of its early prevalence there: see also his elaborate article, "Sur l'Ancienneté du Cheval en Egypte," in his *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, edited by Maspero (Paris, 1910), i. 223. *Cf.* further, Michaelis, *Comm. on the Laws of Moses*, ii. 432–514 [16] Gen. 41.[43] [17] Gen. 45.[21 27] [18] Gen. 46.[29]

Jacob's funeral *there went up with Joseph both chariots and horsemen and it was a very great company.*[1] Under the XVIIIth Dynasty horses were abundant in Egypt. Thothmes III made great use of the war chariot in his Syrian campaigns. Amenhotep II maintained a strong cavalry force, for we read that he *made ready his chariot* and *took six hundred chosen chariots* and *all the chariots of Egypt*,[2] which were overthrown in the Red Sea. The veritable chariot of a relative of Amenhotep III is now in the Cairo Museum.[3] The Tell-el-Amarna Letters speak of the importation of horses from Mesopotamia and Cyprus. Assur-uballit, King of Assyria, sent to Amenhotep IV a "splendid chariot and pair of horses."[4] Rameses II, Merenptah, and Rameses III employed war horses and chariots in their invasions of Palestine, and the supply of these must have been large. Nor must we forget that on the frontier of Canaan, on the main caravan route from Egypt, there stood a town called *Hazar-Susah*,[5] or *Hazar-Susim*,[6] whose name "Village of Horses" indicates that it was one of the depots for horse merchants, when they had crossed the intervening strip of desert via the Wady-el-Arish. With it is associated *Beth-marcaboth*,[7] "the house of chariots," an ancient cavalry station of the Egyptian troops. All this goes to show the reasonableness of the command given to a Jewish King: *He shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses, forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you "ye shall henceforth return no more that way."*[8] It also confirms us in the belief that Egypt did form one of the markets (besides Cilicia, etc.) from which Solomon obtained his *thousand and four hundred chariots and his twelve thousand horsemen.*[9]

It has long been a matter of dispute whether traces of Egyptian architectural ideas can be detected in the erection of Solomon's Temple, and the palace which he built for his Egyptian queen. That the Temple was based on a Greek,[10] a Syrian,[11] a Euphratean,[12] a Phœnician,[13] and an Egyptian[14] model, has each had its advocates. But most authorities now agree that, allowing for the modifications introduced by the Phœnician Hiram, the main features were substantially Egyptian in origin. Benzinger[15] has placed alongside each other a plan of Solomon's Temple and that of the temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak, and has pointed out their close similarities. There is in both the same threefold division of porch, *hêkal*, and *dĕbîr*. Perrot and Chipiez[16] call attention to the fact that, like Egyptian temples, the inner elevation of the Jewish sanctuary diminished from the entrance to the end. The Egyptian cavetto was everywhere evident: the peristyle towered above the rest of the building; the pylon in its wide projection was

[1] Gen. 50.[9] [2] Ex. 14.[6 7] See also vv.[9 18 23 25 26 28] Ex. 15.[1 4 19 21] [3] Figured in Maspero, *New Light from Anc. Egypt*, p. 246. [4] Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 180. [5] Jos. 19.[5] [6] 1 Chr. 4.[31] [7] Jos. 19,[5] 1 Chr. 4.[31] [8] Deut. 17.[16] [9] 1 Ki. 10.[26] A tradition of these horses seems to have lingered on into subsequent centuries, for we find Shulamith saying *I have compared thee, O my love, to a steed in Pharaoh's chariots* (Cant. 1 [9]). [10] *e.g.*, Wilkins, *Prolus Architectonicæ*, 1837. [11] Puchstein, *Jahrb. d. Kais. deutsch. archäol. Instituts*, vii., pt. i.: Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*, ii. 34. [12] Fergusson, *Hist. of Anc. and Mod. Architecture*, 1865: *The Temples of the Jews*, 1878, p. 33. [13] An alternative view held by Fergusson: Friedrich, *Tempel u. Palast Salomo's Denkmäler Phönikischer Kunst*: Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 251: Robbins, *Temple of Solomon*. [14] Canina, *Jewish Antiquities*: Thrupp, *Anc. Jerusalem*: Hoskins in *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. TEMPLE: De Vogüé, *Le Tempel de Jérusalem*, ch. iii.: substantially Cobb *Origines Judaicae*, p. 242: De Saulcy, *Hist. de l'Art Judaique*, p. 194: and Babelon, *Manual of Oriental Antiq.*, 1906, p. 209, who says "The architecture and the interior ornaments were all Egyptian in style, like the Phœnician temples themselves." [15] *Heb. Archæol.*, p. 385. [16] *History of Art in Sardinia, Syria, and Asia Minor*, i. 237, 241.

a thoroughly Egyptian feature.[1] Thenius[2] is an enthusiastic advocate of the Egyptian model, and he brings forward many arguments in support of his theory. Stanley's[3] words are "Solomon's intercourse with Egypt renders probable the connexion which the actual resemblance almost proves. The courts, the cloisters, the enormous porch, the pyramidal form of the towers, the painted sculptures on the walls, the successive chambers, the darkness of the adytum, are all found in Thebes or Ipsambul."

While thus the Phœnician workmen doubtless imported many of their own designs into the building, it seems nevertheless to be the case that fundamentally, and in many details, the general plan of the Temple was Egyptian.[4] The stones were prepared in advance in the subterranean quarry, *according to measure*,[5] each stone being marked according to its intended final resting place,[6] precisely as the Egyptians did in early times. The blocks were *sawn with saws*,[7] just as the Nilotes prepared the great granite and diorite stones for their best temples.[8] Petrie[9] urges that the expression *gold fitted upon the graven work*[10] of the temple doors implies "a *repoussée* work of gold, with a wooden backing to support it and maintain the shape, helped by an intermediate coat of stucco or plaster as in Egyptian work." Benzinger[11] has pointed out that in front of the temple of Amen at Thebes there stood two pillars not dissimilar to the two, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, which were reared aloft at the porch of Solomon's temple.[12] If we may believe Eupolemus,[13] these two Jewish pillars were covered with gold a finger in thickness, a feature which would correspond to a practice which obtained in some of the Egyptian temples. Indeed some dim distorted legend has come down to us through Eupolemus[14] and Alexander Polyhistor[15] to the effect that the temple was built with the assistance of 80,000 workmen lent for the purpose by an Egyptian king whom they called "Vaphres," and that letters passed between the two Kings. The details are quite unhistorical, but they embody some ancient tradition ascribing strong Egyptian influences in the erection of the Jewish sanctuary.

As the *cherubim* in the Holy of Holies had but two wings[16] each, they resembled the Egyptian rather than the Assyrian cherubic figures which had many wings. Yet the Hebrew cherubim were represented as males, while the Egyptian were always female, and often specialized as Isis and Nephthys.[17] Moreover the Jewish cherubim faced each other contrary to the position of those met with in Egyptian temples which are usually back to back.[18] So that there was no slavish imitation of Nilotic subjects. The *table of Shewbread*[19] plated with gold and *the ark of the covenant*[20] were similar to the early types so familiar in Egypt. Pictures of such tables, with wine-bottles and loaves piled on them, have been

[1] Perrot and Chipiez (i. 227) call attention to the frequency of the "plain architrave surmounted by an Egyptian cavetto, a device borrowed from the Valley of the Nile by those universal adapters, the Phœnicians." [2] Thenius, *Comm. on Kings*: *Das vorexilische Jerusalem u. dessen Tempel*, 1849. [3] *Jewish Church*, ii. 174. [4] If the R.Vm. reading of 1 Ki. 6[4] be correct, *For the house he made windows broad within and narrow without*, these windows would resemble those of Egyptian sacred buildings. But the translation (though favoured by the Chaldee and the Rabbins) is uncertain. [5] 1 Ki. 7.[9] [6] 1 Ki. 5.[17 18] 6,[7] *The house when it was in building was built of stone made ready at the quarry.* [7] 1 Ki. 7.[9] [8] See p. 53. [9] In Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 226. [10] 1 Ki. 6.[35] [11] *Op. cit.* [12] 1 Ki. 7,[21] 2 Chr. 3,[17] Jer. 52.[21 22] Davies, however, affirms that "the origin of these pillars must be sought among the Syrians and Phœnicians who commonly erected such pillars in front of their temples" (in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 308) [13] Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.*, ix. 37. [14] *Ib.*, ix. 30. [15] Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, i. 21. [16] 1 Ki. 6.[24] [17] Petrie in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 158. [18] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, i. 246. [19] 1 Ki. 7.[48] [20] 1 Ki. 8.[1 6]

discovered at Tell-el-Amarna,[1] while "arks" were borne by Egyptian priests upon their shoulders.

That the Phœnicians were adepts at utilizing the arts and inventions of other peoples, and skilful in modifying them to suit their own ideas,[2] is evidenced by the great number of Egypto-Phœnician objects which have been discovered in Palestine. Egyptian scarabs have been copied and adapted by Phœnician craftsmen who were totally ignorant of the real meaning of the hieroglyphs. There was a manufactory at Arvad, or at Marash, where these "faked" gems were turned out, and similar workshops must have existed at Sidon, Tyre, and Ascalon which spread throughout the country scarabs, amulets, and other common Egyptian objects, modified in every possible way to suit Phœnician tastes.[3] If Phœnician workmen thus took such freedom with these small trinkets, we need not be surprised to see considerable modifications on a large scale in the style of architecture they evolved, wherein by working upon what was fundamentally Nilotic they developed a unique and peculiar Egypto-Phœnician style. At Amrit near Tartus they erected a perfect imitation of an Egyptian temple;[4] and elsewhere, as at Sulcis,[5] at Um-al-Awamid,[6] and at Arvad,[7] there are to be found to this day examples of their skill in blending Nilotic patterns with native Phœnician designs.[8]

A recent theory has been promulgated as to the unhappy feud that set in between Solomon and his Egyptian wife.[9] She came from the Nile with a considerable entourage, and she haughtily made condition that she and her companions must have liberty to worship their own Egyptian divinities. A Court poet had sung at the marriage *Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear: forget also thine own people and thy father's house;*[10] but this she was not prepared to do. For some years this religious feud subsisted between Solomon and his queen, and at last on the completion of the temple palaces the armed neutrality broke out into a flame. Solomon had built for his wife a house similar to his own. He now moved into the one, and asked her to occupy the other. But its situation was such that from its windows the altar of burnt sacrifice with its pall of smoke arising from the slaughter of oxen could be seen. To the Egyptian lady, obsessed with reverence for the ox as the incarnation of Apis, this was an abomination. Instigated by her priests, she refused to enter the palace, and the result was an open rupture. The heathen priests were sent back to Egypt, and the daughter of Pharaoh was forced to move into the palace built for her. Thus *Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built for her, for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David King of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come.*[11]

Whether this theory is sound or not, it would seem that Solomon borrowed from his Egyptian father-in-law, not merely Nilotic architectural ideas, but the odious practice of the *corvée*, or *levy*, by which through forced labour he got his temple built. In the days of their servitude in

[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, i. 248. [2] Babelon (*op. cit.*, p. 224) says "The Phœnicians always confined themselves to the imitation of Egypt and Assyria: their technique has a hybrid character, which is, like Syria itself, from a geographical point of view, a sort of compromise between Asia and Egypt." [3] See the excellent articles on the subject, with relative plates, by Greville J. Chester in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1885, p. 129 f.: 1886, p. 44 f. [4] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. 10: Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, fig. 40. [5] Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, fig. 193, 233. [6] *Ibid.*, fig. 68. [7] *Ib.*, fig. 73. [8] See Pinches in Hastings' *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, i. 764. [9] See W. Shaw Caldecott, *Solomon's Temple, its history and its structure*, 1908, p. 73. [10] Psa. 45.[10] [11] [11] 2 Chr. 8.[11]

Egypt, the Hebrews had known only too well the hateful *mas*,[1] the taskwork wrung out of slaves. Solomon now introduced the abominable custom into the economy of Israel,[2] but it merely paved the way for the downfall of his own house in the time of his successor Rehoboam.[3]

Still another evil feature of Egyptian Court life crept more and more into prominence during the rising splendour of Solomon's reign, namely, the introduction of eunuchs first into the Royal harem, and then gradually into responsible positions in the Court at large. The practice had been long established in the Nile Valley, and had entered Canaan while David was still on the throne.[4] But now under Solomon it became a settled custom. It continued to exist as a canker in the body politic till the latest days of the Judæan monarchy, and bitterly had the nation to repent the inauguration of a system by which some of the most lucrative and influential offices in the State were given to eunuchs, who with their ready access to the harem, were the fomentors of every palace intrigue.[5]

Much of the Royal pomp and state shown by Solomon was an imitation of the magnificence of the Egyptian Court. The post of "chamberlain," *over the house of the King*,[6] was created in correspondence with the powerful major-domo of the Egyptian Royal palace. He superintended all State etiquette, and gradually climbed into a position of almost unlimited power,[7] the chief minister of the King. Another functionary copied from Egypt was the Court Annalist or Historiographer-Royal, *Jehoshaphat ben-Ahilud the chronicler*,[8] who kept a chronicle of the reign and recorded all matters in a book. With the arrival of the Egyptian princess the luxury associated with the Royal Table in the Court of the Pharaohs was introduced. The *fatted fowl*[9] prepared for Solomon's guests remind us of the enormous quantities of ducks and geese consumed in Egypt at Royal banquets as the monuments testify. The birds were caught in nets, then kept in captivity until they were fattened sufficiently to be served at the King's dinner-table.[10]

If the statements in the Book of Ecclesiastes (written, as we shall see, centuries later, probably during the Ptolemaic period) embody an authentic tradition, Solomon copied an Egyptian model in the creation of a "paradise" for his queen. *I made me gardens and parks, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit: I made me pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared.*[11] He had as his prototype the gardens at Thebes created by the Pharaohs for their queens, with their rare trees, their artificial ponds, their arbours and pleasure barges, such as those brought into being by Hatshepset and by Amenhotep III.[12] These gardens of Solomon are traditionally placed at Wady Urtas, south of Bethlehem, where three gigantic reservoirs are still in existence with the remains of an ancient subterranean aqueduct which formerly introduced water into Jerusalem.[13] The gardens of Egypt, so easily kept in freshness through an elaborate system of canals and minor rivulets by which water was diverted in any desired direction, may possibly have been in the mind of the author of the

[1] מַס [2] 1 Ki. 4[6], 5,[13 14] 9.[15 21] [3] 1 Ki. 12.[4 18] [4] 1 Sam. 8[15] (margin): 1 Chr. 28[1] (margin). [5] Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, iii. 271. [6] 1 Ki. 4.[6] [7] 1 Ki. 16,[9] 18,[3] 2 Ki. 18,[18] Isa. 22.[15] [8] 1 Ki. 4.[3] [9] 1 Ki. 4.[23] [10] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii. 46, 132. [11] Eccles. 2.[5 6] [12] See pp. 134, 195, 205. [13] Josephus (*Antiq.*, viii. 7, 3) speaks of the spot as Etham, a place with luxurious gardens, and rivulets of water, whither Solomon used to drive in state in the cool of the morning. The neighbouring hill is called to-day "Jebel el-Fureidis," *i.e.*, "Mount of the Little Paradise." I have personally explored the subterranean aqueduct for a considerable distance.

Proverb : *The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the watercourses : He turneth it whithersoever He will.*

Still another memory of the pomp and glory of Solomon, borrowed from the pageantry of Egypt we find in the description of the State-car of the Jewish King. *King Solomon made himself a palanquin*[1] *of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the seat of it of purple.*[2] Such royal means of conveyance were in frequent use in the Nile Valley, and Solomon may well have had one built for himself from an Egyptian model in his eagerness to emulate the splendour of the Pharaoh's Court.

It may be to this period that we must also assign the formation of the curious rock-cut tombs which Mackenzie discovered at Beth-Shemesh.[3] They are designed on the recognized model for Egyptian houses of the dead. The façade entrance reminds us of the false doors to Egyptian tombs, a practice of concealment in vogue from a very early period.[4] Inside the tombs were found figurines of Besh, and Isis, scarabs, etc., revealing that those who used the sepulchre were of Nilotic race. What was very striking indeed was the total absence of everything suggestive of Babylonian or of Ægean connections. The tomb may have been prepared for some of those who came up from Egypt in the entourage of Solomon's queen.

[1] The peculiar word for this conveyance is translated φορεῖον in the LXX. It is interesting to note that Athenæus (*Deipnos*, v. 13), speaking of the Egyptian tyrant, Athenion, states that he showed himself on " a silver-legged φορεῖον with a purple coverlet." [2] Cant. 3.[9] [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1911, p. 170 f. [4] Maspero, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, pp. 120–123.

CHAPTER XXI

The XXIInd Dynasty

The two contemporary sections of the XXIst Dynasty came to an inglorious end. Never vigorous at any time, both the Theban and the Tanite portions seem to have sunk lower and lower till from sheer inanition and increasing decrepitude they died out. But meanwhile, during these two centuries since Rameses III had repelled the last great Libyan invasion, there had been going on a steady immigration into Egypt of Libyan individuals and families. They readily offered their services as mercenaries, and some of them rose to high rank. One of these Libyan adventurers, a chief in his native land, married a Royal Egyptian princess, and became the father of a certain official at the Court at Tanis, named Namareth. Namareth in turn became the father of one Sheshenk, who, seeing the weakness of the reigning house, laid his plans so successfully that, a year or two before the decease of Pasebkhanut II, he wrested the sovereignty of Egypt from his feeble grasp,[1] and established himself as the founder of a new Dynasty, the XXIInd,[2] under the name of Sheshenk or Shishak I (*c.* B.C. 944–922).

By marrying Karamat,[3] a daughter of his predecessor, the usurper obtained a legal claim to the Kingship, and thus through his royal wife, his royal mother, and his royal grandmother, who seems to have been a descendant of the Ramessids, Sheshenk seated himself firmly on the throne. He deemed it politic to signalize his founding of a new Dynasty by removing the seat of government from Tanis to Bubastis.[4] Bubastis was a

[1] Birch (*Hist. of Egypt*, 1880, p. 155) held that the names of the Kings of the XXIInd Dynasty proclaimed connection with "the great Chaldæan families which reigned over Assyria and Babylonia." Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 215) identified *Takeloth*, *Osorkon*, and *Nemareth* with the Assyrian names, *Tiglath*, *Sargon*, and *Nimrod*. Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 62) contests this, and maintains a Libyan origin. Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 232) urges that the names are essentially Eastern, not Western. "Sheshenk" is "a man of Shushan" or Susa: and other names in the dynasty are closely allied to well-known Zend and Babylonian words. He thinks we must look to some Babylonian or Persian adventurer in the service of the Tanite Kings for the source of the dynasty (see also *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 284). But Hall (*Near East*, p. 438) will not hear of this. "The names of the family are not Egyptian, and are more probably Libyan than anything else. The confused collection of Eastern identifications which Prof. Petrie puts forward cannot have belonged to one family, as they belong to several different languages—Turanian Elamite, Aryan Zend, Semitic Assyrian, and Sumero-Babylonian! Such eclecticism did not occur in the ancient world." [2] Lieblein, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte*, ii. (1910), gives arguments in favour of making Dynasty XXII contemporary with Dynasty XXI and XXIII, and in part with XX: but his reasonings are not conclusive. [3] For the obsequies of Shishak's wife's mother, Queen Isi-em-Kheb, see Villiers-Stuart, *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, 1882. [4] Now Tell Basta in the Delta.

city of great antiquity.[1] By excavations on the site Naville[2] has shown that the buildings go back to at least the IVth Dynasty, while Manetho speaks of the opening of a chasm within its boundaries which caused the death of many persons during the IInd Dynasty. Both Khufu and Chephren have left their names on monuments in the city. The place was given over to the worship of the Cat, or Lioness-headed goddess Bast.[3] Naville explored the vast Cat cemetery in the neighbourhood, whence many bronze cats with crystal eyes have been sent to the British Museum.[4]

The division of Egypt into two rival Kingdoms was put an end to by Shishak's installing his son as High Priest of Amen. Thebes and the Delta were again united under one strong man and the paralysing dual control of the Nile Valley ceased. After he felt himself thoroughly seated on the throne, he was suddenly called upon to interfere very markedly in the politics of Canaan. While Solomon was still King of Israel, Jeroboam ben-Nebat incurred the fierce wrath of the Jewish monarch.[5] *Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam: but Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak, King of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon.*[6] The Septuagint adds "Susakim gave to Jeroboam Ano, the eldest sister of Thekemina his wife, to be his wife; she was great among the daughters of the King, and she bore to Jeroboam Abia his son."[7] So long as the great Solomon, Shishak's brother-in-law, reigned, there was peace between Egypt and Palestine. But soon after the accession of his son Rehoboam, when the disruption of the Jewish Kingdom had taken place, Shishak deemed the occasion a suitable one for the resumption of the old claim of Egypt to be lord paramount of Canaan. *It came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, that Shishak King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem . . . with* 1200 *chariots and* 60,000 *horsemen, and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim,*[8] *the Sukkiim,*[9] *and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem.*[10] The prophet Shemaiah counselled submission; *the princes of Israel and the King humbled themselves;* and the full vengeance for the sin of Judah was not exacted. Shishak did not sack or burn Jerusalem; he merely *took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King's house* [11] . . . *and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made.*[12]

In this invasion of Palestine, Jeroboam, who had *returned out of Egypt* [13] and had been elected King over the ten northern tribes, was involved

[1] See "Notes on the Antiquities from Bubastis in the Collection of F. S. Hilton Price" in *T.S.B.A.*, ix. (1886) 44–73. [2] Naville, *Bubastis*, 1891. [3] For her worship, see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 444 f. [4] Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 52. [5] 1 Ki. 11.[26-39] [6] 1 Ki. 11.[40] [7] III Kings 12.[24] See G. A. Cooke in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 582, art. JEROBOAM, for the various readings, and double line of tradition regarding the residence of Jeroboam in Egypt, and his return to Israel; *cf.* also W. Robertson Smith, *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, p. 117. [8] The Libyans (*cf.* Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 158). [9] Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 235) identifies the Sukkiim with the *Thuku* (=Succoth), the frontier tribes of the Delta: Spiegelberg (*Ægypt. Randglossen zum A.T., s.v.*) makes them out to be *Tk-tn*, who were police under the XIXth Dynasty. The LXX has "troglodytes," probably suggested by Pliny's mention of a place named "Suche" (*H.N.* vi. 172). Strabo calls it "Suchus" (iii. 8). Others identify them with dwellers in Suakim on the Red Sea (Forbiger and Dillmann in Schenkel, *Bibellexicon*, i. 288). Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris f. Semit. Epigraphik*, ii. 232) holds that he has discovered the tribe, or a band perhaps of troops, mentioned in one of the Aramaic inscribed ostraka from Syene. They are called סכיא. [10] 2 Chr. 12.[3-4] [11] The Rabbis had a legend that when Shishak attempted to seat himself on the throne of Solomon, one of the golden lions stretched out its right paw, and struck him on the left foot, so that he went lame to his dying day, receiving the name of "the limping Pharaoh" ever afterwards. (*Bibliotheca Rabbinnica: Midrasch Esther*, 79). [12] 1 Ki. 14.[26] [13] 1 Ki. 12.[2 3] 2 Chr. 10.[2]

almost equally with his Judæan rival. Shishak did not bring up this enormous army from Egypt from a sentimental or family point of view, to assist Jeroboam against the King from whom he had revolted. He came with the intention of collecting spoil and tribute after the fashion of the Kings of the great previous Dynasties. Indeed the larger portion of the list of cities attacked and looted by him belong to the domain of the northern Kingdom, showing that the Pharaoh's object was merely a vainglorious and a mercenary one, and devoid of any sympathy for Jeroboam.[1]

Shishak was so gratified with the success of his campaign that, on his return home, he caused reliefs illustrating the Palestine war to be carved on the outside of a pylon of the great temple at Karnak.[2] He is depicted killing a crowd of Semitic captives. The chiefs of 156 vanquished towns and districts in Canaan have ropes round their necks, and each one carries on a shield the name of the city he represents. These localities are very familiar.[3] They comprise Gaza, Ekron, Gibeon, Bethhoron, Ajalon, Socoh, Shunem, Taanach, Megiddo, Rehob, Kedemoth, Mahanaim, Rabbath, Jordan, Edom and other places, showing that the Pharaoh claimed to have overrun not only Judah, but many districts in northern Israel and even across the Jordan.[4] The identification of one name, proposed by Champollion,[5] and long believed in, is now universally given up. That scholar imagined he read "Judah-melek," and the outline of the man with the pointed beard, and hands tied behind his back, he asserted was Rehoboam. It is now generally regarded as the portrait of the head man of some township otherwise unknown, possibly Jehudah in Dan.[6] Another spot conquered by Shishak bears the name of "Field of Abram" in which we discover a perpetuation of the early residence in South Palestine of the great father of the Hebrew race.[7] An evidence of his presence in the Shephelah is afforded by a cylinder with XXIInd Dynasty glazing discovered by Bliss at Lachish.[8] But no permanent annexation or military occupation of Palestine was attempted. Egypt was now too enfeebled, and Judah and Israel were now too numerous and strong, to render possible such a restoration to the Pharaoh's rule of these lost Canaanite provinces.

Much has been written as to the true nature of the calf-worship which Jeroboam inaugurated in Israel when he had established himself as the monarch of the ten tribes. In spite of all that has been affirmed to the contrary, I cannot but regard it as extremely probable that it was due to Jeroboam's dwelling in Egypt which induced him to set up the *two calves of*

[1] These facts militate against the view that the rebellion of Jeroboam did not take place till *after* the capture of Jerusalem, when Rehoboam had reigned five years. This theory advocated by Hall (*Near East*, p. 437) is opposed to the explicit statement of 1 Ki. 12.[1] [2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 252. [3] Lammeyer has an exhaustive account of these places in his "Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk II" (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xi. 28): see also Conder, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 245. [4] Maspero (*Trans. of the Vict. Instit.*, xxvii. (1893–94), pp. 63–122) suggests that by inviting Shishak's aid, Jeroboam had acknowledged himself to be the Pharaoh's vassal. These towns in Israel, therefore, may not have been literally sacked, but merely *claimed* by Shishak. Müller's remarks (*Asien u. Europa*, pp. 166–169) on the value of the inscriptions in their testimony to the existence of a North Semitic ("Phœnician") alphabet at this early period are of deep interest. The transjordanic sites are studied by Müller in his *Egypt. Res.*, i. 51: ii. 113, 143. [5] Champollion (*Lettres écrites d'Egypte*,[2] p. 99) and Rosellini (*Monum. Storici*, ii. 79: iv. 158) read the name as "Judah-melek": Brugsch (*Geog. Inschrift.*, ii. 63), Maspero (*Rec. de Trav.*, vii. 100) and Petrie, as "Jehud-ha-melek": Müller (*Asien u. Europa*, p. 167, and *P.S.B.A.*, x. 81–83) and Renouf, "Yadh-ha-melek"=hand of the King, *i.e.*, fortress. [6] Jos. 19: [45] so Brugsch, *op. cit.* [7] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 530, and *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, xxi. (1904), p. 22. [8] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, p. 138.

gold.[1] Years of residence in a land where the calf-worship of Mnevis was a recognized institution, and marriage with an Egyptian princess whose religious training had all along been on these lines, would naturally lead the worldly-minded and ambitious founder of the Israelite Dynasty to copy Egyptian models. It does not militate against this theory that he declared to his people *Behold, thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Israel,*[2] for polytheism was notoriously inconsistent, and did not see the folly of worshipping divinities who had been triumphed over, and whose impotence had been made clear. It may not have been an exact reproduction of Nilotic bovine forms which he introduced, for he saw that that would be a political mistake. But that the energy and power of Jehovah were symbolized under the similitude of a young bull calf, and that that calf bore a distinct resemblance substantially to the animals worshipped in the Delta, I have little doubt. I find myself therefore unable to agree with Farrar[3] when he says "Some have fancied that Jeroboam was influenced by his Egyptian reminiscences, and perhaps by Ano, his traditional Egyptian bride. That is an obvious error. In Egypt *living* bulls were worshipped under the names of Apis and Mnevis, not idol-figures. Egyptian gods would have been strange reminders of Him who delivered her people from Egyptian tyranny." But the recent discovery of the stone cow of Amenhotep II[4] disproves Farrar's contention that it was only the living form that was worshipped in Egypt; and in addition, the whole history of Israel, as revealed in the Bible, is but an exemplification of how utterly illogical idolatry was.[5]

The immense loot of gold obtained in his Syrian war replenished the exhausted coffers of Egypt, and enabled Shishak to carry out many extensive repairs on public buildings, and also to attempt erections of his own, such as a small chapel to Apis at Memphis. But genius cannot be revived through the mere command of a King; and the architects of the XXIInd Dynasty were pigmies compared with those of preceding centuries. Their work was badly planned, and poorly executed, and while that of their predecessors has survived the destructive agencies of time, their own labours have almost entirely perished.

Shishak I was succeeded by his son Osorkon I (*c.* B.C. 932–894), who had married a younger daughter of Pasebkhanut II, the last Tanite sovereign of the XXIst Dynasty, and the father-in-law of Shishak and of Solomon. He has left practically no monuments behind him. At Bubastis some temples were adorned with pictorial representations of the Pharaoh ministering to the gods. Besides these, a stray scarab, a statuette or two, a fragment of a sacred building, and a fort at the mouth of the Fayum, are all the relics that survive of his reign.[6] Yet such was the wealth[7] of Egypt accumulated in the first two reigns of this Libyan Dynasty that Osorkon bestowed on the temples of the land no less than 487,000 lbs. Troy of silver,[8] and 73,000 lbs. Troy of gold.[9]

Scanty though the monumental evidences of his reign be, there are nevertheless strong reasons for believing that he is to be identified with *Zerah the Ethiopian*, who came against Asa, King of Judah (B.C. 918–877), *with an army of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots; and he came*

[1] 1 Ki. 12.[28] [2] *Ib.* [3] Farrar, *The First Book of Kings*, p. 291. [4] See p. 160.
[5] *Cf.* the conduct of Ahaz, *He sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus which smote him, and he said, "Because the gods of the Kings of Syria helped them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him and of all Israel,"* 2 Ch. 28.[23]
[6] Naville, *Bubastis* (1891), pp. 47, 60. [7] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 532.
[8] *Circ.* £1,914,530. [9] *Circ.* £3,343,511.

unto Mareshah. Then Asa went out to meet him, and they set the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah. And Asa cried unto the Lord. . . so the Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa and before Judah, and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa and the peoples that were with him pursued them unto Gerar, and there fell of the Ethiopians so many that they could not recover themselves, so that none remained alive before the Lord and before his host, and they carried away very much booty.[1]

This identification, first proposed by Champollion,[2] has been strenuously advocated, and as vigorously attacked. Wellhausen [3] maintains that the incident was invented by the Chronicler to rehabilitate the credit of Judah; if Judah was overthrown by Shishak, the tables were turned in this myth on Shishak's successor. He holds that it is an anachronism to speak of a "Cushite" (Ethiopian) invasion of Palestine in the period when a Libyan Dynasty was in power. Budge [4] declares that there are no grounds whatsoever for the identification of Zerah with Osorkon, and states that there is no evidence that Osorkon I made any expedition into Judah. Paton [5] avers that the name "Osorkon" has no affinity with "Zerah." Sayce [6] argues that Osorkon II is intended, inasmuch as Naville discovered at Bubastis an inscription in which this King affirms that "Upper and Lower Ruten (Palestine) are cast under his feet." But how could a defeated and crushed Pharaoh have made such a boast, if he had sustained such an overwhelming repulse as the Chronicler mentions? Hommel [7] has urged that we must understand by "Cushite" not the African Cush, or Ethiopia, but the Cushites of Central Arabia. He points to the nature of the booty captured—tents *of cattle, sheep in abundance, and camels* [8]—as being non-Egyptian, but thoroughly Arabian, and he thinks he has found the origin of "Zerah" in *Dhirrih*, the title of some of the oldest Sabæan princes.[9] In this he is followed by Paton,[10] G. A. Smith,[11] Winckler,[12] Cheyne,[13] and others.

While this Arabian hypothesis is a possible one, it should, on the other hand, be noted that a large number of competent archæologists still hold to the identification of Zerah with Osorkon I. Wiedemann,[14] indeed, maintains that we know so little of what was actually going on in Egypt during the XXIInd Dynasty that it is not wholly impossible that an Ethiopian invader may have made himself master of the Nile Valley, and that he, not Osorkon I, may be Zerah. Others such as Ewald,[15] Ball,[16] and McCurdy [17] accept the identification. Petrie [18] warmly supports it, and gives urgent reasons for believing that the invasion was of Egyptian origin, and "not from a dubious Cush in North Arabia." He points out [19] that Zerah, on being defeated, did not flee towards Arabia, but by way of Gerar along the road to Egypt; that only the cities which acknowledged the Pharaoh's rule were plundered by Asa,—*they smote all the cities round about Gerar* [20]; that the invaders were not only Cushites, but Libyans, for a little later the prophet Hanani said to Asa, *Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubim* (Libyans) *a huge*

[1] 2 Chr. 14.[9-15] [2] *Précis du Système hieroglyphique*,[2] pp. 257–262. [3] *Hist. of Israel*, p. 207. [4] *Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 77. [5] *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 197. [6] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 363. [7] *Expos. Times*, viii. 378, 431: *Neue Kirchliche Zeitsch.*, iv. 881–902: in Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 742. [8] 2 Chr. 14.[15] [9] As discovered by Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geog. Arab.*, ii. 339. The designation of the people in the Septuagint as Ἀμαζονεῖς may be compared with *banu Mazin*, the Ma'din of the same Sabæan inscriptions. [10] *Op. cit.*, p. 197. [11] *Jerusalem*, ii. 92. [12] *Alttestament. Untersuch.*, 1892, pp. 160–166. [13] *Expos. Times*, viii. 432. [14] *Gesch. v. Alt. Ægypten*, p. 155. [15] *Hist. of Israel*, iii. [16] *Light from the East*, p. 82. [17] *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 259. [18] *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 243. [19] *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 285. [20] 2 Chr. 14.[14]

host, with chariots and horsemen exceeding many? [1] and Petrie ends his argument by the confident assertion that none of these points will agree with Zerah's being other than an Egyptian King. Hall [2] also states that "the identity of Zerah with Osorkon I is made probable by the perfect coincidence of date. The name is evidently a corruption of the Egyptian. Osorkon, or Oserakon, has become (O) zerakh (on)." It may well be that the feebleness and the inglorious character of his reign were the direct outcome of this crushing blow inflicted upon the mighty host which he led into Canaan.

A few insignificant inscriptions are all that survive of the reign of his son, THEKELETH I (*c.* B.C. 901–876), who was co-regent with his father for a number of years. The next monarch, however, OSORKON II, Thekeleth's son, has bequeathed to us many memorials of his reign (B.C. 879–851). A lover of peace, he gave himself up to architectural pursuits. The country being abundantly wealthy, he was able to spend lavishly in the erection of religious edifices. Especially did he devote his energies to the beautifying of the great temple at Bubastis, dedicated to the goddess Bast. This temple had had a chequered and stormy career. Founded in the time of Cheops, it had been enlarged by Pepi I, added to by Senusert III, ruined under the early Hyksos Kings, and embellished under the later Egyptianized Hyksos Pharaoh Apepi II, who worshipped Set here. Under Amenhotep III it was dedicated to Amen; ruined by Akhnaton, again restored by Rameses II, and once more destroyed in the years of anarchy preceding the accession of Rameses III. Now at last it was magnificently rebuilt by Osorkon I and Osorkon II. The latter reconstructed the sanctuary, and gave it the name of "The Festival Hall," or "The Hall of the Sed Festival," [3] inasmuch as it was in this temple that he celebrated the festival of his deification as an incarnation of Osiris. When the structure was completed in the 22nd year of his reign, it was a really splendid edifice, its stately entrance bearing on its walls pictures and inscriptions illustrating the glory of the King. Four hundred years later Herodotus visited the spot, and was profoundly impressed with the greatness and dignity of the building.[4]

At Tanis, Tell-el-Maskhuta, Karnak and other places building operations were carried on, but as a rule Osorkon neglected the Thebaid and the upper Nile. These Bubastite monarchs felt it risky to reside far up the river at Thebes; they recognized that their presence was necessary in the Delta if they were to maintain their throne. At Luxor, however, he left a poetic inscription, discovered in 1896 by Daressy,[5] which informs us of the highest flood ever known in the annals of the Nile inundations.

The same uncertainty envelops the martial exploits of Osorkon II as hangs over those of Osorkon I. On the walls of the Festival Hall the former claims to have "trodden under foot the countries of Northern and Southern Syria." Was this a grandiloquent lie, a mere vainglorious boast of a fictitious sovereignty over Palestine which, by centuries of disuse, had now been reduced to a mere legend? Or is there some substratum of fact at least suggesting that Osorkon II sent a military expedition through Canaan? When we remember that Ahab, King of Israel, was a contemporary (B.C.

[1] 2 Chr. 16.[8] [2] *Near East*, p. 439 n. [3] For full details, see Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 50, and *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (1892). The latter volume is a rich quarry for information regarding a Sed festival, and the customs and rites associated with it. Miss M. A. Murray (*Man*, 1914, No. 11) shows that the Sed festival was a survival of the ancient practice of killing the king. [4] Herod. ii. 137, 138. [5] *Rec. de Trav.*, xviii. 181.

875–853) of his, we discover grounds for believing that the latter supposition is the true one. The great battle of Karkar, near the classical Apamæa, was fought in B.C. 854 by Shalmaneser II, King of Assyria, against a vast coalition of foes. In that league were Benhadad II of Damascus, Irkhulina of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, and a large number of other Kings, including 1,000 men from the King of "Musri."[1] Were these "Musri" the people of Mitzraim, Egypt, and in this way have we a corroboration of Osorkon's reference to a Palestinian campaign, unsuccessful though it turned out to be? Budge[2] denies the identification, and states that "it is impossible to think seriously that the Egyptian King would venture to send a contingent of 1,000 men as far north into Syria as Apamæa, for it must have been evident to him that the Assyrians would very soon be masters of the country then occupied by the Hittites and their allies."[3] Winckler,[4] Paton,[5] and others (including Hall,[6] with some hesitation) therefore identify this "Musri," not with the elusive "North Arabian Musri," but with still another people of that name situated in Cilicia near the Taurus mountains.

These considerations deserve respect. Yet our confidence in them may be shaken by a recent discovery by Reisner at Samaria which seems to prove that after all there was some real connection between Osorkon II and Palestine.[7] In 1910 the American excavations on Ahab's palace revealed, along with a number of ostraka bearing Hebrew inscriptions,[8] an alabaster vase with the cartouche of Ahab's contemporary, Osorkon II. If the Pharaoh had no dealings whatsoever with Palestine, it is strange how this piece of ware found its way to Samaria, and even into the Royal palace. The discovery makes us realize how many unknown links in ancient history may lie buried beneath the *tells* of Jewish and Israelite cities, awaiting the excavator's spade. It also makes us feel that there may have been some real ground for the panic which obsessed the Syrians when Benhadad II besieged Samaria. *The Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host; and they said one to another "Lo, the King of Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites, and the Kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us"; wherefore they arose and fled.*[9] Though Paton[10] declares that "a combination of Egypt with the Hittites at this time is inconceivable," it is quite possible that further discoveries in Samaria,[11] following up this finding of the Egyptian vase, may prove that the coalition was quite within the bounds of possibility. And a further interesting point has to be noted. The narrative speaks of the *Kings* (not "King") *of the Egyptians*. Curiously enough, Osorkon II some time before his death associated his son SHISHAK (or SHESHONK) II

[1] Layard, *The Black Obelisk*, pp. 54–66: *Nineveh and its remains*, p. 244: Rawlinson, *The Monolith of Shalmaneser*, ii. 78–102: Craig, *Hebraica* (1887), p. 201 f.: Peiser, *Keilinsch. Bibliothek*, i. 150–175. [2] *Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 86. [3] Taking a directly contrary, and highly probable view, Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 534) believes that one of the Bubastite Pharaohs, probably Thekeleth II, alarmed at the growing power in Syria of the arms of Nineveh, contributed this quota of 1,000 men to strengthen the Western Coalition against the Assyrians. [4] *Hist. of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 220: *Alttest. Untersuch.*, p. 171. [5] *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p., 207 209. [6] *Near East*, p. 440. [7] *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xiv. 133: Driver in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1911, p. 79 f.: Lyon in *Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, 1911: Père Abel in *Rev. Biblique*, 1911, pp. 290–293: Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands*, pp. 244–256. [8] 75 in all: see Prof. G. B. Gray in *Expos. Times*, 1915, p. 57, and Hölscher, *Mitth. u. Nachr. d. Deut. Pal. Ver.*, 1911, No. 2. [9] 2 Ki. 7.[6] [10] *Expos. Times*, 1915, p. 207. [11] This holds good whether we place the siege of Samaria, recorded in 2 Ki. 6^{24}–7^{20}, in Ahab's reign (B.C. 875–853) (Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, i. 150), or in that of Jehoram (B.C. 852–842): but it does *not* fit in with the proposal to allot the event to the reign of Jehoahaz (B.C. 815–798) (so Kittel, *Gesch. d. Hebräer*, ii. 186, 235, etc.: Cornill, *Einleit. in das A.T.*[3] p. 127.

with him on the throne (*c.* B.C. 856), and after the death of this prince he installed another son into that position. For seven years,[1] therefore, there were *two* Kings of Egypt, and thus the coincidence of the fact with the statement in the Bible is most striking and remarkable. A scarab of black steatite, of unknown date, bearing characters which are evidently local imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphs, was ploughed up in 1905 by a farmer on the south side of the famous colonnade of the ruins of Samaria. It may have belonged to this era; in any case, it is an indication of the Nilotic influences that were at work.[2]

Under the reign of this son THEKELETH II (B.C. 856–831) the XXIInd Dynasty began to break up. The Bubastite Pharaoh tried to ingratiate himself with his subjects in Upper Egypt by spending a portion of each year in Thebes. But the Amen-priests gave the Bast-worshipper of the Delta a chill reception, and they practically denied his royal authority. Meanwhile his subjects in Lower Egypt objected to his desertion of the Delta where his presence was required to guard against invasion from east and west. The entire Nile Valley seethed with discontent.[3] Bloody feuds raged between Thebes and Heracleopolis. In many quarters there were collisions between powerful feudal barons, and the King's word was scoffed at. The Theban priesthood plotted incessantly to throw off the yoke of the Libyan usurper. Under such circumstances Egypt was powerless to interfere at all with Palestinian politics.

The lengthy reign of the next monarch, SHISHAK III (B.C. 837–786), was equally undistinguished. It was spent in futile attempts to placate the priests of Thebes, and to keep the peace in the Delta where the local magnates were continually at loggerheads with one another, and showing increasingly their contempt for any royal control.[4] A few repairs at Thebes, some honours accorded to the Apis Bull at Memphis, a pylon at Tanis constructed largely out of the vast colossus of Rameses II which Shishak shattered and broke up for his own purposes,[5] are practically all the records we possess of this half-century of sluggish decrepitude. Even the royal capital, Bubastis, was suffered to fall into decay, and its temples slowly crumbled into ruins.

His successor, PAMAI (*c.* B.C. 786–782), has left a stele describing the life of a sacred Apis Bull. He tells how an elaborate search was made throughout Egypt for the holy animal, and how, when at last it was discovered, it enjoyed a three months' triumphal procession through all the cities of the Delta. It then had 26 years of "happy life" as an incarnation of divinity in the temple of Ptah at Memphis; and when it died, it had a sumptuous burial in the Serapeum.[6]

The records of the long reign of the closing Pharaoh of the Dynasty, SHISHAK IV (B.C. 782–749), are equally trifling. An inscription on the rocks of the First Cataract speaks of an expedition into Nubia, but beyond a few scarabs, rings, and other insignificant notices, the shadowy and powerless monarch has left no memorials of his rule.

[1] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 535. [2] Nash, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxvi. (1914), p. 278. [3] From an obscure reference to a misfortune which befel the land on the 25th day of the 4th month of the season Shemu, Brugsch and Hincks imagined that an eclipse of the moon was referred to from which a chronological date might be obtained (Hincks, *The Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho*, i., 34–41). But Chabas (*Mélanges Egyptolog.*, 2nd Ser., iv. 73–107 (1864), entirely disproved the theory. See also Mahler, *Kais. Akad. Wien. Denksch.*, liv. (1888). [4] An inscription of Shiskak III dealing with some benefactions to temples is discussed by Spiegelberg in *Rec. de Trav.*, 1913, p. 41. [5] Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. 10, 29. [6] Mariette, *Le Sérapéum* (1857), Pl. 28.

With him, the XXIInd Dynasty expired in utter stagnation and obscurity.

During the extensive period covered by the reigns of these feeble Bubastites, the Kingdoms of Judah and of Israel were left practically untouched by their old suzerain power. We hear of no interference of Egypt with the politics of Judah while Jehoshaphat (B.C. 877–852), Jehoram (B.C. 852–843), Ahaziah (B.C. 843–842), Athaliah (B.C. 842–837), Joash (B.C. 837–797), Amaziah (B.C. 797–777), Uzziah (B.C. 777–736), and Jotham (B.C. 750–735), successively occupied the throne at Jerusalem. It is true that in the reign of Jehoram we read of a chastisement inflicted on Jerusalem for national apostasy: *The Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians which are beside the Ethiopians.*[1] But it is evident that we have here merely a geographical expression to identify more closely the homeland of those Arabs who attacked Jerusalem.[2] It is not stated that the Ethiopians joined in the campaign, the mention of their name is made simply to explain that the invaders came from that part of South Arabia known as *Cush*, to which reference has more than once been previously made. They were the Kushites of Arabia, *vis-à-vis* the African Kushites or Nubians, across the Red Sea. Similarly that there were no political or military comings and goings between Egypt and Palestine during the reign of the later King Uzziah is witnessed to by the statement of the Chronicler that Uzziah's *name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt, for he waxed exceeding strong.*[3] The renown of Judah's martial strength was sufficient to deter any of the feeble Bubastic Pharaohs from making any incursion into Canaan.

Nor has history or archæology any light to cast on any attempted resuscitation on the part of the Nile-land of the ancient claim to receive, as the suzerain power, tribute and submission from Northern Israel. Jehu (B.C. 842–815), Jehoahaz (B.C. 815–798), Jehoash (B.C. 798–782), and Jeroboam II (B.C. 782–741) had other enemies to encounter, while Egypt in her divided and weak condition was in no state to enter on wars with nations outside her own boundaries.

Nevertheless that the subtle influence of Egypt was widely prevalent both in Judah and Israel we have lately received some curious proofs. In 1909, Mr. Herbert Clark found in tombs at Tel-el-Fūl, believed to be Gibeah of Saul, specimens of iridescent blue glass, inlaid with white and yellow paste, which Macalister dates as belonging to this period, and describes as Egyptian.[4] In the excavations carried on by Sir Charles Warren[5] at Jerusalem, by Bliss at Tell Zakariya,[6] Tell-ej-Judeideh,[7] Tell-es-Sâfi (Gath) and Tell Sandahannah,[8] and by Macalister at Gezer, great quantities of jar-handles were discovered, bearing on them a device deciphered by Professor Clermont-Ganneau as an Egyptian four-winged, or two-winged, scarabæus. Above, in Old Hebrew letters, was the inscription, לְמֶלֶךְ "to the King"; while below there was always one of the four words Hebron, Shocoh, Ziph, or Memshath. The persistency of these four names, their remarkable phrasing, and their relative stratigraphical sequence, have given rise to a voluminous discussion.[9]

Macalister with considerable success has unravelled the problem as

[1] 2 Chr. 21.[16] [2] See Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuch.*, p. 635: Hommel, *Actes du Congrès de Genève*, 2nd Sect., p. 112: Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 339. [3] 2 Chr. 26.[8] [4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1915, p. 35. [5] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 474. [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 204. [7] *Ibid.*, 1900, p. 209 f. [8] *Ib.*, p. 219. [9] *e.g.*, Sayce, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 210: 1900, p. 66: Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* (1902), p. 106 f.: Clermont-Ganneau, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, p. 206.

follows.[1] He believes that the jar-handles were the work of *the potters who dwelt with the King for his work*: that the workmen formed a guild of craftsmen, whose families carried on the same form of labour from generation to generation; that according as the Egyptian or the Syrian tendencies of the day were uppermost in the Royal Court, the craftsmen employed either an Egyptian scarabæus, or an Aramæan emblem; but that in the reigns of the "good" Kings Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham, the jar-handles were free from any foreign taint. The presence of the Egyptian scarabæus on these jar-handles, employed as a coat-of-arms, or trademark, for the great royal pottery factories of Judah, its disappearance, its place taken by some Syrian device which again passed away, to be followed by another Nilotic emblem, give us a vivid impression of the rapid political and religious modes of thought which swept across the vacillating Judæan Kingdom, and evidence how subtle was the influence exercised by Egypt over the minds of the dwellers in Palestine.

Macalister has also suggested an explanation of the mysterious personality who is hinted at in the words of the genealogist in Chronicles: *His wife the Jewess bare Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Soco, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.*[2] The explorer suggests [3] that as "Bithiah" means "daughter of Jehovah," it was unlikely that the name would be given to a daughter of Pharaoh. He, therefore, paraphrases the verse into, *These are the sons of the scarabæus which they adopted in apostasy.* The "sons of Bithiah" would thus be "men who used the scarabæus." A pious Jew at the period when Chronicles was written (after the Captivity), shocked to discover this trace of Egyptian heathenism in a Hebrew genealogy, converted Bithiah to Judaism by a simple alteration of her name before admitting of her union with Mered. The suggestion is admittedly a mere conjecture, and Driver has subjected it to severe criticism.[4]

Low though Egypt had fallen, the caravan routes from Mesopotamia and Damascus to the Nile were still open, and returning merchants from the Delta could always bring back reports of the wealth of Egypt, and of the glitter and splendour of her civilization. The memory of Egypt's former greatness was ever fresh in the recollection, and present to the imagination, of the peoples of Canaan. At the close of the XXIInd Dynasty, we begin to see a revival of more and more intimate relations between these coterminous principalities. And it is at this era that the Hebrew prophets begin their long series of fulminations against the folly and evil of any attempted alliance with Egypt on the part of either Judah or Israel. What these patriots dreaded was not only the inevitable disasters which they foresaw would fall on their country by relying on the fictitious strength of the Delta to aid them against the ever-increasing menace of Assyria and her savage kings, but far more did they fear for their nation the corrupting influence of Egyptian religion. It was not so much the danger of a political league with the Nile Valley which they had the prescience to detect, but they regarded with the gravest apprehension the consequences of any such close alliance on the morals and spiritual ideals of their people. Egypt, they recognized, stood for a grossly materialistic conception of the Supreme Being: her worship was fanatically theriomorphic: her festivals were

[1] *P.E.F.Q.* 1905, pp. 243, 328: *Bible Sidelights from the Mound of Gezer*, p. 149 f. [2] 1 Chr. 4.[18] [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 252. [4] Driver, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lectures, 1909), p. 77.

associated with flagrant immorality: [1] her priests were sensual, cunning, and unscrupulous: her devotion to mammon and to sordid considerations of worldly policy were notorious. Her religion, so imposing, so captivating to the sensuous imagination, so gorgeous in its ritual, so venerable, was destitute of any real spiritual power to lift the soul Godward: and thus when these prophets regarded the growing sentimental attachment of the Jews for the neighbouring Egyptian State, their fears, only too well grounded, were excited, for they understood that only moral and spiritual degradation could result from close association with a people so idolatrous, and so revoltingly low in their morals.

That these Hebrew seers were men of wide and intelligent vision is evident by the way in which they speak with perfect familiarity of things Egyptian: and again and again they urge their warning message by references to phenomena associated with the Nile Valley. Thus, in the reign of Jeroboam II of Israel, who was contemporary with Shiskak IV, we find Amos from Tekoa in Judah not only reminding the Israelites of the great historic fact which they must never forget, *Thus saith the Lord . . . I brought you up out of the land of Egypt:* [2] *hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the whole family which I have brought up out of the land of Egypt:* [3] *have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt?* [4] but he invites the residents in the Nile Valley to come and see the disorder and wickedness to be found in the Israelite capital: *Publish ye in the palaces at Ashdod, and in the palaces in the land of Egypt, and say "Assemble yourselves upon the mountains of Samaria, and behold what great tumults are therein, and what oppressions in the midst thereof."* [5] Alas! Egypt herself was in no better case: practical anarchy ruled in the Delta, and "tumults" and "oppression" could be seen nearer home!

But Amos could also speak of the plague [6] which was endemic in the Delta with which the Lord had chastised the wickedness of Israel: *I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt.* [7] He could threaten an earthquake that would heave up Palestine and lower it again, as the Nile flood annually invades Egypt and raises the level of the waters: *Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? Yea, it shall rise up wholly like the River,* [8] *and it shall be troubled, and sink again, like the River of Egypt:* [9] *the Lord, the God of Hosts, is He that toucheth the land and it melteth, and all that dwell therein shall mourn: and it shall rise up wholly like the River, and shall sink again, like the River of Egypt.* [10] He could, further, speak of the Ethiopians in a way that would have been impossible a generation later when a strong Nubian Dynasty occupied the entire Nile Valley and interfered directly in Palestinian politics. He could refer to them as merely a distant race of African people who were of no more account than are the modern Hottentots to the dwellers in Britain. *Are ye not unto me, O children of Israel, as the children of the Ethiopians?* [11]—"mere black folk and far away." [12] So Egypt, though fallen from her high estate, still exercised a profound influence on the imagination of the people of Canaan.

[1] *E.g.*, see Strabo, xvii. 1. 46 (p. 816) for the sacred prostitution practised at Thebes. So much has been written of late about the higher and ethical side to Egyptian religion, that it is sometimes overlooked that there was another and a fearful side of unfathomable lust, debauchery, and bestiality associated with the ithyphallic god, Min. *Cf.* Herod. ii. 48, 49, 64. For the licentious element in Egyptian worship, see Barton in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, vi. 675, art. HIERODOULOI. [2] Amos, 2.[10] [3] Am. 3.[1] [4] Am. 9.[7] [5] Am. 3.[9] [6] See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 157. [7] Am. 4.[10] [8] Heb., *Ye'or*, the technical name for the Nile. [9] Am. 8.[8] [10] Am. 9.[5] [11] Am. 9.[7] [12] G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 189.

CHAPTER XXII

The XXIIIrd Dynasty

To the decadent XXIInd Dynasty there succeeded a XXIIIrd Dynasty, equally weak and ineffective, and much shorter-lived. It is possible, as Legrain [1] supposes, that it was contemporary with the later monarchs of the XXIInd Dynasty, and that it followed immediately after the reign of Osorkon III.[2] The period is very obscure, and we are sadly lacking in authentic records.

One Peta-Bast (B.C. 755–730), who seems to have been related to the last representative of the preceding dynasty, rose to supreme power. In all probability he reigned from Bubastis (although Manetho makes the new dynasty to rule from Tanis), and evidently his Kingship was acknowledged far up the Nile,[3] for at Thebes he has left his name on the quay as the restorer of the wall which threatened to fall in when the annual flood had undermined the foundations.[4] He also figures in the Rainer Papyrus Historical Romance of the *Stolen Armour*,[5] a tale describing the feud between the dynast of Mendes and the military governor of Heliopolis over a valuable coat-of-mail which had been stolen.

Under his successor, Osorkon III (*c.* B.C. 730–721), Egypt went back to her worst days of division and anarchy, and her legitimate King had to submit to the most galling humiliations and misfortunes. To understand the causes of the confusion and of the dissolution of government we must go back to the close of the XXIst Theban Dynasty.

Such had been the withering influence of the rule of the priests of Amen at Thebes that at the period mentioned their fortunes were bankrupt. Their power and prestige had departed. No longer were they enriched by the pillage of foreign lands. Their colossal revenues were now dried up. They had no funds wherewith to keep the temples in repair, and poverty now was their lot in contrast to their former grandeur, magnificence, and prodigality of display. Latterly they had adopted the despicable method of retrieving their fortunes by the systematic plundering of the rich tombs of previous generations of kings and nobles. Even that precarious mode of increasing their income was now stopped by the severity of the measures pursued by Shishak I and his successors. In desperation, and

[1] *Rec. de Trav.*, xxvii. 61. He bases his argument on the enormous number of statues which he discovered at Karnak in 1902-04, which have shed some light on this period. [2] Or after Thekeleth II (so Daressy in *Anc. Egypt* (1914), i. 40). [3] Yet we find a rival King Auput declaring himself sovereign in Upper Egypt, and his cartouche is found on official documents, alongside that of the Bubastite or Tanite monarch (see Legrain, *op. cit.*, xxxiv. 121). He was probably a high-priest of Amen. [4] Legrain in *Ægypt. Zeit.*, xxxiv. 111. [5] *P.S.B.A.*, xxi 265.

seeing nothing before them but ruin—brought about by their own misdeeds, bad government and greed—the majority of them resolved on a flight up the Nile as the only hope of escape from their embarrassments. The high priest of Amen and many of his *confrères* deserted Thebes, emigrated up the river to Nubia,[1] and at Napata began the cultus of their great divinity Amen-Ra. They strove to make the Nubian capital a second Thebes. A temple to Amen rose beneath the Sacred Mount,[2] the ritual of the Theban hierarchy was introduced, and the worship of the god zealously propagated. Soon they started their old game of interfering with the politics of the country.[3] They commenced to incite the Nubian Kings to descend the Nile as conquerors, in the hope that, through their means, they themselves might regain their vanished authority in Egypt.[4]

In the time of the XXIIIrd Dynasty they found a tool in the Nubian King PIANKHI (*c.* B.C. 743–714), probably the son of a King Kashta. By his marriage with Shep-en-apt, a priestess of Amen, and a daughter of the old Bubastite King Osorkon III, and therefore a lady of immense social prestige, Kashta's position had been greatly enhanced, and he bequeathed to Piankhi a throne firmly secured in the fear, and perhaps the affections, of the people. Though in earlier days the Pharaohs had claimed and had exercised royal authority over Nubia, during the feeble reigns of the later sovereigns there had arisen there a line of chiefs who scorned to acknowledge the weaklings of the Delta, and who seized the crown of Upper Egypt for themselves.[5] Hitherto they had been consolidating their power beyond the Cataracts: now under Piankhi, the Nubians dreamed of dominating the Nile Valley as far as the Mediterranean.[6] One by one the fortresses of the river fell into their hands and were garrisoned with Nubian troops. News reached Piankhi of the state of utter confusion in the Delta. He heard that Osorkon III was practically cooped up in Bubastis; that almost every town in the Delta was ruled by its own independent dynast; and in particular that Tafnekhteth, the prince of Sais and Memphis, was proving himself a bold warrior, and aiming at the throne of Lower Egypt.[7] Piankhi at once resolved to descend the river. Soon the Nile was covered with an immense flotilla as Nubia burst forth in a wild torrent of invasion to avenge the majesty of Amen (under whose auspices the expedition was undertaken) against the Bast and Set worshippers of the Delta.

Town after town opened its gates to Piankhi's swarms, or endured

[1] By Nubia, or Ethiopia, we must understand, not the modern Kingdom of Abyssinia, but the portion of the Nile Valley which stretches from the south end of the First Cataract to the island of Meroe, *i.e.*, the country bounded on the north by the Atbara, and on the south by the Blue Nile. The inhabitants were called by the Egyptians *Kesh*, the Biblical *Cush*: see p. 168. [2] See Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, iii. 199, for an illustration of this mountain. [3] The Theban priests in Napata assumed complete control of the King: at the bidding of the priests each new monarch was appointed, and if he proved unamenable to their behests, they could order him to commit suicide (Diod. Sic., iii. 6). [4] In the meantime, through intermarriage with black women, their physiognomy had changed, and many of the Egyptians in Nubia had become almost negroid in their appearance. Their language had also become much deteriorated, and their vocabulary contained many barbaric words. [5] Reisner's excavations at Napata have revealed the fact that the Royal Family of Nubia was Libyan in origin. About B.C. 900 the chief of the Libyan invaders came from the Temehuw tribe (Southern Libyans), settled at El-Kurruw, and his family reigned there till Tirhakah (Reisner in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1920, p. 28). [6] The whole story of Piankhi's invasion is graphically told on a stele which he erected at Napata, now in the Cairo Museum. See Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 231: *R.P.*, ii. 79: Griffith in *Specimen Pages of a Library of the World's Best Literature*, pp. 5274–5295. [7] Crocodilopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Aphroditopolis, Heliopolis, and many other cities had already surrendered to Tafnekhteth.

the horrors of sack. At last the invaders found themselves confronted near Heracleopolis with a coalition of the northern forces. With Tafnekhteth were Nemareth, the dynast of Hermopolis, Osorkon III, King of Bubastis, and some eighteen other kinglets and upstart princes. Many fell in the battle, which was fought mainly on the river, and the Nubians were victorious. As yet Piankhi himself had not appeared on the scene. But he now descended the Nile to Thebes, sacrificed there to Amen-Ra, and pressed on to Hermopolis to which Nemareth had fled. When the city was on the point of being stormed, it opened its gates: Nemareth came forth,[1] humbly leading a horse laden with presents, and the Nubian conqueror graciously pardoned the fallen King.[2] The same generous treatment was accorded the King of Heracleopolis: Illahun with its fortress capitulated: Medum followed suit, and at last Piankhi arrived at the walls of Memphis.

To the ancient capital of Lower Egypt the Nubian offered the same liberal terms. If Memphis would surrender, Piankhi was ready to offer sacrifice to Ptah. "His Majesty," he stated, "loveth that Memphis be safe and sound, and that even the children weep not."[3] But just at this critical moment Tafnekhteth arrived, exhorted the garrison of 8,000 to fight to the last, while he himself dashed off into the Delta to obtain reinforcements. Yet resistance was in vain. It was the time of the low Nile flood.[4] The waters lapped the walls of the city. Piankhi drew up against the walls his immense fleet of ships, barges, boats, and canoes, jammed the bowsprits against the ramparts, and ordered his soldiers to scramble up the fortifications by means of the forest of masts and projecting yardarms. Thousands of dark-skinned Ethiopians thus leaped over the walls into the city: a wild slaughter of the inhabitants ensued: and for two days the fighting went on till the garrison laid down their arms. Memphis had to submit to the humiliation of a foreign yoke. But Piankhi was not vindictive: indeed his humanity is in most marked contrast to the military models of his day. While the Assyrians would have butchered every living being, after torturing them with horrible barbarities, Piankhi not only spared the city, but set guards to protect the temples from pillage, and offered sacrifices to Ptah.

The capital thus having fallen, one by one all the other cities of the Delta acknowledged the Nubian supremacy. Passing to Heliopolis, which opened its gates, Piankhi received the homage of Osorkon III, who was pardoned and allowed to resume his inglorious reign as a sub-king under the hegemony of Ethiopia. At a durbar held at Athribis, his example was followed by other kinglets such as those of Mendes and of Sebennytus. Even Tafnekhteth, the prince of Sais, who had been the prime mover in the conflict, after a grim chase and struggle in the marsh-lands, was forgiven, on condition of his swearing to remain a loyal subject of the Nubian.[5] It

[1] He was preceded by his wife, who drew near to plead for her husband's life. [2] Piankhi visited the stud farms of the city, and his indignation was great over the way in which the horses had been starved during the siege! Was this a touch of humanity, or anger and chagrin over his inability to secure what he had hoped to possess at this important juncture, a complete relay of strong Egyptian cavalry? [3] Cook, *The Inscription of Pianchi Mer-amon King of Egypt* (1873), p. 30. [4] So Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 274), who suggests that they had a system of dams to keep the Nile high at Memphis for the shipping. But Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 177) says "There was a full Nile." [5] The great granite stele Piankhi erected at Napata, describing this expedition, gives us one of the most picturesque and interesting narratives to be found in Egyptian annals. It is far from being an arid hieroglyphic waste, but abounds in bright, vivacious touches, which impart to the narrative a sparkle and a verisimilitude which are very delightful. The man who

was he who, by assuming the rank of the ancient Kings of Egypt, adopting the uræus, and claiming to control the Delta, had provoked Piankhi to descend the Nile, in order to vindicate his claim to be the paramount monarch of Egypt. Now that this was accomplished, and Piankhi's overlordship was acknowledged from the Mediterranean to the Upper Cataracts of the Nile, the conqueror went up the river in triumph, his ships deeply laden with the spoils of the Delta.

With his departure the towns of Lower Egypt resumed their semi-independence. The Delta was a mass of petty principalities, all bitterly jealous of each other, feeble and futile, while the forceful Nubian was far away in the South. Nemareth resumed his seat on the throne at Hermopolis; Osorkon III existed, rather than ruled, at Bubastis; Tafnekhteth reigning from Sais was the only kinglet who seemed to possess superiority of energy and ability. When Osorkon III expired, such, however, was the prestige attaching to the Bubastite-Tanite Dynasty that his son PSAMMUT, though a mere puppet, was regarded as the legitimate Pharaoh, even above the real ruler in far-off Napata.[1] As for Tafnekhteth, the terms of his pardon received from Piankhi actually gave him a higher status than before the war. His kingship was recognized: he now enjoyed a legal right to rule the district round Sais; and he became the father and founder of a new dynasty. His reign may be dated from B.C. 749 to B.C. 721.

While the whole Nile Valley thus passed under the rule of Ethiopia, events in Canaan were hastening towards a tragic *dénouement*. The strong rule of Jeroboam II had ended, and during the next few years kings rose and fell in Israel with kaleidoscopic frequency. The Kingdom of Samaria was plunging ever deeper and deeper into anarchy. Treachery, murder, assassination, craft, and plotting were the features of the Northern Court life, side by side with luxury and debauchery. *They have set up Kings, but not by Me: they have made princes, and I knew it not:*[2] *all their Kings are fallen:*[3] *where is now thy King, that he may save thee in all thy cities? I have given thee a King in mine anger, and have taken him away in my wrath.*[4] Zechariah perished by assassination after a six months' reign[5] (B.C. 741). Shallum, who murdered him, sat on the throne for merely a month, before Menahem killed him[6] (B.C. 741). The remaining Kings of Israel were

was so careful that children should not be made to cry, and that horses should not starve, the conqueror who without exception forgave every foe that submitted to him, and reinstated him in his forfeited position, is a very different being from the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, so reckless of human suffering, so callous, and so proud that they regarded themselves as the equals and the friends of the gods. See Lauth, "Die Pianchi-Stele" in *Abhand. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, I cl. xii., Bd. I.

[1] After Psammut, the XXIIIrd Dynasty ends with an otherwise unknown King ZET, whom some have identified with the "Sethos" mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 141) in connection with the destruction of Sennacherib's army, making him thus to be equivalent to Tirhakah. But "Zet" may equally well be a corruption of the great Seti I whose name was associated with Pelusium. Petrie (*P.S.B.A.* xxvi. (1904) 285) has still another suggestion, viz., that this otherwise unknown name may be due to an error of a scribe. An epitomizer may have mistaken a summary of years at the end of the XXIIIrd Dynasty for a King's name, and ZIIT might easily be made into a false name ZHT. If so, this would give 387 years; and the interval from the close of the Ramessids to the rise of the Ethiopians at the end of the XXIIIrd Dynasty appears to be 381 years, within the narrow limits of uncertainty. In *Ancient Egypt* (i. (1914) 32), Petrie further suggests that Manetho's words Ζῆτ ἔτη ϛλά=Zêt, 31 years, mean that for 31 years no single ruler was predominant and further search was needed to settle who should be entered in his list as the real ruler of Egypt. Ζητ would, therefore, be a mistake for Ζητεῖται, "a question remains." See an alternate suggestion based on Petrie's, by F. W. Read, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1916, p. 150.

[2] Hos. 8.[4] [3] Hos. 7.[7] [4] Hos. 13.[10 11] [5] 2 Ki. 15.[8] [6] 2Ki. 15.[13]

all brief in their occupancy of the throne—Menahem [1] (B.C. 741–738), Pekahiah [2] (B.C. 738–736), Pekah [3] (B.C. 736–734), and Hoshea [4] (B.C. 734–722).

Notwithstanding the absolute impotence of the kinglets in the Delta, which must have been well known to most of the Palestinian politicians, such was the legendary glory of Egypt that the weakness of her rule was disbelieved in by a section of the Court in Samaria. The royal entourage was divided into two parties—those who favoured an alliance with Assyria, and those who urged an *entente* with Egypt. Neither faction realized that co-operation with either Great Power meant ultimate subjection. But the prophet Hosea with clear vision saw to the heart of things, and reproached his countrymen with the senselessness of their reckless, vacillating policy. *Ephraim is like a silly dove without understanding: they call unto Egypt, they go to Assyria: when they shall go I will spread my net upon them:* [5] *they make a covenant with Assyria, and oil is carried into Egypt.*[6] Think of the folly of sending the olive oil, for which Canaan was famous, in quantities into the Delta to buy help from these absurd impotent kinglets! Well might the Hebrew prophet describe it as a plan which would call down the vengeance of Heaven, for it was wicked and suicidal foolishness.

Again and yet again Hosea renewed his protest. Egypt, he reminded them, was the land from which God had rescued them, and to which there ought to be no returning in the way of seeking alliances. *When Israel was a child then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt:* [7] *by a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt:* [8] *I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt:* [9] *she shall sing as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.*[10] So instead of help from these Great Powers, Hosea promised captivity for his nation in Assyria or in Egypt: *They shall not dwell in the Lord's land, but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean food in Assyria:*[11] *the Lord will remember their iniquity, and visit their sin, they shall return to Egypt:* [12] *their princes shall fall by the sword for the rage of their tongue, this shall be their derision in the land of Egypt:* [13] *though he* (Israel) *be fruitful among the reed-grasses,*[14] *an east wind shall come, the breath of the Lord coming up from the wilderness, and his spring shall become dry:* [15] *for lo, they are gone away from destruction, yet Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them.*[16] He selected the city of Memphis as typical of the whole Delta, not only because of its being the ancient capital, but because the Pyramids and the many tombs near it suggested the grave of Israel in a foreign land. Yet later, Hosea saw that the grave of Israel was seemingly not to be Egypt but Assyria. He therefore adds, *He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his King, because they refused to return.*[17] Nevertheless, whether it was to be Egypt or Assyria that was to be the appointed land of exile and punishment for Israel, Hosea's message to his people was that Jehovah's love would not be utterly removed from them: it would rescue them from either locality: *They shall come trembling as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria, and I will make them to dwell in their houses, saith the Lord.*[18]

[1] 2 Ki. 15.[17] [2] 2 Ki. 15.[23] [3] 2 Ki. 15.[27] [4] 2 Ki. 17.[1] [5] Hos. 7.[11 12] [6] Hos. 12.[1] [7] Hos. 11.[1] [8] Hos. 12.[13] [9] Hos. 13.[4] 12.[9] [10] Hos. 2.[15] [11] Hos. 9.[3] [12] Hos. 8.[13] [13] Hos. 7.[16] [14] For אֲחִים (A.V. and R.V.) read אָחִים *akhu* being the technical word for the rich reed-grass that borders the Nile (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*), *cf.* Gen. 41.[2 18] Job 8.[11] Wellhausen and Nowack read כְּבִין מַיִם אָחוּ for בֵּין אֲחִים כִּי הוּא [15] Hos. 13.[5] [16] Hos. 9.[6] [17] Hos. 11.[5] [18] Hos. 11.[11]

While Hosea thus was seeking to teach Israel in the north the folly of coquetting with either of the Great Powers, the prophet Micah in Judah in the south was inveighing against a similar infatuation. It is evident that he had a knowledge of the Nile Valley, for in his advice to the women of Mareshah he used an illustration culled from Egypt. *Make thee bald, and poll thee for the children of thy delight: enlarge thy baldness as the nesher,*[1] or *nephron*, the Egyptian vulture, which has a featherless head. Evidently, therefore, a reference to Egyptian bird-life was one that would be well understood in Judah.

But of all the prophets of the period, none was so vehement in protest against the stupidity of the same policy as Isaiah, who during four successive reigns preached the political and moral wisdom of neutrality, and of calm trust in God. All through his prophecies, Isaiah reveals such a curious and intimate acquaintance with Egyptian affairs and customs, as to suggest that he had paid a personal visit to the Delta, perhaps as an envoy from his relative the King of Judah. Even the vision in which he received his call to be a prophet seems to show Egyptian imagery. In an Egyptian tomb of the XIIth Dynasty at Beni-Hasan, two winged griffin figures, placed as guardians at the entrance, are closely akin to those *seraphim, each one with six wings,*[2] whom Isaiah saw attending Jehovah. In demotic Egyptian the griffin is represented by the word *seref.*[3] It is possible that Isaiah in his dream conceived of Jehovah's temple as guarded by forms akin to the Egyptian type.[4] And as *seraph* means "serpent," it is curious to find a custom prevalent in Egypt of keeping a live snake in the larger temples as a representative of the tutelary divinity.[5]

It would seem, further, that at this period Jerusalem was being flooded with Egyptian fashions in dress and articles of luxury. Many of the details of feminine apparel and toilet requisites against which Isaiah flung his scornful contempt[6] were importations from the all-seductive Delta. The *anklets* were favourite ornaments with Egyptian women:[7] the *networks*, or head-veils, were beautiful products of Egyptian looms: the *crescents*, or moon-shaped ornaments, may have been in honour of Isis, Mut, and Hathor, all of whom wore as their crowns the disc of the moon: the *pendants*, or ear-drops, small clear pearls in the ear-lobe resembling a drop of water, have been found in Egyptian mummy-cases along with an infinite variety of *bracelets* or *chains* from which a stone scarabæus, set in gold, was usually suspended: the *head-tires*, or turbans, we see depicted with great elaborateness on Egyptian monuments: the *armlets*[8] are conspicuous on the arms of Egyptian ladies,[9] while *sashes*, usually coloured, encircled their waists:[10] the *perfume boxes* were of metal, and contained ointment and frankincense,[11] and *amulets* of talismanic property have been discovered in Egypt by the thousand. Not a few Egyptian *signet-rings* have been dug up in Palestine: Egyptian wall-paintings reveal abundant illustrations of *festival robes, mantles, shawls*, and *satchels*[12] or purses: *hand-mirrors*

[1] Mic. 1.[16] [2] Isa. 6.[2] [3] Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier* (1889), p. 177. [4] So Dillmann, Kittel, and Marti in their commentaries on Isaiah *in loco*. [5] Cheyne in *Polychrome Bible*, p. 139. [6] Isa. 3.[18-24] [7] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 343. [8] R.V., "ankle-chains," but there has already been mention of "anklets" in v.[18] Read "armlets" as in G. B. Gray, *Comm. on Isaiah* (Int. Crit. Com.) i. 73. Unless it be that "the ankle-chains" were those contrivances said to be in use in Egypt to maintain the chastity of young girls, whereby their ankles were locked together, and the parent kept the key. [9] Wilkinson, *ib.* [10] *Ib.*, ii. 338. [11] Some of the Egyptian perfume-boxes on being opened to-day exhale an aromatic odour after the lapse of 25 to 30 centuries! [12] It is possible that the rendering of the A.V. "crisping-pins" is right. Egyptian ladies were greatly given to crimping their hair, as the monuments testify, and the fashion may have been followed by the ladies of Jerusalem, who delighted in *well-set hair* (Isa. 3[24]).

formed one of the principal objects of the toilette of Nilotic ladies, specimens in every shape and size and beauty of design having been found in great numbers: while *fine linen*, or diaphanous garments revealing the form beneath, so greatly in vogue in Egypt, seems to have been introduced into Jerusalem, along with other fashions from the "Paris" of the ancient world, the markets and warehouses of Memphis.

Meanwhile in the Judæan capital the "Egyptian" and the "Assyrian" parties alternately swayed the weak mind of King Ahaz. Isaiah, therefore, announced: *It shall come to pass that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt, and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria. And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all pastures.*[1] The Egyptian "fly" did not at the time seem very formidable, yet Isaiah's prophetic prescience discerned the future ravages of the swarms that would emerge from the Delta to settle on the decaying carcase of the Jewish State. The Assyrian "bee" did not seem at the moment a foe, for Tiglath-pileser IV[2] was actually an ally of Ahaz, called in to defend Judah against Israel,[3] yet Isaiah foresaw the inevitable doom, and though Ahaz's obstinate folly made expostulation vain, the warning was, nevertheless, uttered in order that later generations might see that *the wages of sin is death.*

[1] Isa. 7.[18 19] [2] Formerly known as Tiglath-pileser II (Sayce, *Assyria, its princes, priests, and people*, p. 33), then as Tiglath-pileser III, but now through the discovery of a new Tiglath-pileser, the father of Ashur-dan II, and son of Ashur-rish-ishi II, he must be regarded as Tiglath-pileser IV (Johns in Hastings' *One Volume Dict. of the Bible*, p. 992). [3] 2 Ki. 16.[7-9]

CHAPTER XXIII

The XXIVth and XXVth Dynasties

The sovereignty over Egypt asserted and vindicated by the Nubian Piankhi lasted for three generations, extending from the XXIIIrd Dynasty, in which the claim was first made effective, to the close of the XXVth. The brief XXIVth Dynasty, with its single King, was only an episode in a continued Ethiopian domination, and it may be speedily disposed of.[1]

Bakenrenef (or Bocchoris as the Greek historians call him) (B.C. 721–715) was the son of the gallant Tafnekhteth who had so vigorously opposed Piankhi. His capital was Sais, but towards the end of his short reign he transferred his seat of authority to Memphis. His exercise of royal pomp in the Delta seems to have been regarded by the Nubian government with perfect equanimity. He was allowed the honour of being the sole monarch of the XXIVth Dynasty, inasmuch as the authorities at Napata knew that he was but a harmless puppet King, and that the actual supremacy lay in their own hands.

Beyond a reference to an Apis Bull on a stele in the Serapeum at Sakkara, almost nothing can be gleaned from the monuments of his reign. Greek legend, however, has woven round him a halo of romance. Held up by some as an evil example of covetousness, he is praised by others for his wisdom.[2] Plutarch [3] says that a serpent instructed him in its own deep knowledge while it coiled round his head. A legend is told [4] of him in regard to the disputed right of two women to a child, which offers an interesting parallel to the Biblical story of the "judgment of Solomon."[5] While Diodorus [6] extols him as one of Egypt's six great legislators, Aelian [7] on the contrary asserts that he was so impious as to use the sacred Mnevis Ox for the sports of a bull-fight! There still survives a demotic papyrus of the 34th year of the Roman Emperor Augustus in which it is recorded that a lamb gave utterance to human speech during the reign of Bocchoris, and in announcing the subjection of Egypt to Assyria, predicted that the sorrows of the world would last for 900 years.[8] Manetho [9] and Aelian [10] record the same legend.

[1] Hall (*Near East*, p. 479) believes that Bocchoris reigned as the sole representative of the XXIVth Dynasty immediately after the battle of Raphia (see p. 298) when Sargon defeated Shabaka. He conceives that when the latter fled back to Egypt he had to abandon the Delta, and retire to Napata. The field being clear, Tafnekhteth and his son, Bocchoris, seized control of Lower Egypt. The latter was, therefore, the King who sent tribute to Sargon in B.C. 715. [2] Alexis in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec*, iv. 299. [3] *On False Shame*, § 3. [4] Athenæus, *Deipnosophistai*, p. 677. [5] 1 Ki. 3.[16-28] [6] Diod., i. 34, 94. [7] *De Nat. Animalium*, xi. 11. [8] Krall, *Festgaben für Büdinger*. 1898, Innsbruck, p. 3. [9] Cory's *Anc. Fragments*, p. 126. E. Meyer has found a new fragment of Manetho's tale of the lamb in a collection of sayings attributed to Plutarch (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlvi. 135). [10] *De Nat. Animal.*, xii. 3.

The XXVth Dynasty

As already stated, the Nubian Dynasty established by Piankhi proved a fairly stable one. The hardy Ethiopians had vigour, while the Northerners of the Delta were dissolved in wealth and ease. On the decease of the conqueror, there followed his brother,[1] SHABAKA (*c.* B.C. 714–700), who, whether, as Hall supposes, he was left by Piankhi as viceroy of the Delta when the latter's successful campaign was over and he had returned to Nubia, or whether he ruled in the north only after the death of Piankhi, is reckoned as the founder of the XXVth Dynasty. One of his early acts was to put an end to the shortest of all the dynasties, the XXIVth, by waging war with its solitary King. On the defeat of Bocchoris, Shabaka either burned him, or flayed him alive.[2] All petty competitors thus being swept aside, Egypt from Nubia to the Mediterranean was again united under one sceptre.[3]

There has been much discussion as to whether Shabaka is to be identified with *So, King of Egypt*, to whom *Hoshea*, the last King of Israel, *had sent messengers*,[4] or on the other hand with a certain Sibe whom Sargon II mentions in his annals.[5] Oppert [6] was among the first to equate Shabaka with So, and Rawlinson [7] agreed that the suggestion was "highly probable." Stade, [8] however, denied the identification. Maspero [9] asserted that So (or Seve, or Sua [10]) was either merely a general under Bocchoris, or that Shabaka, if he be the same person as So, was but a mercenary soldier in the service of the same King.[11] McCurdy [12] believed that Seve (or So) was one of the princes or petty kings of the Delta, who conducted their intrigues with the approval, or perhaps at the instigation, of their suzerain Shabaka. Winckler [13] who, as we have seen, set the fashion which was adopted by many scholars, of identifying the "Musri" of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the Bible not with "Mitzraim" or Egypt, but with a North Arabian Kingdom of "Musri," asserted that the "Piru, King of Musri," who according to the cuneiform records despatched "Sibi, tartan (*i.e.*, commander-in-chief) of Musri," to the help of Hanun, King of Gaza, against Sargon of Nineveh, was not "Pharaoh, King of Egypt," but a certain "Piru, King of the Nabatæan Musri." The theory, which for a time enjoyed a great vogue, is now much discredited, and indeed is being rejected by one after another of the foremost archæologists. Griffith,[14] under the influence of Winckler's view, committed himself to the opinion that So, or Sibi, was commander-in-chief of the North Arabian Musri. Paton,[15] Benzinger, Guthe, Cheyne, Breasted,[16] Reisner,[17] and others

[1] Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 550) calls Shabaka the *brother* of Piankhi. Hall (*Near East*, p. 471) thinks he was Piankhi's *son*. Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 122) believes he was the *grandson* of Piankhi. Reisner (*J. of Egypt. Arch.*, vi. (1920) 64) does not commit himself to define the relationship, but says that Kashta was the immediate predecessor of Piankhi. In *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1920, p. 31, he calls Shabaka the brother of Piankhi, and therefore son of Kashta. [2] Manetho (in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, ii. 593) says he was burned alive: John of Antioch (Müller, *op. cit.*, iv. 540) asserts that he was flayed. [3] All this capture of Bocchoris and unification of Egypt. Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 479) places in B.C. 712, after Shabaka's defeat by Sargon at Raphia. It is a possible re-arrangement of events. [4] 2 Ki. 17.[4] [5] *Great Inscription of Khorsabad*, ed. Winckler, ll. 26, 27. [6] *Les Inscriptions assyriennes des Sargonides*, p. 22. [7] *Anc. Monarchies*, ii. 136. [8] *De Isaiæ Vaticiniis Æthiopicis*, pp. 39–56. [9] *Passing of the Empires*, pp. 213, 233. [10] LXX Σωά, Vulg. Sua. [11] *Sphinx*, xii. 125. [12] *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. 422. [13] *Mittheil d. vorderas. Gesell.*, 1898, p. 5: *Untersuch. zur altorient. Gesch.*, pp. 92–108. [14] In Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 557. [15] *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 243 f. [16] *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 549. [17] *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1920, p. 32.

accepted the same position. But the pendulum is now swinging in the opposite direction. Budge's [1] attack on Winckler's theory greatly damaged its probability, and all subsequent archæological work has tended to disprove the existence of this hypothetical "Arabian Musri." Petrie [2] strongly maintains the identification of the Biblical So with Shabaka, and shows [3] that as *Shaba* means "wild cat," and *ka* is only the article in Ethiopic,[4] the termination might in current speech be omitted. *Shaba* could thus be very easily transmitted into *Seve* or *Sibi*, or *Sua*, or *So*. Hall's verdict is equally emphatic: [5] "Now that the theory of the existence of a hitherto unknown land, bearing the same name as Egypt (Musri) in North Arabia, to whom this Seve, the Shabi or Sibi of the Assyrians, and the 'Piru of Musri,' also mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, were assigned, is generally discredited, we have returned to the original and perfectly natural identification of Seve or Sibi with Shabaka (the Sebichos of the Greeks), and of 'Piru of Musri' with Pharaoh of Egypt."

The only change necessary to harmonize the chronological difficulties is easily made by the well-founded supposition that, before his actual accession, Shabaka acted as *viceroy* of Lower Egypt, while his father, who sent him forth, was the real Pharaoh. But to an Assyrian recorder and a Jewish annalist, Shabaka was *de facto* "King" of Egypt, and it was while he was displaying his glory and strength as regent of the Delta that Hoshea, in his dire extremity, sent to him inviting his aid and an alliance against Shalmaneser IV. The traditional majesty associated with the name of Egypt still lingered about its fading splendour, and as it was difficult for the Israelites to believe that the military prowess of the once formidable Nilotic Empire was over and gone, the miserable King of Samaria clutched at this last resort to save himself against the overwhelming might of Assyria.

It was a vain hope. Egypt did nothing, and no help arrived. Shalmaneser IV sat down to the siege of Samaria, *and besieged it three years.*[6] During the siege Shalmaneser was murdered, and was succeeded by Sargon II. He it was who stormed Samaria and utterly destroyed it [7] (B.C. 722). Of the Israelites 27,290, the flower of the nation, were carried into captivity *in Halah, and in Habor on the river Gozan.*[8] Then, when too late, Egypt bestirred herself. Shabaka joined in a league with Hanun of Gaza, the Philistines, Damascus, Hamath, and other cities, to resist Sargon. The Assyrian first routed the northern allies at Karkar, and then swept down to settle conclusions with the Philistines and Egyptians. At Raphia [9] Egyptian and Assyrian for the first time met in mortal combat. It ended in the complete overthrow of the Nilotes. The weak Delta dwellers were no match for the irresistible battalions of Nineveh. Shabaka fled "like a shepherd whose sheep have been taken." Hanun was captured. By the payment of a heavy indemnity of gold, camels, etc., Shabaka bought off the victorious Assyrian.[10] Sargon was now master of Canaan, for Ahaz of Judah, the only surviving independent monarch, had virtually bound himself to the Ninevite King.

[1] *History of Egypt*, vi., preface, p. xv. f. [2] *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 284. [3] *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 286. [4] Brugsch had previously urged this. [5] *Near East*, p. 471. [6] 2 Ki. 17.[5] [7] 2 Ki. 17.[6] [8] *Cf.* Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, p. 4. [9] Raphia lies between Gaza and Rhinocoloura (Polybius, v. 80, 3). The inhabitants who escaped massacre (9,033 men) were deported to Assyria. [10] The annals of Sargon speak of further tribute being sent to him from the Pharaoh in B.C. 715 (Winckler, *Untersuch. zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 94).

Amid all the revolutions, intrigues, and plottings of these eventful years, while the ten tribes of Israel were carried off to their exile in Assyria, and Judah stood in imminent peril of being involved in the same doom there was in Jerusalem one clear eye which looked at events with a steady vision of the eternal realities of things, and one faithful voice which fearlessly uttered God's message, whether palatable or not. Isaiah laughed Sargon to scorn when he came up against Jerusalem after the fall of Samaria, and bade defiance to the invader:[1] *Thus saith the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian, though he smite thee with the rod, and lift up his staff against thee after the manner of Egypt,*[2] that is, in the way in which the Egyptian taskmasters behaved during Israel's bondage in Egypt.[3] *For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall be accomplished, and mine anger, in their destruction: and the Lord of hosts shall stir up against him a scourge . . . and His rod shall be over the sea, and He shall lift it up after the manner of Egypt,*[4] that is to say, as Moses at God's command lifted up his rod[5] at the Red Sea and the waters destroyed the Egyptian host, so now the Assyrian too would be baulked of his revenge by a similar lifting of God's rod.

Nevertheless, so great a convulsion as the overthrow of the Kingdom of Israel and the captivity of the Ten Tribes affected Isaiah profoundly. He recognized the inevitableness in the future of a still more sweeping exile which would embrace the Kingdom of Judah. Yet while he announced the coming captivity of his people, he could not refrain from depicting also their Return. His words seem to bear a two-fold significance, having the pregnant sense of referring not only to the Restoration of the Jews from Babylon, but also embracing the still future final Ingathering of Israel. *It shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set His hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people which shall remain, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros* (the Thebaid), *and from Cush* (Nubia and Ethiopia), *and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.*[6] *And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian Sea, and with His scorching wind shall He shake His hand over the River, and shall smite it into seven streams, and shall cause men to march over dryshod.*[7] The *tongue of the Egyptian Sea* is the Gulf of Suez, the Sinus Heroöpolitanus of the ancients. It is doubtful, however, what is meant by the *River* (Heb. *Nahar*). Does it mean the Nile? Or does the ordinary Hebrew parallelism require its identification with the Euphrates? While there is much to be said for the latter view, it has to be borne in mind that although the usual Hebrew word for Nile is *Ye'or* (יְאוֹר), we have another instance in Isaiah in which the word *Nahar* (נָהָר) is unquestionably used of the great Egyptian river.[8]

[1] The old view was that the campaign described in Isa. 10[28-34] referred to the invasion of Sennacherib, but a truer arrangement of Isaiah's prophecies has rendered this very improbable. The next view was that it was an *ideal* invasion. G. A. Smith (*Isaiah*, i. 171) says "All this is poetry. We are not to suppose that the prophet actually expected the Assyrian to take the route which he has laid down for him with so much detail." Sayce, however (*Fresh Light from the Anc. Monuments*, p. 111), maintains that the chapter describes an actual invasion by Sargon, who advanced along this very road. [2] Isa. 10.[24] [3] Ex. 5.[14] [4] Isa. 10.[25 26] [5] Ex. 14.[16 27] [6] Isa. 11.[11] [7] Isa. 11.[15] [8] Isa. 19.[5] וְנִשְׁתּוּ־מַיִם מֵהַיָּם וְנָהָר יֶחֱרַב וְיָבֵשׁ Kitto (*Pictorial Bible in loco*) has pointed out a gradual fulfilment of this prophecy inasmuch as in the course of centuries there has been a steady drying up of the subdivisions of the Nile, and the *seven streams* that once ran through the Delta are now reduced to *two*, on the west the Rosetta mouth, on the east the Damietta. But this explanation is contingent on what is meant by *smite it* INTO *seven streams*. Does this mean *in its seven streams*? G. Buchanan Gray (*Isaiah*, i. 225) considers the whole passage post-exilic.

Another prophecy uttered by Isaiah at some undetermined date may possibly belong to this period. *In that day the Lord with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the swift serpent, and leviathan the crooked serpent, and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.*[1] Interpretations of this mystic oracle have been manifold. Many exegetes, following Gunkel,[2] favour the idea that the "serpents" referred to are primitive mythological conceptions: others[3] that they are astronomical in their reference. But most[4] see in the *swift serpent*, Assyria, situated on the rushing, rapid Tigris; in the *crooked serpent*, Babylon, built on the winding Euphrates; and in *the dragon* that is in the sea, Egypt. There are undoubtedly references to Egypt under this symbolism elsewhere. *Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters: thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, thou gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.*[5] *I am against thee, Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers.*[6] *Thou art as a dragon in the seas.*[7] We may, therefore, regard the prophecy as really referring to Egypt. But Isaiah announces next that after the slaughter of this "dragon" there will be a Return to Palestine of those whom it has held in its clutches. *It shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall beat out grains from the corn-ears of the River* (Euphrates) *to those of the Brook of Egypt* (the Wady el-Arish), *and ye shall be gathered one by one, O ye children of Israel. And it shall come to pass in that day that a great trumpet shall be blown: and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt, and they shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.*[8]

Yet while Isaiah thus had his visions of an Exile and a Restoration following it, he was fully alive to the danger of the present political situation. Sick of the cruelty and mercilessness of the Assyrian, the "Egyptian" party in Jerusalem was becoming increasingly active. The glamour of Egypt's splendid past, her reputation for generous clemency, her humane civilization, her fame for wealth and culture, led the politicians of the Judæan capital to look to her for aid in throwing off the galling Assyrian menace. They refused to credit the truth as to the actual helplessness, the divided state, the utter unreadiness, and the inability of Egypt to prove a useful ally. Yet Egypt loved intrigue, and pretended to be able to be the arbiter of events, if the other feebler nations would trust themselves under the shadow of her wings. Her wiles succeeded. Shabaka arranged a revolt on the part of the Philistines: Judah, Moab, and Edom were in some measure implicated; and at the back of the movement was a promise of Egyptian support.

The war began in B.C. 711 by the people of Ashdod deposing their King, and substituting in his place one Yaman, who favoured an Egyptian alliance. Sargon quelled the rising with Assyrian promptitude. He did not come in person, but *sent his Tartan* (commander-in-chief), who *fought against Ashdod and took it.*[9] Its philo-Egyptian King fled towards the Delta, but was captured and sent in chains to Nineveh. The guilty Palestinian States paid for their intended revolt with heavy tribute money.

[1] Isa. 27.[1] [2] *Schöpfung u. Chaos.* [3] Burney, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1910, p. 443: Zimmern, *Die Keilinsch u. das A.T.*, p. 501. [4] In the main, Rashi, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Cheyne, Box, and Duhm, at least as regards Egypt: see G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, i. 450 (1912). [5] Psa. 74.[13 14] [6] Ezek. 29.[3] [7] Ezek. 32.[2] [8] Isa. 27.[12 13] [9] Isa. 20.[1]

Egypt, the fomentor of the insurrection, again escaped.[1] Sargon was still overawed with the traditional might of Egypt, and felt that he must be more firmly secured on the throne before he risked a campaign against such a famous World-Power. Once more the renown of the ancient Nile Valley's glory staved off the day of reckoning and invasion.

But Isaiah seized the opportunity of pointing the moral to his countrymen. Egypt had promised much, and had failed in the hour of need, while Ashdod had been left to her fate. Those who trusted in Egypt would repent of their credulity, for ere long the whole Nile Valley would be overrun by the all-conquering Assyrian. *At that time* (when Ashdod fell) *the Lord spake by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saying, "Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot." And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And the Lord said, "Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia* (how well this keen-eyed man in Jerusalem knew of the divided state of the Nile Valley, and its consequent powerlessness!), *so shall the King of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. And they shall be dismayed and ashamed, because of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. And the inhabitant of this coastland* (the Philistine strip of territory next the sea) *shall say in that day 'Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the King of Assyria, and we, how shall we escape?'"*[2]

The remaining years of Shabaka's reign were unmarked by any incident sufficiently striking to be recorded on the monuments. Two seals inscribed with his prenomen were discovered by Layard in the ruins of the Royal Library of Nineveh, evidencing some correspondence between the empire on the Nile and that on the Tigris.[3] A few stray tablets, cartouches, chapels, and especially a pylon at Medinet Habu, record the uneventful yet useful career of one who, thoroughly worsted in the field, devoted the rest of his life to works of peace. Herodotus[4] tells how Shabaka substituted forced labour as a punishment in place of the death penalty, and mentions other beneficent works, such as the clearing out of the canals that were filled with silt, and the deposition of the excavated matter on the land, so as to raise the level of the towns during the annual inundation.[5] Diodorus[6] narrates an extraordinary story of the piety of the King, to the effect that when the god of Thebes spoke to him again and again in dreams, warning him that he could not reign prosperously or happily in Egypt, unless he cut to pieces all the priests of Amen, Shabaka summoned all the priests to his presence, told them his repeated dreams, announced his horror at the thought of such sacrilege and cruelty, and rather than perpetrate such a crime, renounced his crown, and retired into Ethiopia.

But what is of deeper interest to the student of intellectual progress is the fact that a remarkable text of the age of Shabaka has recently been discovered at Memphis,[7] containing a philosophical conception of the world according to which all things originated from the desires of the heart through

[1] Shabaka sent a suppliant embassy to Sargon, and the Assyrian boasted that "the King of Meroe who had never sent ambassadors to any of his predecessors, had by fear of his majesty been led to bow at his feet" (G. Smith in *Ægypt. Zeit.*, 1869, p. 107: Oppert, *R.P.*, ser. i. vii. 29: Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, i. 20, 21). [2] Isa. 20.[2-6] [3] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1867), p. 173: Hall (*Near East*, p. 490) asserts that the seals refer to Shabataka, not to Shabaka. [4] Herod., ii. 137. [5] Herod., ii. 137–139. [6] Diod. i. 65. [7] Read and Bryant, *P.S.B.A.*, xxiii. 160: Breasted, *Æg. Zeitsch.*, xxxix. 40: *Monist*, 1902, p. 321.

the speech of the tongue. Ptah is regarded as the tongue and speech of the gods. This treatise must precede any known Greek philosophy, for it seems to be based on a document of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Once more, therefore, evidence is forthcoming that early Greek philosophy owes its origin to Egyptian teaching.

Shabaka was succeeded by his son SHABATAKA (*c.* B.C. 700–691). He was a very nebulous monarch. In the south at Thebes his aunt, the famous *Amenartas*, the sister of Shabaka, was practically supreme, for being one of the " wives of Amen," she exercised profound influence. She had married a Nubian prince who was known at Napata as *Piankhi II*, and the two of them seem to have been sovereigns of the South, while the rule of Shabataka was confined to the Delta.[1] In spite of, or in consequence of, its limited sphere, the youth and inexperience of Shabataka would seem to have incited him to the undertaking of a *rôle* for which the feebleness of Egypt was utterly inadequate.

The murder of Sargon in B.C. 705 had been followed by the accession of his son, *Sennacherib*. The death of the old warrior was the signal for a universal revolt amongst all the States that had been forced into a position of vassalage to Nineveh. Shabataka deemed himself strong enough to try conclusions with the fierce Assyrian lion. There are good grounds for believing that he, and not his father Shabaka, was the King of Egypt with whom Sennacherib came into conflict. The question depends on whether we adopt the view that there was but *one* invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib, or *two*. In favour of there having been merely *one* campaign are George Smith,[2] F. Delitzsch and Mürdter,[3] Schrader,[4] Wellhausen,[5] Maspero,[6] Tiele,[7] Sayce,[8] Hommel[9] (but modified later), Kittel,[10] Meinhold,[11] Petrie,[12] Rogers,[13] McCurdy,[14] Paton,[15] Cheyne,[16] and others. The advocates of *two* invasions include Sir Henry Rawlinson,[17] George Rawlinson,[18] Stade,[19] Winckler,[20] Krall,[21] Guthe,[22] G. A. Smith,[23] Budge,[24] Prášek,[25] Benzinger,[26] Hommel,[27] and Hall.[28] The problem is thus fairly evenly balanced; but as evidence is slowly accumulating in favour of the latter view, I shall assume that Sennacherib did attack Judæa twice.

On the first occasion the object of the Assyrian's invasion of Palestine was to punish Hezekiah for coquetting with Merodach-Baladan of Babylon.[29] Hezekiah (*c.* B.C. 715–686), who had succeeded Ahaz on the throne of Judah, had entered into a league with the Chaldæan prince who with the utmost

[1] Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 287) says it is not impossible that he was only the viceroy of Lower and Middle Egypt, while Amenartas held Thebes, and Piankhi II, his uncle, reigned at Napata. [2] *Assyria from the earliest times*, p. 116. [3] In Mürdter's *Kurzgefasste Gesch. Babyl. u. Assyr.*[2] (1882), p. 201. [4] *K.A.T.*[2] p. 306. [5] In Bleek's *Einleitung*, p. 256. [6] *Passing of the Empires*, p. 293. [7] *Bab. Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 317. [8] *Anc. Empires of the East*, p. 133. [9] *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.*, p. 705, but modified in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 188. [10] *Hist. of the Hebrews*, ii. 311. [11] *Jesaja u. seine Zeit.*, p. 11. [12] *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 296. [13] *Hist. of Babylon and Assyria*, ii. 204. [14] *Hist. Prophecy and the Monuments*, ii. 300, 428. [15] *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 259. [16] *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. 234. [17] *The Hist. of Herodotus*,[4] p. 484. [18] *Five Great Monarchies*,[4] ii. 165. [19] *Z.A.T.W.*, 1886, p. 183. [20] *Hist. of Babyl. and Assyria*, 1907, p. 257, and *Alttest. Untersuch.* (1895), p. 31: *Gesch. Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, i. 184. [21] *Grundriss d. altorient. Gesch.*, i. 153, 156. [22] *Gesch. d. Volk. Israel*, p. 204. [23] *Jerusalem*, ii. 171. [24] *Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 149. [25] *Expos. Times*, xii. 225, 405: xiii. 326. [26] *Die Bücher d. Könige*, p. 177. [27] In Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 188. [28] *Near East*, p. 490. [29] 2 Ki. 20,[12-19] Isa. 39. There is great difficulty in ascertaining the true date of Hezekiah's accession. It may have been either B.C. 726 or B.C. 715. The balance of probability is in favour of the latter date. But he may have been latterly associated on the throne with his father Ahaz, for he was reigning when Samaria fell in B.C. 722.

boldness was asserting his right to the throne of Babylon in the face of repeated attacks from the Assyrian armies. In the same confederation were Phœnicia and Philistia, and of course Egypt had an important voice in directing the campaign. The "Egyptian" party in Jerusalem placed implicit confidence in the promises of aid from the Nile Valley, and multiplied their embassies to the Delta. As usual, Shabataka dallied with them, made them many delusive proffers of support, and did nothing. Well did he know that once Philistia and Judæa had fallen, there would be no buffer States remaining to keep back the invincible tide of Assyrian invasion. While he eagerly fomented the aims of the league, he found that he was unable to translate his lavish verbal undertakings into practice.

Once again it fell to Isaiah to expose the folly of trusting in the vaunted might of Egypt. *Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me . . . that walk to go down into Egypt, but have not asked at My mouth: to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion. For his* (*i.e.*, Hezekiah's) *princes are at Zoan, and his ambassadors are come to Hanes.*[1] *They shall all be ashamed of a people that cannot profit them, that are not an help nor profit, but a shame and also a reproach.*[2] What is the use, cried the Jewish prophet, of sending costly presents and lavish bribes across the desert, seeing that Egypt takes all, but gives nothing? *Through the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the lioness and the lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not profit them. For Egypt helpeth in vain and to no purpose: therefore have I called her "Rahab that sitteth still"* [3]—a grim description of the perils and privations of the desert journey to Egypt, and a biting gibe at the fruitlessness and folly of the embassies.

Yet Jerusalem, infatuated with the "Egyptian" policy, would not listen to Isaiah. An alliance with Shabataka seemed to the Judæan politicians the only way of escaping the vengeance of Sennacherib. In vain Isaiah counselled trust in God and quiet confidence in Jehovah's protecting love. They replied, "*No, we will flee upon horses*" (to solicit aid from Egypt), to which the prophet rejoined, "*Therefore shall ye flee*": they stated *We will ride upon the swift*, and Isaiah's crushing answer was *Therefore shall they that pursue you be swift.*[4] . . . *Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots because they are many, and in horsemen because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord! . . . Now the Egyptians are men and not God, and their horses flesh and not spirit: and when the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they all shall fail together.*[5]

The Egyptian alliance, as Isaiah had foretold, proved utterly futile. At Eltekeh,[6] in the neighbourhood of Ekron, Sennacherib routed this coalition of Deltaic weakness and Palestinian ineffectiveness. The whole of Canaan (Jerusalem alone excepted) lay at his mercy. Sennacherib's own

[1] Griffith (in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 297) suggests that Hanes is Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt, but Naville (*Ahnas el Medineh* (1894), p. 3) urges strong objections to this identification, and suggests rather some city in the Delta *e.g.*, Khininsi mentioned by Ashurbanipal (Oppert, *Mem. sur les rapports de l'Egypte et de l'Assyrie*, p. 91). [2] Isa. 30.[1-7] [3] Isa. 30.[6 7] [4] v.[16] [5] Isa. 31.[1 3] [6] *Cf.* Jos. 19.[44] See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. Holy Land*, p. 236.

words [1] are "The Kings [2] of the land of Egypt [3] gathered together a countless host of bowmen and chariots and horses of the King of Milukhkhi, and came to help them, and they set their battle in array before the city of Altaku, and put their weapons in action against me. Having confidence in Ashur my lord, I fought against them and defeated them. The prince of the chariots and the sons of the King of Egypt, and the prince of the chariots of the King of Milukhkhi I captured with mine own hands alive in the strife of battle."

When the news of the defeat of Eltekeh reached Jerusalem, the leaders of the "Egyptian" party fled. With graphic strokes, Isaiah has described the panic in the city: *All thy rulers fled away together . . . they fled afar off.*[4] There was feverish excitement as the citizens investigated the water supply of the city, in their expectation of a long siege.[5] Hezekiah, however, bought off the Assyrian by stripping the temple of its wealth.[6] But no sooner was the heavy tribute received than Sennacherib basely made a fresh demand for the surrender of Jerusalem. The Rabshakeh [7] appeared before the Holy City with an insolent summons to open the gates.[8] The order was couched in the most offensive language. The Assyrian spoke with the utmost scorn of the futility of expecting any aid from Shabataka. *Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it: so is Pharaoh King of Egypt unto all that trust on him* [9] *. . . how canst thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen?* [10] But the perfidy of Sennacherib stung Isaiah to a passionate invective: *Woe to thee that spoilest and thou wast not spoiled: and dealest treacherously and they dealt not treacherously with thee!* [11] *The ambassadors of peace weep bitterly . . . he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth not man.*[12] Jehovah, however, interposed to save. The prophetic word went forth: *He shall hear a rumour and shall return to his own land.*[13] It was the news of the revolt of Bel-Ibni in Babylon. Sennacherib hastened home, and Jerusalem was still *the virgin daughter of Zion.*[14]

It is very probable that the defeat of the Egyptian forces at Eltekeh hastened the downfall of Shabataka. His aunt Amenartas,[15] through the fact of her being the daughter of Kashta, the sister of Shabaka, and the sister and wife of Piankhi II, was a lady who embodied in herself the legal rights to the crown, and as Queen of Upper Egypt she transmitted to

[1] Taylor Cylinder in Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. 37–42; Rogers in *R.P.* (N.S.), vi. 83–101: Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 188. [2] Note the plural: the divided and weak state of Egypt is manifest. The Saite princes may have been involved along with Shabataka. [3] It is again utterly impossible to accept Winckler's view here that by "Mitzraim" we must understand an Arabian Kingdom of "Musri," which Sennacherib attacked and overcame (*Mitth. d. vorderasiat. Gesell* (1898), i. 4: as Egypt for centuries included Sinai and Midian, by Milukhkhi we may understand the Arab tribes of Western Arabia, who were reckoned under the wide-embracing term, "Mitzraim." "Egypt" was not confined to Africa: it included the fringe of Asia as far as the Gulf of Akaba on the east, and as far as Raphia, near Gaza, on the north—precisely the territory claimed by Winckler for his nebulous Kingdom of Musri (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 157). [4] Isa. 22.[3] [5] Isa. 22.[9-11] 2 Ki. 20.[20] [6] 2 Ki. 18.[13-16] [7] "Rabshakeh" is not a proper name, but a title, probably meaning "chief of the officers." [8] 2 Ki. 18.[17] [9] 2 Ki. 18.[21] [10] 2 Ki. 18.[24] [11] Isa. 33.[1] [12] Isa. 33.[7 8] [13] 2 Ki. 19.[7] [14] 2 Ki. 19.[21] [15] A new statuette of Queen Amenartas was discovered in 1911, naming her mother Pabethem, as well as her "spiritual mother," Shep-en-apt. This gives valuable information for elucidating the genealogies of the XXVth Dynasty, and affords an illustration of the adoption by princesses of the title "wives of Amen" (*Ægypt. Zeit.*, xlvii. 110).

her family the prestige attaching to the royal line of the Pharaohs.[1] Her husband seems to have had some intercourse with Palestine, for Macalister discovered at Gezer a scarab which apparently bears his name.[2] By a wife other than Amenartas, Piankhi II [3] became the father of Tirhakah, regarding whom a stele at Tanis gives us some information.[4] It tells how, at the age of twenty, Tirhakah was proclaimed King in Napata, and how he at once went down the Nile to wrest the sovereignty of Egypt from Shabataka. The disgraceful defeat of the latter at the hands of the Assyrians had so lost him the respect of the Delta, that Tirhakah easily overcame his cousin, made him a prisoner, and, according to a late Greek tradition,[5] put him to death.

TIRHAKAH (*c.* B.C. 691–663) was a thorough Nubian, as his pronounced negroid features seen in sculpture attest.[6] But having conquered both Middle and Lower Egypt, he got himself crowned not only at Thebes but at Tanis, in addition to his early coronation at Napata. This triple ceremony greatly enhanced his renown, and contributed not a little to the keeping up of the fiction that the XXVth Dynasty was a strong one. His opening years as Pharaoh were spent in freedom from the apprehension of an Assyrian attack, for Sennacherib was too much occupied with wars nearer home. His pretensions looked so imposing that the resuscitated "Egyptian" party in Jerusalem fancied that his vigour betokened the restoration of the ancient power and glory of the Nile Valley. They opened negotiations with him, and Tirhakah was invited to become an ally of Hezekiah, now that Sennacherib was again on the march westwards.

Once again the prophet Isaiah protested against this folly in a prophecy which reveals that nothing escaped his keen-eyed vision. *Ah, the land of the rustling of wings which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of papyrus* [7] *upon the waters, saying: "Go, ye swift messengers,*[8] *to a nation tall and smooth, to a people terrible from their beginning onward, a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers divide"!* [9] Isaiah counselled the embassy from Nubia to depart, announced the approaching annihilation of the army of Sennacherib, which would *be left together unto the ravenous birds of the mountains and to the beasts of the earth,*[10] and ended by affirming that such a conspicuous demonstration of the might of Jehovah to guard His own people Judah would constrain the Ethiopians to send *a present unto the Lord of hosts, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the Mount Zion.*[11]

[1] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 289. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 211. [3] Reisner (*Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1920, p. 31) says Tirhakah was the son of Piankhi I. [4] Birch, *T.S.B.A.*, vii. 194: Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. 29. [5] Unger, *Manetho*, p. 251. [6] It may, however, be that Esarhaddon's artists misrepresented his physiognomy, for Reisner has discovered at Gebel Barkal a magnificent life-sized statue of Tirhakah, which does not correspond to the negroid type (*Bull. of Boston Mus. of Fine Arts*, 1918: *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1920, p. 30). Reisner says "The Ethiopians were not negroes, and their Royal Family, Libyan in origin, shows in their portrait-statues no trace of negro blood." [7] Skiffs constructed of papyrus are referred to by Herodotus (ii. 96): Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9: Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.*, 18: Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 22: Lucan, *Pharsal.*, iv. 136. [8] This seems to refer to the Ethiopian ambassadors who are bidden by Isaiah to return from Palestine, so there must have been a mutual interchange of diplomatic notes. For the difficulties of the passage, see G. B. Gray, *Comm. on Isaiah*, i. 306 f. [9] Isa. 18.[1-2]. Regarding this passage, Sayce (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxvi. (1914), p. 180) says, "Visitors to the region of the Sudd will at once recognize the exactitude of the description: it is a land where the resounding wings of insects are heard perpetually, where the negro population, with its smooth skin, is still savage, and amongst the tallest of mankind, and where the slaver has but recently disappeared, and the forests of papyri are divided by lanes of water." Sayce suggests that the peculiar Meroitic alphabet owes its origin to Jewish inspiration, perhaps as early as the age of Isaiah. [10] Isa. 18.[6] [11] Isa. 18.[7]

Was this prophecy fulfilled in the statement recorded of the fame of Hezekiah after the destruction of the Assyrian host, that *many brought gifts unto the Lord to Jerusalem and precious things to Hezekiah King of Judah, so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations from thenceforth?*[1] Were the Ethiopians amongst those who thus rendered homage to the God of Israel?

But meanwhile Sennacherib advanced on Jerusalem. His plans, however, were upset by the news of the approach of the Pharaoh. *When he heard say of Tirhakah King of Ethiopia, Behold he is come out to fight against thee, he sent messengers again unto Hezekiah,*[2] and urged him to capitulate. Hezekiah sat tight in his capital, and Sennacherib had to march south to meet Tirhakah to prevent him from effecting a junction of forces with the Jewish King. He said with the usual Assyrian boastfulness, *With the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of Egypt.*[3] But in that dismal region of plague east of Pelusium,[4] afterwards known as the "Serbonian Bog,"[5] his army was annihilated, 185,000 being carried off by pestilence.[6] So Sennacherib *returned with shame of face to his own land.*[7]

When we examine the records of Hezekiah's reign, besides these broad political correspondences with Egypt, we discover some other smaller details which evidence how close was the connection that subsisted during this period between Palestine and the Nile. In Isaiah's contemptuous speech regarding Sennacherib, he put into the Assyrian's mouth the boast that all nations were *dismayed and confounded* before him: *they were . . . as corn blasted before it be grown up.*[8] The LXX rendering of the last sentence is *as that which is trodden down* (πάτημα) by him that *stands upon it.* Nestle[9] suggests that by πάτημα (Heb. שְׁדֵפָה *shedephah*) is meant the Egyptian *shadoof*, the well-known machine employed in irrigation that is worked by the foot (the form of it known as *sakiyeh*).[10] If this be so, it is another indication that Isaiah was familiar with the scenes of agricultural labour among the canals of the Delta, or else with imitations in Palestine itself of this peculiarly Egyptian institution.

The fact that Hezekiah destroyed the Brasen Serpent, in consequence of that relic of the Wilderness Wanderings having become an object of superstitious veneration,[11] suggested to Macalister an explanation of a curious circular pit which he discovered at Gezer.[12] The pit which was cut out of the rock contained, along with many pottery fragments, a small bronze model of a cobra. The explorer suggests that the Brasen Serpent had had models and copies made of it for worship at minor shrines throughout the country. The pit may have been used for keeping live serpents, and the broken pottery and bronze model were probably votive offerings. He points out that live snakes were kept at certain Greek shrines, such as

[1] 2 Chr. 32.[23] [2] 2 Ki. 19.[9] [3] 2 Ki. 19.[24] [4] Josephus (*Ant.*, x. 1, 4) makes the catastrophe to occur at Pelusium: the Book of Kings at Libnah (2 Ki. 19 [8]). As both "Pelusium" and "Libnah" are derived from words meaning "mud," the confusion may have arisen in this way. Oppert (*Mem. sur les Rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie*, pp. 34–36) identifies the two. [5] For a description of a journey along the edge of this marsh, with an account of its quicksands, see Greville Chester in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 151 f. Clédat (*Ann. du Service*, x. 209) has a long paper describing ancient sites in the neighbourhood of this Lacus Serbonis. [6] 2 Ki. 19,[35] 2 Chr. 32,[21] Isa. 37.[36] There are many legendary accretions to the story in Josephus, *op. cit.*: Berosus in Josephus: Herod. ii. 141. [7] 2 Chr. 32.[21]

[8] 2 Ki. 19.[26] וּשְׁדֵפָה לִפְנֵי קָמָה [9] *P.S.B.A.* (1903) xxv. 63. [10] *Cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 300: Driver, *Comm. on Deut.* 11.[10] pictured in Bissel, *Bibl. Antiq.*, p. 184. [11] 2 Ki. 18.[4] [12] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 223.

the temple of Æsculapius at Epidauros, where they were believed to help in curing maladies.[1] He further suggests that in this Gezer snake-pit we may see a perpetuation of the old Egyptian snake charming, and of the Nilotic practice of keeping live serpents.[2] Similarly at Taanach, Sellin discovered not infrequently in houses of the 16th century B.C. heads of serpents which manifestly played the *rôle* of being household *lares* or tutelary amulets.[3] An Egyptian incense-burner of this age of Hezekiah was also dug up by Macalister at Gezer.[4]

Freed from the nightmare of this Assyrian invasion, Tirhakah devoted himself to important public works at home. At Gebel Barkal, about 15 miles north of Napata, he hewed out of the solid mountain a temple for Hathor and Bes,[5] 120 feet in length, the court of which had 16 columns, each 18 feet in height. He made this far-off Nubian city a centre of Egyptian civilization and culture, and the worship of Amen, so long associated with Thebes, flourished anew in the wilds of Ethiopia. Yet Thebes claimed his principal attention. Obelisks, temples, and pylons adorned with reliefs showing the King clubbing his enemies to death, evidence his architectural interest in the ancient capital. His lists of conquered Palestinian towns, which include even mention of Western Mesopotamia, Assyria, the Hittites, etc., are mere vainglorious transcriptions of those of Seti I and Rameses II.[6] The destruction of Sennacherib's host (for which he was not responsible) was magnified into the conquest of lands Tirhakah never saw![7] In Tanis the great temple shows tokens of his care, and a pavement of another building of his still survives.[8]

From this peaceful possession of the Nile Valley, Tirhakah was suddenly awakened by the irresistible advance of the long dreaded Assyrian. Isaiah with marvellous knowledge of detail had foretold the pitiless invasion. *Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud and cometh unto Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it. And I will stir up the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city and kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt shall be made void in the midst of it, and I will destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek unto the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. And I will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord, and a fierce King shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts. And the waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and become dry. And the rivers shall stink: the canals of Egypt shall be minished and dried up: the reeds and flags shall wither away. The meadows by the Nile, by the brink of the Nile, and all that is sown by the Nile shall become dry, be driven away, and be no more. The fishers also shall lament, and all they that cast angle into the Nile shall mourn, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish. Moreover they that work in combed flax, and they that weave cotton, shall be ashamed. And her pillars shall be broken in pieces: all they that make dams shall be grieved in soul. The princes of Zoan are utterly foolish: the counsel of the wisest counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye unto Pharaoh "I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient Kings?" Where then are thy wise men? and let them tell thee now, and let them know*

[1] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 193–205. [2] *Cf.* the magicians in Moses' time, Ex. 7.[11 12] [3] Sellin, *Tell Ta'annak*, p. 112. [4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1908, p. 211. [5] The grotesque statues of Bes at the entrance are figured in Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, i. Pl. lxxiv. [6] See Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 67. [7] Strabo (i. 3, 21 : xv. 1, 6) actually asserts that Tirhakah penetrated as far as the Pillars of Hercules on the west, and overran Europe like "Sesostris"—a manifest fable! [8] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 21.

what the Lord of hosts hath purposed concerning Egypt. The princes of Zoan are become fools, the princes of Noph (*i.e.*, Memphis) *are deceived: they that are the corner stone of her tribes have caused Egypt to go astray. The Lord hath mingled a spirit of perverseness in the midst of her: and they have caused Egypt to go astray in every work thereof, as a drunken man staggereth in his vomit. Neither shall there be for Egypt any work, which head or tail, palm-branch or rush, may do. In that day shall Egypt be like unto women: and it shall tremble and fear because of the shaking of the hand of the Lord of hosts which He shaketh over it. And the land of Judah shall become a terror unto Egypt, every one that maketh mention thereof, to him shall they turn in fear, because of the purpose of the Lord of hosts which He purposeth against it.*[1]

The "cruel lord" of whom Isaiah spoke was *Esarhaddon*. On the murder of his father, Sennacherib, he had possessed himself of the throne of Nineveh.[2] For ten years he had been occupied in the east, putting down wild mountain tribes and rebuilding Babylon which his father had destroyed. But at last he felt himself strong enough to achieve the crowning ambition of the Assyrian monarchs—to humble the pride of Egypt and to annex the Nile to the Tigris. During these ten years Egypt had been maintaining her old *rôle* of fomenting discord among the Palestinian States. Tyre,[3] Sidon, and other petty principalities had been egged on by Tirhakah to revolt against Nineveh. Esarhaddon now laid his plans to teach these Western States, and especially Egypt, such a lesson as would not be forgotten.

The doom that was to fall on them had all been foretold by Isaiah. *Howl, ye ships of Tarshish:*[4] *for it* (Tyre) *is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in: from the land of Kittim*[5] *it is revealed to them. Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle,*[6] *thou whom the merchants of Zidon that pass over the sea have replenished. And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile,*[7] *was her revenue: and she was the mart of nations . . . when the report cometh to Egypt they shall be sorely pained at the report of Tyre . . . Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days, whose feet carried her afar off to sojourn? Who hath purposed this against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth? The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth. Pass through thy land as the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish, there is no girdle about thee any more . . . the Lord hath given commandment concerning Canaan, to destroy the stronghold thereof.*[8]

The States concerned were now to feel the full brunt of this prophesied destruction. Sidon was destroyed. Tyre suffered a siege, and its King, Baal, was humbled. Manasseh of Judah, the son of Hezekiah, was captured and sent as a prisoner to Babylon.[9] In B.C. 673, Esarhaddon skirmished with Tirhakah, but did not venture to cross the Egyptian frontier. Indeed, according to Knudtzon,[10] at this first attack the Assyrians were actually defeated. But in B.C. 670 three more battles

[1] Isa. 19.[1-17] [2] 2 Ki. 19.[37] [3] See Budge, *The Hist. of Esarhaddon*, p. 116. [4] *i.e.*, Tyrian vessels employed in the Tarshish trade. Tarshish was either Tartessus in Spain, or Tarsus in Cicilia (W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (1907), p. 117 f. [5] In B.C. 673, the Kings of Cyprus, nine Greek and one Phœnician, tendered their submission to Esarhaddon, a confirmation of a still earlier submission. [6] Tyre was at this period situated on an island. [7] A reference to the extensive commerce between Egypt and Tyre. [8] Isa. 23.[1-11] [9] 2 Chron. 33,[11] but this temporary captivity of Manasseh may have occurred later, perhaps about B.C. 646. [10] Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, i. 59.

followed in quick succession, in each of which the Egyptians were beaten.[1] In the last one, 200,000 men on each side, with horses and chariots, were engaged. The armies met near Tell-el-Kebir, and the victorious Esarhaddon swept on across the Delta to the siege of Memphis.

The ancient capital could not hold out against these savage past-masters in the art of storming cities. Memphis was taken and sacked. The famous and holy city of Menes was trampled on by a people whom till recently few of the Egyptians had heard of. The loot of the city was immense. The wealth of well-nigh fifty centuries had been stored in it, and though it had suffered somewhat from its capture by Piankhi,[2] its misery was a hundred-fold worse when now its palaces, temples, and private dwellings were rifled by a foe that knew no mercy. Esarhaddon records that he carried off from the temples 55 royal statues.[3] "I besieged Memphis, his royal city for half a day: I took it, wasted it, and burned it with fire. His queen, his princesses, his dear son Usanahuru, and his other sons, his daughters, his possessions and goods, his horses, his herds, his flocks, every one of them I carried off to Assyria. I tore the root of Cush from Egypt: I left none behind."[4] What other gold and silver treasures, works of art, literary masterpieces, precious stones, ointments, etc., were removed, it is impossible to say. The proudest empire of antiquity lay humbled in the dust. The Egypt over which the great Thothmes III had reigned sank down at the feet of a successor of those Mesopotamian Kings whom he had treated with such contempt. It was the first of the tremendous reverses Egypt was now to receive. Tirhakah fled up the Nile to Nubia, leaving his queen and his harem in the hands of the conqueror. But Esarhaddon prudently refrained from following him.[5]

All Egypt was now made into a satrapy of Assyria.[6] Esarhaddon divided the Delta and the lower part of the Nile Valley into twenty districts, and placed over them twenty local governors, most of whom were native Egyptians but mere nominees and puppets of his own.[7] Even the names of the cities were altered from Egyptian to Assyrian forms. It was a terrible humiliation, recalling to memory the subjection of the Nilotic lands to the Asiatic Hyksos more than 1500 years earlier. Having thus pacified the Delta, and taught the Pharaoh a stern lesson, Esarhaddon departed homewards for Nineveh, his route thither being one vast triumphal progress.[8] On the rocks at the Dog River near Beirût, where Rameses II had inscribed his name and his exploits over the Asiatics, Esarhaddon now carved a memorial of his reduction of Egypt[9]—a striking turning of the tables! A stele at Zenjirli also represents him standing erect, triumphing over two

[1] Esarhaddon did not approach Egypt by the usual coast road, *the way of the Philistines*. Possibly he feared the "Serbonian Bog" on account of the disaster that had there overtaken the forces of his father. By arranging instead with the Bedouin tribes for a supply of water, he seems to have crossed the desert, and to have entered Egypt by the *Way of Shur*, and the Wady Tumilât. [2] See p. 291. [3] For details, see Winckler, *Untersuch. zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 97 f. [4] Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, i. 39, 40. [5] It was probably at this period that the Aramaic seal bearing the name of Hadadezer, found in the cemetery of Sakkara, was introduced into Egypt. The form of the lettering on it suggests that it belongs to the same age as certain seals found in Assyria of this age (*C.I.S.*, ii. 127). [6] A stone tablet now in the British Museum records that Esarhaddon claimed to be "King of the Kings of Egypt and of Paturisi" (*i.e.*, Pathros=Upper Egypt), and of Kusi (=Cush, Nubia). [7] Full details of these Egyptian governors (to whom Assyrian names were given) will be found in Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 595. [8] He levied on Egypt an annual tribute of more than six talents of gold (=£36,000), and 600 talents of silver (=£240,000) besides wine, horses, sheep, robes, etc. [9] Boscawen in *T.S.B.A.*, vii. 345 f.: Geo. Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 167.

Kings—Baal of Tyre and Tirhakah of Egypt—who have an iron ring through their lips and ropes tied to the ring. Yet neither King had actually fallen into his clutches: one was on his rocky island, the other beyond his reach far up the Nile.[1]

Tirhakah soon showed that he was still alive. No sooner was Esarhaddon safely back at Nineveh than the Nubian Pharaoh emerged from his fastnesses, descended the Nile with all his forces, massacred the Assyrian garrisons in the Delta, recaptured Memphis,[2] and re-established his lost sovereignty (B.C. 669). He celebrated his restoration by the solemn interment of an Apis Bull in the Serapeum. His success was, however, short-lived. Esarhaddon in wild fury set out again for Egypt, blazing with a desire for vengeance, but death overtook him on the road, and the task fell to his successor (B.C. 668) to carry out.[3]

Ashurbanipal, *the great and noble Osnappar*,[4] his son, took up the mission of inflicting punishment on Tirhakah. Rapidly passing through Syria and Palestine, he crossed the desert, and dashed into Egypt.[5] Once more Assyrian and Egyptian met in mortal combat, and before the superior tactical skill and more modern weapons of the Asiatics, the Nilotic defenders of their country were swept aside.[6] Tirhakah again fled up the Nile to Thebes. The twenty governors were reinstated; the Delta resumed its submission; and Ashurbanipal retired to Nineveh laden with plunder.

Yet such was the hatred of the Assyrian rule that treachery towards their overlord now broke out on the part of the re-appointed Egyptian governors. Although Ashurbanipal had gone home, he had left his "tartan" with instructions to lead an army cautiously from Memphis to Thebes.[7] This the Assyrian general accomplished in a march of forty days. But when the invaders were entangled far up the Nile, three of the governors—those of Pi sept,[8] Tanis, and Memphis—planned with Tirhakah a surprise and an annihilation of the foe. Unfortunately their despatches fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Tirhakah abandoned Thebes to its fate and fled to Nubia. The governor of Pi-sept escaped by flight. Sharru-ludari, governor of Tanis, and Necho, governor of Memphis, were sent in chains to Nineveh. The former was probably flayed alive; the latter for some unknown (perhaps diplomatic) reason was not only pardoned, but loaded with costly gifts, dressed in royal apparel, given a royal ring, and sent back to be the ruler of Sais and Memphis, while his son, Psammetichus, was appointed governor of Athribis! While this forgiveness may have been due to some idea in Ashurbanipal's mind of exhibiting Assyrian clemency as an object lesson to Egypt, it may also have been prompted by the fact that Necho was a descendant of the ancient Memphite line of princes, who in former days had fought gallantly against the Nubians. His grandfather, *Tafnekhtheth II* (B.C. 715–678), the successor of the prince of Sais who had opposed Piankhi I, had passed on his semi-royal crown to

[1] Luschan, *op. cit.*, i., Pl. 1. [2] *R.P.*, i. 59: Geo. Smith, *Hist. of Ashurbanipal*, pp. 5–17. [3] Pinches, *Babylonian Chronicle*, col. iv. 30. [4] Ezra 4.[10] [5] Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 384) says it was not Ashurbanipal in person, but the "Tartan" of the Assyrian army, who was at the head of this expedition. He rightly identifies this first invasion under the reign of Ashurbanipal with the last in the reign of Esarhaddon. The son must have been with the father when he died, and on the death of the latter he deemed it best to finish with Egypt before returning to Nineveh (see G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 38). [6] Rawlinson, *Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, v., Pl. 1–10: Geo. Smith, *op. cit.* (1871), p. 48 f. [7] The subject Palestinian States were ordered to send vessels to the Nile wherewith the river might be ascended, their crews meanwhile swelling the number of Assyrian troops (Geo. Smith, *ib.*, p. 40). [8] Now Saft-el-Henna.

Nekauba (B C. 678–672), and he became the father of the restored governor Nekau or *Necho I* (B.C. 672–664).[1] Necho I, as governor of Memphis and Sais, had been appointed by Esarhaddon head of the twenty governors of the Delta ; and now Ashurbanipal may have deemed it politic to reinstate one whose ancestral sympathies were so strongly antagonistic to the rule of the Nubians.

The plan of conciliation worked smoothly for a short time. But Tirhakah, just before his death in B.C. 663, associated with himself on the throne one TANUT-AMEN,[2] the son of Shabaka,[3] and the rashness of this young sovereign precipitated the final vengeance. Descending the Nile from Napata,[4] Tanut-Amen entered Thebes, being received with acclamation by the priests of the god whose name he bore. Proceeding further down the river, he attacked the hated foreigners, and Memphis once again saw its streets red with the blood of the Assyrian garrison. Necho I was killed ; his son Psammetichus fled for refuge to Palestine : [5] Tanut-Amen, after seating himself on the throne at Memphis as lord of all Egypt, returned up the Nile, and at Napata erected a triumphal stele recording his victories.[6]

But the Assyrian was on his track. Though detained in the East for three years longer through rebellions, Ashurbanipal at length set out for Egypt, with his heart hot for revenge. On his arrival in the Delta, some of the cities in that quarter tasted to the full the tender mercies of the Ninevite King. Sais, Mendes, and Tanis were all captured. Their inhabitants were massacred amid horrible barbarities. Some of the citizens were flayed alive, their skins being spread on the city walls, while the bodies of others were impaled on stakes about the city.[7] Never before had Tanis endured such an outrage, and from the blow then received the city never fully recovered. But the vengeance of the Assyrian was not yet sated. Having received at Memphis the submission of the Deltaic governors, Ashurbanipal pursued Tanut-Amen, who had again descended the Nile to resist the invader. With extraordinary ferocity and relentless bloodthirstiness he chased the Nubian from city to city till at last Thebes itself was reached.[8] Tanut-Amen in despair abandoned the mighty city to its doom and fled into the recesses of Ethiopia.

The vengeance now was overwhelming. The " hundred-gated " city, the world-renowned metropolis of Egyptian art, the once impregnable capital from which victorious legions had marched forth to spread their terror among the surrounding nations, was stormed and pillaged by a ruthless foe (B.C. 661). Her temples were desecrated and plundered, her inhabitants were butchered, her citizens that escaped the sword were sold as slaves. The hoarded treasures of many centuries—in gold, silver, precious stones, furniture, war appliances, chariots, and works of art—were carried away. Two lofty obelisks [9] weighing 250 talents were removed.

[1] These dates are worked out by Petrie, *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 286. [2] Called by the Assyrians " Tandamani." See Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i. 356. [3] Tanut-Amen was the son of the wife of Tirhakah, but by her previous husband, Shabaka. [4] His expedition down the Nile was the result of a dream which the soothsayers interpreted to mean a prognostication of a successful uniting on his head of the two crowns of the Upper and the Lower Nile. See Schaefer, "Zur Erklärung der Traumstele " in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxv. 69. [5] Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 558. [6] *R.P.*, iv. 81. [7] Rogers, *Hist. of Babylonia and Assyria*, ii. 251. Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 385) places the sack of these three cities earlier, immediately after the discovery of the treacherous correspondence between Tirhakah and the three governors. [8] The account of the campaign against Tanut-Amen is given in full by Geo. Smith, *Hist. of Ashurbanipal*, p. 55 f. [9] Were they wooden pillars overlaid with electrum ? *R P.*, i. 64 f.

As Ashurbanipal knew that he could never hope to rule Thebes from a spot so far distant as Nineveh, all he wished to do was to punish the city for its revolt, to strike terror into the whole country, and to make the sack of its palaces and temples so tremendous that rebellion might never again be attempted. Such was the savagery he exhibited when Thebes was thus given to the flames [1] and her citizens to the slaughter, that the prophet Nahum took it as a type of the completeness of the vengeance in store for Nineveh herself. *Art thou* (Nineveh) *better than No-Amon* (Thebes) *that was situate among the canals, that had the waters round about her, whose rampart was the sea,*[2] *and her wall was of the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite: Put* (Punt, Somaliland) *and Lubim* (Libya) *were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away. She went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.*[3] Indeed Nahum would seem to have been so impressed with this appalling catastrophe that he introduced it on another occasion into his prediction of the awful impending destruction of Nineveh. *Nineveh now stands in a pool of water like the Nile when it overflows; behold the fugitives come to a dead stop, no one turning them back.*[4] It is the imagery of Egypt transferred to the fall of the Assyrian capital.

Stunned with this fearful blow, Egypt for the next ten years remained quiet and dumb. Tanut-Amen never ventured to descend the Nile again; the Assyrian conquest was complete; and the rule of the XXVth (Nubian) Dynasty finally passed away.[5]

In Palestine at this juncture we light upon a curious illustration of the cross influences that were at work in the land. An Assyrian cuneiform tablet found by Macalister [6] at Gezer furnishes the name "Huruasi" as governor of that city. Pinches [7] dates the tablet from B.C. 649, by which time both Egypt and Canaan had been "pacified." The name, according to Johns [8] and Petrie, may be a compound of the Egyptian god "Horus," or of a Semitic god "Hur." Further, while the script is cuneiform, the two men shown on it stand face to face, with hands extended above what is unquestionably an Egyptian emblem, the well-known *ankh*, the symbol of life. If then the governor's name be really Egyptian, as Steindorff contends,[9] the tablet reveals the strange fact that while Assyria, in virtue of the victories of Ashurbanipal, was the real mistress of Palestine, and an Assyrian garrison held the city in its grasp, the commandant of the place was nevertheless an Egyptian; thus showing that in all these centuries since Solomon's time, when the Pharaoh burned Gezer and presented it as

[1] Legrain has recently discovered traces of this conflagration. Petrie (*Six Temples*, Pl. xxi.) found an Assyrian helmet near the Ramesseum. [2] The "sea" *iôma* was the name by which the Egyptians themselves called their mysterious river whose origin and flow they could not understand. As regards the ancient comparison of the Nile to a sea, *cf.* Letronne, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 25: for Arab authorities on the same subject, see De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*,[2] i. 13–15. De Geyersburg (*Egypt and Palestine in Primitive Times*, i. 26) has a ridiculous theory that the "sea" as applied to the Nile refers to the era before the Delta was formed, and the ocean reached as far as Thebes, which was then a wealthy *seaport*! [3] Nahum 3.[8-10] [4] Nah. 2,[9] according to a rendering more correct than the R.V. for which I am indebted to Rev. Dr. Kennedy, New College Library, Edinburgh. He suggests that instead of

וְנִינְוֵה כִּבְרֵכַת־מַיִם מִימֵי הִיא וְהֵמָּה נָסִים עָמְדוּ עָמֹדוּ וְאֵין מַפְנֶה

we should read

כְּמֵימֵי הַיְאֹר

[5] The order of succession of the remaining Nubian sovereigns has been obtained through the Harvard-Boston Expedition of 1918–19 (see Reisner, *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, vi. (1920) 64). [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 207. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 235. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 239. [9] *Beit. zur Assyriol.*, i. 350.

a marriage dowry to his daughter, the Egyptians had never relinquished their claim to be the legitimate overlords and owners of Canaan.

It is possible that we may discern another indication of the cross-currents running at this epoch in a graffito discovered by Clermont-Ganneau [1] in the Royal Quarries at Jerusalem. The sketch represents a quadruped which strikingly reminds one of the Assyrian winged monsters, bulls or lions with human heads, with which we are familiar: but its headdress is Egyptian. Similarly an intaglio bearing the name of Hoshea, together with a winged sphinx which on its hawk's head carried the Royal Egyptian *pschent*, evidences the Nilotic influences that were at work even among the craftsmen in the Jewish Kingdom at this period.[2] Clermont-Ganneau further discovered on two more of these intaglios, engraved along with the essentially Israelite names "Abishu, the servant of Uzziah" and "Isaiah the son of Joiakim," the image of the Egyptian Harpocrates, the young god Horus, sitting on a lotus flower.[3] If, as seems likely, this religious syncretism was strongly at work, was there not abundant need for the great Hebrew prophets to protest against the fostering of an Egyptian cult which, while based on politics, at the same time introduced Egyptian heathenism?

Similar Nilotic traces have been discovered further north at Tell-el-Mutesellim. Here Schumacher unearthed a Phœnician scaraboid with an Egyptian symbolical device of this period, and with the inscription "To Asaph" [4] inscribed in Old Hebrew characters.[5] A terra-cotta figure of a woman of Canaan, but with her hair dressed in Egyptian style, and beating a tambourine, was also brought to light. All these details go to show how subtle and potent still was the fascination exercised by the Nile Valley over those who inhabited the land through which the Jordan ran.

[1] *Archæol. Res.*, i. 244. [2] For a similar intaglio from Ascalon with a winged hawk-headed griffin wearing the *pschent*, in the Egyptian style, with a line of Phœnician characters underneath, לרמע ="to Rome," see Pilcher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1913, p. 146. [3] *Op. cit.*, i. 245. [4] לאסף [5] *Mitth. u. Nachricht. d. Deut. Pal. Ver.*, 1906, Nos. 3 and 4.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Restoration under the XXVIth (Saite) Dynasty

After the disasters referred to in the previous chapter, it might be thought that there was no future for a country so crushed, beaten, and despoiled as Egypt had been under the savage vengeance of Ashurbanipal. Yet, in the course of a few years, to the amazement of the world, the old Nile lands blossomed afresh, a new, strong, and vigorous Dynasty of Kings made Egypt formidable and famous, her ancient renown took on fresh laurels, and her Pharaohs were able to congratulate themselves on the restoration of much of the time-honoured glory and prestige which for centuries had belonged to the Delta.

It was a remarkable Restoration. For the last 400 years Egypt had been steadily declining. Her fame rested merely on the memory of the long departed magnificence of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. In herself she was weak, effeminate, and fallen from her splendid traditions. Not only in military prowess, but in every department of life, in art, sculpture, and writing, decadence was visible. The country had been languishing under a succession of dynasties whose hold on the Nile was spasmodic and uncertain, constantly disputed by upstart kinglets, and frequently overthrown in revolution. It was the period when Egypt was at the nadir of her influence.

But now from this age of obsolescence and decrepitude, to the astonishment of other nations, the ancient Empire revived for a brief season under the splendour of the Kings of Sais. The XXVIth Dynasty, by turning away from the tinsel and false glory of recent times, by going back to the grand old models of the IVth and the XIIth Dynasties, and by attempting to revive the long gone nobility of a simple and true manner of life, shed lustre on the period known as the "Restoration."

It was the rebellious governor Necho,[1] who had been sent in chains to Nineveh, and had been so wonderfully pardoned and restored to power,[2] who became the father of the first King of the XXVIth Dynasty His son, Psammetichus I (B.C. 664–610) during his long reign of 54 years revived the fortunes of Egypt to an extraordinary degree. The stories related by Herodotus of the Dodecarchy [3] or the Government of Egypt by Twelve Kings, and of the oracle which declared that the sceptre of the Pharaohs

[1] See p. 310.] [2] Herodotus (ii. 152) is in error in saying that Shabaka killed Necho. As Shabaka died in B.C. 700, at that time Necho must have been a mere child. [3] Herod., ii. 147. A variant of the same tale is given by Polyænus (*Stratagemata*, vii. 3), who says that the decisive battle between Psammetichus and his eleven competitors took place near Memphis in sight of the temple of Isis. Strabo (xvii. 1, 18) places the combat on the Nile.

would go to him who first poured out wine from a brasen vial to Vulcan, the god adored at Memphis,[1] may be dismissed as legendary.[2] But some reliance may be put on the statement that in Memphis he built porches to Ptah, as well as a large hall, surrounded with massive carved pillars, and crowned with colossal figures of Osiris, 18–20 feet high, wherein the Sacred Bull might take his daily walk.[3]

It was doubtless only after a severe struggle against the other governors that Psammetichus won the supreme authority, and it is likely that he was assisted in gaining the throne by the help of foreign mercenaries, Ionians and Carians.[4] These foreigners had been sent by Gyges of Lydia,[5] who in the desperate fight he was engaged in against Ashurbanipal hoped in this way to win the strong man of Egypt as an ally. By his marriage with a grand-daughter of Kashta, Psammetichus' claims were linked with the ancient Theban royal line. With immense pomp and circumstance he sent his daughter Nitocris to Thebes to be the high priestess of Amen and princess of Upper Egypt, thus securing for his house the revenues of Thebes, which were still considerable, notwithstanding the despoiling by the Assyrians.[6] Once more the entire Nile Valley from the Mediterranean to the First Cataract was under the sway of one strong Egyptian King. Only Nubia kept herself in isolation meanwhile, under her own monarch.

Psammetichus I was the first Egyptian sovereign to adopt the plan of holding his Kingdom not by native, but by foreign troops.[7] He conferred an immense benefit on the Delta by putting down in this way the local dynasts, and turbulent feudal barons, who for well-nigh 400 years had practised anarchy, and his strong government introduced a new era of prosperity and wealth. Garrisons were stationed throughout the country. One at Daphne,[8] erected to hold the road to Palestine, had a camp with walls 140 feet square, where the Ionian and Carian troops were quartered. Petrie discovered here hundreds of Greek vases, gold and silver foundation deposits, iron tools, seals of wine jars, etc.[9] A great tablet was also dug up recording how the canal had to be cleared to supply the troops with water. A second fort was at Naukratis[10] to protect the western border of the Delta against Libya A third military establishment was at Elephantine[11] to guard the Upper Nile.[12]

The Kingdom thus pacified, Psammetichus bent his energies towards the development of trade, commerce, and art.[13] The fortresses of Hellenic

[1] Herod., ii. 151. [2] Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 320) derives the legend from an attempt to get at the etymology of the name "Psamtek" or "Psammetichus." [3] Herod. ii. 153. Mariette (*Sérapéum*, iii. 36) unearthed a large gallery with side chambers which Psammetichus had erected at Sakkara, and the many stelæ discovered there testify to his zeal for the Apis. [4] Herod., ii. 152, 154: Diodorus, i. 69. [5] Ashurbanipal tells us that he waged war against Gyges, and that Gyges was assisted by Psammetichus I (*Cuneif. Inscrip. of West. Asia*, v., Pl. 2, 95). The date is fixed by the statement of the Greek poet, Archilochus, a contemporary of Gyges, who records a total eclipse, which must have taken place on April 6, B.C. 648 (Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 254 n. [6] See Legrain in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxv. 16: and Erman, *ibid.*, xxxv. 24. [7] Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 495) enlarges on the terror produced on the African races by the aspect of these formidable Greek and Asiatic mercenaries. They were as fearsome as were the mail-clad warriors of Cortez to the lightly-armed Mexicans of Montezuma, or the iron men of Pizarro to the natives of Peru. [8] Tahpanhes, now Tell Defenneh. [9] Petrie, *Tell Defenneh* in *Tanis*, ii. 48. [10] The re-discovery and exploration of Naukratis is told by Petrie with great fulness in his *Naukratis*, i. (1888), and by E. A. Gardner in *ib.*, pt. ii. (1888). [11] Platt (*P.S.B.A.*, 1908, p. 206) seeks to prove that the island of Elephantine derived its name from the resemblance of the rocks in its neighbourhood to elephants. [12] Herod., ii. 30. [13] Various documents relating to commercial transactions during his reign will be found in Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library at Manchester*, iii. (1909) 18.

troops in the Delta soon became, like our Treaty-Ports in China, great centres of foreign trade. Naukratis especially developed into a wonderful Greek city whose foreign population, though despised and loathed by the exclusive Egyptians, basked in the sunshine of the royal favour, and made large fortunes through barter and commerce. Memphis had its quarters allotted to Greeks and Carians. Phœnician galleys sailed up the Nile mouths with varied foreign merchandise. Trade connections were resumed with Syria and Palestine, evidences of which are seen in the fact that Bliss [1] discovered at Lachish a Greek inscription with letters very similar to those used by the Greek garrison at Naukratis, while at Gezer, Macalister [2] found a ring and scarab bearing the name of Psammetichus I, as well as a conical seal with a winged horse, a common Naukratite type.[3]

Egypt advanced rapidly in material wealth and international prestige. The ancient temples were repaired. Artistic fashions rose into prominence following the best models of antiquity.[4] A rage for archaisms, and for primitive simplicity, swept over the country.[5] Sais, which the Pharaoh made his capital as the chief city in the Fifth Nome of Lower Egypt, blossomed out into a splendid royal metropolis. It could boast of a great temple to the goddess Neith, a sacred stonewalled Lake of the Mysteries, a so-called Tomb of Osiris, and a magnificent Mausoleum built for the mummies of its new Dynasty of Kings.[6] Saite art revealed beauty, grace and freshness. The portraiture and statuary produced by the painters and sculptors of the period surpassed in truth the productions of the Old Kingdom, and will bear favourable comparison with the best Greek art. Sais could exhibit a new development of technique in the shape of superb bronze hollow statues inlaid with gold and silver. Even writing took on a new phase. Hieroglyphic was more and more reserved for sacred purposes, and was employed by the priests, but "demotic" was now in common use for purposes of ordinary commercial and private correspondence.

News of all this amazing restoration of Egyptian glory and greatness seems to have been carried to the Royal Court of Judah, and there to have made a profound impression.[7] The Jews had heard of Ashurbanipal's fearful treatment of Egypt, but they had also observed that, although Egypt had again revolted, and had this time completely cast off the hated Assyrian yoke, not the slightest effort had been made by Nineveh to avenge the insult. Ashurbanipal for twelve years was so occupied in a deadly struggle against his brother in Babylon, and taken up with wars against the Arabs and against the Cimmerians in Cilicia, that he had no leisure to reinvade Egypt, and by the time these local campaigns were over, the XXVIth Dynasty had grown too strong for the decaying might of Assyria to grapple with it successfully.

All these changes were not lost upon the politicians of Jerusalem. As we have seen, there had been a strong "Egyptian" party in the days

[1] Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, pp. 104, 133. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 336. [3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 274. [4] A large obelisk bearing the name of Psammetichus I was carried to Rome by Augustus, and reared in the Circus Maximus (Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxvi. 14). [5] An interesting illustration of this is seen in the tomb of Aba, a prince of Thebes, who lived during this reign. Wishing to decorate his tomb in the Theban necropolis, he copied on its walls a number of scenes from the walls of a finely painted chapel of a namesake of his of the Old Kingdom (described by N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el-Gebrawi*, pt. i. (1902). [6] Herod., ii. 170: Strabo, xvii. 1, 18. [7] It may be that it is to this period that we must refer an interesting Aramaic seal discovered in Egypt, which has on it a broad-winged Egyptian scarabæus, and also the words in Aramaic, "Abyehai, daughter of Yenahem" (E. J. Pilcher, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. (1910) 146).

of Hezekiah, and even though the folly of this trust in the Pharaoh had been proved in the impotence of Tirhakah, the old blind fanaticism for Egypt lingered on. Hezekiah's son, *Manasseh* (B.C. 686–641)[1] would seem to have shared in this "Egyptian" obsession, for he even called his son *Amon*,[2] who succeeded him (B.C. 641–639), after the great god of Thebes, Amen or Ammon. After Amon's brief reign, *Josiah*, his son, came to the throne (B.C. 639-608), and in the twelfth year of his reign a new and terrible portent appeared in Palestine which again led Egypt to interfere in the politics of Canaan. This was the tremendous invasion of the Scythians.

These savage sons of the frozen North poured down in an irresistible swarm, like a river which has burst its icy barriers, and is carrying death and destruction in its furious progress. "For 28 years," says Herodotus,[3] "the Scythians governed Asia and everything was overthrown by their licentiousness and neglect: for besides the usual tribute, they exacted from each whatever they chose to impose: and in addition to the tribute they rode round the country and plundered them of all their possessions." The prophet Jeremiah had announced their arrival in graphic language: *Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall be stirred up from the uttermost parts of the earth. They lay hold on bow and spear: they are cruel and have no mercy: their voice roareth like the sea, and they ride upon horses: every one set in array, as a man to the battle.*[4] Zephaniah also pictured a complete enslavement of the whole Philistine territory through the influx of these savages: *Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noonday, and Ekron shall be rooted up.*[5] It now all came to pass. The Scythians advanced down the Palestinian Shephelah, and the terror of their approach induced Psammetichus to sally forth hastily with the Greek troops from Tahpanhes and other stations to oppose them. On the verge of entering Egypt, the Scythians by this show of force and by gifts were turned back. They plundered Ashkelon, robbing the temple of Venus there,[6] and retreated a few miles north to Ashdod This they held, blocking the way to Egypt for 29 years, during the whole of which time the Pharaoh's troops besieged it[7] till it was captured.[8] So much was the city reduced by this protracted siege, that a few years later, when Jeremiah was enumerating the cities of Philistia, he could speak of it only as *the remnant of Ashdod.*[9]

The prowess of Egypt having thus been manifested, the "Egyptian" party at the Court of Josiah once more urged the expediency of entering into an alliance with Psammetichus, in opposition to the policy of the other party which advocated the maintenance of the payment of the tribute to Assyria. And again Jeremiah was constrained to lift up his voice in protest against any such proposal. *Is Israel a servant? Is he a home-born slave? Why is he become a prey? The young lions have roared upon him and yelled: they have made his land waste: his cities are burned up, without inhabitant The children of Noph* (Memphis) *and Tahpanhes* (Daphnæ) *have broken the*

[1] It is probable that though the length of Manasseh's reign is stated to have been 55 years, he actually reigned only 45 (B.C. 686-641): see Peake in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii., 229, art. MANASSEH. [2] 2 Ki. 21.[18] [3] Herod., i. 106. [4] Jer. 6.[22 23] See also 1 [4-14]: 4 [13-16 19-21]. Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 480) points out how accurate Jeremiah is in describing the Scythians as *a mighty nation, an ancient nation* (Jer. 5 [15]) inasmuch as the Scythians themselves claimed to be the oldest nation in the world, older than even the Egyptians (Justin, ii. 1). [5] Zeph. 2.[4] [6] Herod., i. 105, where the goddess is called "Aphrodite Urania." She was Derketo or Atargatis. [7] Herod., ii. 157. [8] This is Petrie's view. He connects the Scythian holding of Asia for 28 years, of which Herodotus speaks, with the 29 years' siege of Ashdod (or Azotus) by Psammetichus. To an Egyptian, the two events were the same. [9] Jer. 25.[20]

crown of thy head[1] . . . *now, what hast thou to do in the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of Shihor*[2] (the Nile) . . . *why gaddest thou about so much to change thy way? Thou shalt be ashamed of Egypt also, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria.*[3] Jeremiah's reference to Tahpanhes is of interest inasmuch as that city was founded by Psammetichus I, and the prophet's words imply that the Greek garrison stationed there had not been content with merely besieging Ashdod, but had inflicted other extensive damage on Palestinian towns.[4] All the more folly to seek an alliance with a foe that behaved so deceitfully!

It was in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (B.C. 621) that the great Reformation took place in Judah.[5] The immediate cause of it was the discovery of the Book of the Law in the Temple at Jerusalem. In this connection, Naville[6] has made the interesting suggestion that just as chapters of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* are said to have been found beneath the feet of deities, or in the foundations of buildings, and as religious texts have actually been discovered by excavators in similar positions in Egypt, so the Law brought to light by Hilkiah during the repairs on the ancient structure in Jerusalem may really have been deposited in the foundations or in the walls at the time of Solomon's erection of the Temple. Foundation deposits have always been common, alike in remote and in modern days; and Naville presses his point that the copy of the Law was actually inserted by Solomon in its specially prepared cavity in the walls, and after a lapse of 350 years it was again brought to light. If this be the case, it will exercise a modifying influence on the trend of modern criticism, inasmuch as it will throw back the origin of the Book of Deuteronomy to a date considerably earlier than that which is usually allowed.

There is reason to believe that Psammetichus I engaged in another expedition besides this Palestinian one. The Nubian campaign, so frequently attributed[7] to Psammetichus II, it would seem was really undertaken by the first King of that name.[8] A stele at Karnak[9] has recently

[1] Jer. 2.[16] [2] Jer. 2.[18] According to Naville (*P.S.B.A.*, 1912, pp. 308–315) the Shihor, or Shi-t-Hor, was not the Nile itself, but a canal or branch of the Nile near the present Suez Canal. For travellers from Palestine, the Shihor would be the first drinkable water they would reach on arriving across the desert from the East. Shihor (which occurs also in Josh. 13.[3] 1 Chron. 13.[5] Isa. 23.[3]) is the equivalent of Si-Hr=Waters of Horus. A. H. Gardiner (*J. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 252) identifies it with the Bubastite or Pelusiac Nile-arm. [3] Jer. 2.[36]. [4] This was the first time that Greeks and Jews were in warfare with each other. The troops from Tahpanhes were practically all Greeks. It was the prelude to the weary wars of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ of which Palestine was the cockpit. [5] 2 Ki. 22.[3] [6] Naville, "La découverte de la Loi sous le roi Josias" in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, xxxviii. 1: *P.S.B.A.* (1906–07), p. 232: *Classical Review*, 1909, p. 779. The legitimacy of the comparison with Egyptian customs is upheld by Sayce in his introduction to Naville's *The Discovery of the Book of the Law*, 1900, and *Expos. Times*, 1909, p. 45 (*cf.* xxii., p. 145): and by Grimme (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, x. 610–615). On the other hand, Erbt (*ibid.*, xi. 57–62): Haupt (*ibid.*, xi.119–125): König (*ibid.*, xi. 125–127: and *Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges.*, lxvi. 715–732): Cheyne (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xi., p. 195): Chapman, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, 1911, p. 320: G. A Cooke in *Interpreter*, 1912, p. 380: A. H. M'Neile, *Deuteronomy, its Place in Revelation*, 1912, p. 17—all deny the implication. The authorities quoted are marshalled in Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands* (1913), p. 168. [7] *e.g.*, by Wiedemann, *Æg. Gesch.*, p. 631: Krall, *Wiener Studien* (1882), 165 (but see Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 537 n.). [8] See Sayce, *Expos. Times*, xxiii. (1911), p. 92. [9] The Greek mercenaries in the Pharaoh's army carved a record of the campaign on the leg of the colossal granite statue of Rameses II at Abu Simbel (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vi. 98: W. Max Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, i. 22). Yet Maspero (*op. cit.*, p. 499) says that the guards of the Upper Nile were not Greeks but Egyptians. Herodotus calls them "Automoli," and states that they numbered 240,000. See Mallet, *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Egypte*, p. 77 f.: The Abu Simbel graffiti have been published by E. Nachmanson, *Historische Griechische Inschriften* (Bonn), No. 1 (1913).

furnished this information. Herodotus[1] narrates that the Elephantine garrison, discontented with not having been relieved for three years, renounced the service of the Pharaoh, and revolted to the Ethiopians. The Nubian King received them and gave them settlements within his territory. In his campaign against these ex-soldiers of his and their Nubian protectors, Psammetichus employed a number of Jewish mercenaries —another ominous sign of the future relations between Egypt and Canaan.[2]

The restorer of Egypt's greatness passed away after a strenuous reign of 54 years, leaving his country in greater peace and prosperity than it had enjoyed since the days of Rameses III. He was buried in his capital, Sais.[3]

His son, NECHO II (B.C. 610–594), carried on the great traditions of his father's reign. The system of maintaining the royal power by the arms of foreign mercenaries was kept up, and Greeks poured into the Egyptian service, attracted by the liberal pay which the wealth of the Nile Valley could afford. But Necho also aspired to the command of the sea. Fleets were built on the Mediterranean and on the Red Sea.[4] This suggested the idea of a canal to unite the two oceans. Rameses II had long before begun such an attempt and had failed. Necho now forced an enormous *corvée* to carry out the revived scheme, in the execution of which 120,000 men perished.[5] It was to run from Lake Timsah to Suez by a circuitous route, taking in Memphis, and reaching the Nile near Bubastis, and to be wide enough to allow two triremes to pass each other. But the plan was never completed, and after proceeding half-way, Necho desisted.[6] Diodorus[7] states that the King was frightened by a report which got abroad that all Egypt would be drowned by the letting in of the ocean, inasmuch as the Red Sea was higher than the Mediterranean!

An even more daring enterprise was Necho's sending out an expedition to circumnavigate Africa, a famous feat successfully accomplished in three years.[8] Phœnician sailors were employed. The fleet sailed down the Red Sea, proceeded through the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and after many adventures, entered the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules, and reached Egypt again.[9]

But the most momentous event in Necho II's reign was his attempt to pose as an arbiter of the destinies of Mesopotamia at the time of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. At Nineveh all was dissolution and anarchy. The old lion was sorely wounded and the eagles were gathering to what they knew would soon be a carcase. The bloody city where *the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his caves with prey and his dens with ravin*,[10] was now ringed round with foes

[1] Herod., ii. 30. [2] According to the *Epistle of Aristeas*, § 13: see also *Corp. Inscrip. Sem.*, i. 1, No. 112 C. [3] See Schäfer on a portrait of Psammetichus I in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xxxiii. (1895), p. 116. [4] Herodotus (ii. 159) says that the docks on both seas were still to be seen in his time. [5] Herod., ii. 158. [6] For an account of this canal, see Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 471. [7] Diodorus, i. 33. [8] Herod., iv. 42. [9] In 1908, there were offered for sale two remarkable scarabs which purported to be dated from the 12th year of Necho (B.C. 599), giving an account of the circumnavigation of Africa. The scarabs were marvellously well made, and if genuine, would have been of inestimable value. But careful study has revealed that they are most cleverly executed modern forgeries (Petrie in *Geograph. Journ.*, 1908, p. 480). I cannot see that there are adequate grounds for rejecting the truth of Herodotus' story. He himself is sceptical as to some of the stories told by the sailors. Maspero holds strongly by the authenticity of the narrative (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 533). See also Sandberg, *Disputatio Historica de Africa à Phœnicibus circumnavigata* (Treves, 1860), and see Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geography*, i. 289–296, for a full discussion of the question. [10] Nah. 2.11

who had a long account to settle, and who were determined on vengeance for centuries of the most merciless oppression. The Egyptian King felt himself strong enough to go up to claim a predominant share of the spoil, in revenge for the injuries inflicted on Egypt by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

With a great army, Necho advanced along the well-beaten track of Thothmes III and Rameses II, and passed through Palestine on his way to the north. It does not seem that at that time he had any intention of attacking the Kingdom of Judah. But Josiah, with quixotic folly,[1] threw himself into the fray, and at Megiddo[2] tried to bar the advance of the Pharaoh. The results were disastrous. *Necho, King of Egypt, went up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates, and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him saying, "What have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: and God hath commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God Who is with me, that He destroy thee not." Nevertheless, Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the Valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at King Josiah, and the King said to his servants "Have me away, for I am sore wounded." So his servants took him out of the chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had, and brought him to Jerusalem, and he died.*[3] (B.C. 608).

After this battle, the issue of which was so calamitous for Judah that later ages took the mourning and anguish that succeeded it as a type of the most poignant suffering and grief,[4] Necho pursued his way northwards, and made his headquarters at Riblah.[5] Meanwhile, *the people of the land took Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him King in his father's stead.*[6] But Necho wished to evidence the reality of his victory, and to show the Jews once more that Canaan was ancestrally a fief of the Egyptian crown. So *Pharaoh-Necho put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem, and put the land to a tribute of an hundred talents of silver,*[7] *and a talent of gold.*[8] *And Pharaoh-Necho made Eliakim, the son of Josiah, King in the room of Josiah, his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim: but he took Jehoahaz away, and he came to Egypt, and died there. And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh: but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of everyone according to his taxation, to give it unto Pharaoh-Necho.*[9]

[1] Josiah probably imagined himself bound by oath to support the cause of Nineveh, to which he had pledged his word. His new discovery of the Book of Deuteronomy had made him realize the sanctity of oaths. [2] The collision took place in the very spot where Thothmes III centuries before had routed the Syrian confederates. Herodotus (ii. 159) names the place "Magdolus" or Migdol and this has been favoured by some. W. Max Müller (*Mittheil. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1898, iii. 54) suggests Migdal-gad (Jos. 15 ^{37}): Winckler (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1898, p. 395) advocates the Migdol, which afterwards was the site of Cæsarea. But Megiddo is almost certainly correct. It was just the spot where Josiah could throw a barrier across an advancing army's path. Josephus (*Ant.*, x. 5, 1) calls the city "Mendes." [3] 2 Chr. 35,$^{20-24}$ *cf* 2 Ki. 23.$^{29\ 30}$ [4] *Cf.* Zech. 12.^{11} *In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon*: also 2 Chron. 35.^{25} [5] Still called Riblah in the Biqā'a, between Lebanon and Hermon, on the right bank of the Orontes, 65 miles N. of Damascus. Robinson (*Bibl. Res.*, iii. 545) points out the suitability of its position on the great road between Egypt and Babylon, and its strong situation. [6] 2 Ki. 23.^{30} [7] About £40,000. [8] About £6,000. [9] 2 Ki. 23 $^{33-35}$

The pathos of this brief reign of three months, ending in deposition and forcible exile to Egypt, seems to have profoundly impressed the two great patriotic Hebrew prophets. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel refer to it with deep sorrow. Jehoahaz's accession to the throne, his tragic banishment, the dashing of the popular hopes that clustered round the son of the great and good Josiah,[1] and the miserable ending to his captivity in the Delta, were themes which appealed strongly to their sympathetic hearts. *Weep ye not for the dead* (Josiah), said Jeremiah, *neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away* (Jehoahaz): *for he shall return no more, nor see his native country . . . in the place whither they have led him captive, there shall he die, and he shall see this land no more.*[2] Ezekiel's dirge also was full of pain: *Take thou up a lamentation for the princes of Israel, and say "What was thy mother?" A lioness, . . . and she brought up one* (Jehoahaz) *of her whelps: he became a young lion: and he learned to catch the prey, he devoured men. The nations also heard of him: he was taken in their pit: and they brought him with hooks unto the land of Egypt.*[3]

While Necho waited at Riblah, watching the turn of events, Nineveh fell before the combined attacks of the Medes under Cyaxares, and of the Babylonians under Nabopolassar (B.C. 607 or 606). *The bloody city full of lies and rapine*[4] was blotted out from the map of the world, never to re-appear as a city till its buried treasures were unearthed in the nineteenth century after Christ. As usual, the Egyptians appeared on the scene too late. Necho pressed on from Riblah as far as Carchemish[5] on the Euphrates, but he refrained from crossing the river from fear of a collision with the victorious Medes and Babylonians that would be disastrous to himself. He turned and went slowly homewards, dethroning Jehoahaz, as already mentioned, leaving Jehoiakim on the throne of Judah, placing the land under a heavy tribute, and carrying off the Hebrew prince.

But on the road back to Egypt, Necho seems to have ravaged the Philistine territory, and to have stormed Gaza, their most important stronghold. In Jerusalem, Jeremiah could not refrain from expressing his horror at, and his sympathy with the victims of, the calamity about to fall on the great border city. *The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet concerning the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza. Thus saith the Lord "Behold, waters rise up out of the north,*[6] *and shall become an overflowing stream, and shall overflow the land and all that is therein, the city and them that dwell therein: and the men shall cry and all the inhabitants of the land shall howl. At the noise of the stamping of the hoofs of his strong ones, at the rushing of his chariots, at the rumbling of his wheels, the fathers look not back to their children for feebleness of hands: because of the day that cometh to spoil all the Philistines, to cut off from Tyre and Zidon every helper that remaineth: for the Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the isle of Caphtor.*[7] *Baldness is come upon Gaza: Ashkelon is brought to nought, the remnant of their valley: how long wilt thou cut thyself? O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard: rest and be still. How canst thou be quiet, seeing the Lord hath*

[1] Nevertheless, Josephus (*Antiq.*, x. 5, 2) gives Jehoahaz the worst of characters, saying "He was an impious man, and impure in his course of life." [2] Jer. 22.10-12 [3] Ezek. 19.1-4 [4] Nah. 3.1 [5] For an account of recent explorations of Carchemish, see D. G. Hogarth, "Carchemish and its neighbourhood" in *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, ii. (1909), p. 165 f.: and *Carchemish*, pt. i., 1914. [6] As Necho was coming from the north, and only on his southward march did he attack the Philistines, Jeremiah's description is quite accurate. [7] The Philistines were fugitives from Crete (Caphtor), and from Cyprus.

given thee a charge? against Ashkelon and against the seashore, there hath he appointed it.[1]

The triumph of Necho over Philistia was accomplished. Fragments of a stele dating from his subjugation of the territory in question, with names in hieroglyphics of the cities captured, have been found at Sidon.[2] Ashkelon and Gaza,[3] as we have seen, were both stormed, and punished for their "revolt" from the ancient, yet long obsolete, suzerainty of Egypt. Necho was making a great effort to re-assert in earnest the Pharaoh's age-long title to be the overlord of Canaan.[4] When he re-entered the Delta, he may have fondly imagined that his ancestral Palestinian domains had at last been recovered to the crown of Egypt. The Judæan King was a nominee of his own: Philistia was reduced; the tribute was again flowing in.

He was soon undeceived. The only reason why the conquerors of Nineveh did not at once try conclusions with the third claimant to the spoil of the defunct Assyrian Empire was that they were too busy settling matters in the Mesopotamian Valley to risk a battle with the Pharaoh. But by B.C. 605, Nabopolassar considered the time ripe for an assertion of his sovereign rights over Canaan. As the New Babylonian Empire which he had founded claimed to be the legitimate successor to the Assyrian Empire, he naturally felt that all the provinces recently under the sway of Nineveh, including the Judæan State, should pass to him. Nabopolassar, however, found himself too old to command his army in person, and therefore handed over to his famous son Nebuchadnezzar II the task of re-uniting Canaan to Babylon. Necho received tidings of the latter's advance, and again quitted Egypt to dispute the ownership of Palestine.

Once again Jeremiah lifted up his voice in prophetic scorn of the futility of Egypt's attempt to override the decree of that God of Israel in whose hands Nebuchadnezzar was an instrument of wrath. Just as in the sad time when King Josiah fell in battle, the Jewish seer had hurled abroad his threat of the divine vengeance—*Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will punish all them which are circumcised in their uncircumcision, Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab, and all that have the corners of their hair polled, that dwell in the wilderness,*[5] so now again when Necho was advancing to what he expected to be an easy victory, Jeremiah broke out in another denunciation of Egypt, his *bête noir—The Lord, the God of Israel, saith unto me, "Take the cup of the wine of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it . . . to wit, Jerusalem . . . Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people, and all the mixed population*[6] of Egypt, etc. But he went still further. He burst forth in a wild pæan of triumph, an ironical taunt of the impotence of Necho's army before the Chaldæan forces, as the world would soon behold. *Of Egypt: concerning the army of*

[1] Jer. 47.[1-7] *P.S.B.A.*, xvi. (1894), p. 91. [3] It is probably to Gaza that Herodotus refers (ii. 159) under the name of "Kadytis," as that of a large city of Syria which Necho took, subsequently to the battle in which Josiah was slain. See also Herod., iii. 5, where the historian speaks of Kadytis as "a city in my opinion not much less than Sardis." It is improbable that it refers to Jerusalem (El Kuds). See Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 515, and W. E. Crum in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 504. Valckenaer (*Specimina Academica: Schediasma de Herodotea urbe Cadyti*, p. 22) supposes that Gath is meant. So also Reland, *Palest.*, pp. 787–801. The matter has been settled in favour of Gaza by Meyer, *Hist. of the City of Gaza*, 1907, p. 38. [4] As an acknowledgment of the services rendered in this campaign by his Greek troops, Necho sent the cuirass he had worn in the various battles to the temple of Apollo at Miletus (Herod. ii. 159). [5] Jer. 9.[25 26] [6] Jer. 25.[15 19]

Pharaoh-Necho, King of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, King of Judah. Order ye the buckler and shield, and draw near to battle. Harness the horses, and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets: furbish the spears: put on the coats of mail. Wherefore have I seen it? They are dismayed and are turned backwards: and their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace and look not back: terror is on every side, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape: in the north by the river Euphrates have they stumbled and fallen. Who is this that riseth up like the Nile, whose waters toss themselves like the rivers? Egypt riseth up like the Nile, and his waters toss themselves like the rivers: and he saith "I will rise up, I will cover the earth: I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof." Go up, ye horses, and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men go forth: Cush[1] *and Put*[2] *that handle the shield, and the Ludim*[3] *that handle and bend the bow. For that day is a day of the Lord, the Lord of hosts, a day of vengeance, that He may avenge Himself of His adversaries: and the sword shall devour and be satiate, and shall drink its fill of their blood: for the Lord, the Lord of hosts, hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates. Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin daughter of Egypt: in vain dost thou use many medicines:*[4] *there is no healing for thee. The nations have heard of thy shame, and the earth is full of thy cry: for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, they are fallen both of them together.*[5]

This prophecy was speedily realized. At Carchemish, Babylon and Egypt met in a terrific combat, and before the might of Chaldæa, led by the military genius of Nebuchadnezzar, Necho was utterly routed and fled homewards, pursued by the Babylonians to the very gates of the Delta. But on the threshold of the Nile Valley tidings reached Nebuchadnezzar of the death of his father, Nabopolassar. Fearing lest his brother should filch the throne from him, he hastily concluded a treaty with Necho, and dashed home across the desert of Arabia to assume the crown of Babylon. Necho had had enough of foreign wars. *The King of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the King of Babylon had taken all that pertained to the King of Egypt, from the Brook of Egypt*[6] *unto the river Euphrates.*[7]

Yet it was impossible for Egypt to keep from intrigue. Another opportunity of fomenting a rebellion of the Palestinian States against Nebuchadnezzar soon emerged. A disciple of the prophet Jeremiah incurred the wrath of Jehoiakim, and fled for his life to Egypt. The Jewish King sent an embassy to demand his extradition.[8] *There was a man that prophesied in the name of the Lord, Uriah-ben-Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim; and he prophesied against this city* (Jerusalem) *and against this land* (Judæa) *according to all the words of Jeremiah: and when Jehoiakim the King, with all his mighty men, and all his princes, heard his words, the King sought to put him to death: but when Uriah heard it he was afraid, and fled, and went*

[1] There must have been an Ethiopian contingent in Necho's army. [2] Put = Punt = Somaliland and its neighbourhood: *cf.* W. Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 176, art. PUT. [3] On the question whether there were Lydian mercenaries, see Johns in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 160, art. LUD. [4] A reference to the medical papyri for which Egypt was famous. [5] Jer. 46.[2-12] [6] The Wady-el-Arish, the winter torrent which formed the ancient boundary between Egypt and Canaan. [7] 2 Ki. 24[7]. [8] It is difficult to date this incident precisely. It is stated as having taken place *in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim* (Jer. 26[1]). It is possible that the 4th or 5th year of the Jewish King's reign might still be regarded as "the beginning," seeing that he reigned 11 years in all. To put it earlier is difficult, seeing that Necho was then at war with Judah, and no alliance was likely to be entered into, nor would it have been safe for Uriah to flee to Egypt at that time.

into Egypt. And Jehoiakim the King sent men into Egypt, namely Elnathan-ben-Achbor, and certain men with him: and they fetched forth Uriah out of Egypt, and brought him unto Jehoiakim the King, who slew him with the sword, and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people.[1] Now it is impossible to believe that Jehoiakim would be at the great expense and trouble of sending this delegation to Egypt merely for the purpose of capturing an obscure fugitive prophet. It is much more likely that the embassy headed by Elnathan, besides this trifling business, had graver matters in hand. They used the extradition of Uriah as a pretext to cover an invitation to Necho to join a league against Nebuchadnezzar. What Egypt was now intriguing for, ever since her defeat at Carchemish, was the creation of a group of allied Palestinian buffer-states to resist the advance of the Chaldæans.

Her efforts so far were successful. Judah was incited to rebellion. But Nebuchadnezzar came up to Jerusalem, and the revolt was temporarily quelled.[2] Three years passed, and Jehoiakim, at the instigation of Necho, again refused the Babylonian tribute.[3] For once more the "Egyptian" party at the Judæan Court was in the ascendant, and the Chaldæans seemed far away. It is likely that it was at this critical juncture that Jeremiah pronounced one of his most explicit prophecies as to the near downfall of Egypt, and its subjection to the Babylonians. *The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how that Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, should come and smite the land of Egypt. Declare ye in Egypt, and publish in Migdol,*[4] *and publish in Noph*[5] *and in Tahpanhes:*[6] *say ye "Stand forth and prepare ye: for the sword hath devoured round about thee." Why hath thine Apis fled, and thy choice calf not stood?*[7] *Because the Lord did drive them. He made many to stumble, yea, they fell one upon another: and they said "Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity,*[8] *from the oppressing sword." They cried there: "Pharaoh, King of Egypt, is but a noise: he hath let the appointed time pass by."*[9] *As I live, saith the King whose name is the Lord of hosts, surely like Tabor among the mountains, and like Carmel by the sea, so shall he* (Nebuchadnezzar) *come. O thou daughter that dwellest in Egypt, furnish thyself to go into captivity: for Noph shall become a desolation, and shall be burnt up, without inhabitant. Egypt is a very fair heifer:*[10] *but the gadfly out of the north is come, it is come. Her mercenaries*[11] *in the midst of her are like calves of the stall: for they also are turned back, they are fled away together, they did not stand: for the day of their calamity is come upon them, the time of their visitation. Their voice is like that of a hissing serpent, for they go upon the sand: they shall come upon Egypt with axes as men that cut wood.*[12] *They shall cut down her forest, saith the Lord, though it cannot be searched, because they are more than the locusts, and are innumerable. The daughter of Egypt shall be put to shame: she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of the north. The Lord of hosts, the*

[1] Jer. 26.[20-23] [2] 2 Ki. 24.[1] [3] *Ib.* [4] Migdol is probably the Magdolo mentioned in the Roman Itinerary as 12 miles south of Pelusium: perhaps the modern Tell-el-Hêr. It was one of the frontier watch-towers on the side of the Delta towards Asia. It is perhaps distinct from another Migdol (Ex. 14[2]). See Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1920, p. 25. [5] Noph=Memphis (LXX). [6] Tahpanhes=Daphnæ. [7] So Giesebrecht, *Hand-Commentar in loco* with LXX Διατί ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπις; ὁ μόσχος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σοῦ οὐκ ἔμεινεν. [8] The foreign mercenaries would wish to return home. [9] *i.e.*, he has let slip the favourable opportunity of making peace with Nebuchadnezzar on easy terms. [10] A reference to Egypt personified as a Hathor Cow-goddess. [11] How well Jeremiah knew about the Greek components in the Egyptian army! [12] So LXX, *cf.* Jer. 26.[22]

God of Israel, saith "Behold, I will punish Amon of No,[1] *and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with her gods and her Kings: even Pharaoh and them that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterwards it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the Lord."* [2]

But Jeremiah was but a "voice crying in the wilderness." Jehoiakim was convinced that Necho would come to his aid, and that he would be strong enough to resist Nebuchadnezzar. So he revolted. The Chaldæan King did not wait long. He swooped down on Judæa, but ere he reached Jerusalem, Jehoiakim had died. Regarding his death it is interesting to note that Jeremiah's prophecy [3] of it has an Egyptian flavour about it: *Thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim, They shall not lament for him, saying "Ah, my brother!" or "Ah, sister!" They shall not lament for him, saying "Ah, Lord!" or "Ah, his glory!"* Brugsch [4] has pointed out that these expressions of grief are borrowed from the wailing of Adonis as practised in Egypt. The statement therefore shows not only that Jeremiah was personally familiar with the rites of the Adonis cult in Egypt, but that when he uttered his prophecy he was using terms which the dwellers in Jerusalem were acquainted with, and the point of which they could not fail to recognize. It is another indication how deeply the devotion to Nilotic religion had infected the populace of the Judæan capital.

Jehoiakim being dead, the Babylonian vengeance descended on his son and successor *Jehoiachin*. This hapless prince, after a precarious reign of three months, recognized the hopelessness of further resistance, and surrendered. He, his mother, his princes, his officers, and the skilled craftsmen of Judæa were carried captives to Babylon. In his stead, Nebuchadnezzar appointed *Zedekiah*, his uncle, to be King (B.C. 596–586).[5] The misery of the times was so great that numbers of the Jews, seeing no hope of escape from Nebuchadnezzar, fled to Egypt, and took up permanent residence there. But Jeremiah followed them with God's announcement of doom: *I will give up Zedekiah, the King of Judah, and his princes, and the residue of Jerusalem that remain in this land, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt, I will even give them up to be tossed to and fro among all the nations of the earth for evil.*[6] But the judgments promised by Jeremiah did not fall on Egypt during the lifetime of Necho. That Pharaoh died in peace at Sais two years after the disaster at Jerusalem.

His son PSAMMETICHUS II (B.C. 594–589) had a brief and inglorious reign. His little sarcophagus, just 4 feet 7 inches, shows that he was a mere lad at his accession, and that the government must have been carried on by his ministers. Remains of his restorations of decaying temples and other structures are found all over Egypt, especially at Thebes,[7] Abydos,[8] Memphis and Heliopolis, so that his reign must have been marked by considerable architectural activity. Dr. Albrecht Alt [9] believes also that he has discovered in one of the John Rylands papyri of the age of Darius I a reference to an expedition into Palestine undertaken in B.C. 590 by Psammetichus II, which in all probability had something to do with the revolt of Zedekiah from the Babylonian yoke.

[1] *i.e.*, No-Amon=Thebes. [2] Jer. 46.[13-26] [3] Jer. 22.[18] [4] Brugsch, *Die Adonisklage und das Linoslied*, Berlin, 1852, p. 20. [5] 2 Ki. 24.[8-17] [6] Jer. 24.[8] [9] [7] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte*, p. 8. [8] Mariette, *Abydos*, i. Pl. 2. [9] *Zeit. f. alttest. Wissen.* 1910, p. 288.

However that may be, it is certain that at this period the fanaticism in Jerusalem for everything Egyptian was assuming new and much more debasing forms. The prophet Ezekiel, who had been carried off from Judæa into exile in Babylon, along with Jehoiachin, tells how (in B.C. 592 [1]) he was lifted by the spirit from Chaldæa to Jerusalem, and told to dig through the wall of the Temple. *And when I had digged in the wall, behold, a door. And he said to me, "Go in, and see the wicked abominations that they do here." So I went in and saw: and behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel, with every man his censer in his hand, and the odour of the cloud of incense went up.*[2] There seems little reason to doubt that this represents the introduction into Jerusalem, and even into the Temple of Jehovah, of the grossest forms of theriomorphic worship from Egypt. The ibis-headed Thoth, the hawk-headed Horus, the jackal-headed Anubis, the cat-headed Bast, the lioness-headed Sekhmet, the ram-headed Khnum, and other animal-headed gods and goddesses, were thus portrayed; and in addition, there would be also representations of animals esteemed sacred in Egypt, such as the frog, the cobra, the crocodile, the vulture, the shrew-mouse, the ichneumon, the bull, the baboon, and many others. No wonder that the prophet was horrified with this revelation of the most abominable idolatry within the very precincts of Jehovah's temple, and no wonder also that the promoters of this Egyptian cult kept their worship secret. *Hast thou seen what the elders of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in his chambers of imagery?*[3] *For they say, "The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the land."*[4]

Similar corruption was conspicuous among the women of Jerusalem. *He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north, and behold, there sat the women weeping for Tammuz.*[5] The worship of Tammuz spread from its original home in Babylon through Phœnicia, and by the way of Cyprus found congenial soil in Greece and especially in Egypt. Tammuz was addressed in Greek as "Adonis," the Hebrew "Adonai," "my lord."[6] The Egyptians welcomed the new cult with enthusiasm, and precisely at this epoch—the period of the XXVIth Dynasty—they were greatly enamoured of this Syrian god. Adonis of Byblos (Gebal) was identified with Osiris, and the festival of his death and resurrection was observed with the utmost orgiastic fury.[7] The wailing women tore their hair, and lacerated their breasts during the seven days allotted to the mourning over the decease of the hapless youth.[8] It was asserted, further, that the news of Tammuz's resurrection came over the seas from Egypt by a head of papyrus,[9] and the Egyptians believed that it was at Byblos that Isis had found the dismembered limbs of Osiris.[10] This

[1] *In the sixth year, in the sixth month, i.e.*, of Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek. 8 [1]).
[2] Ezek. 8.[8-11] [3] The word "imagery" מַשְׂכִּית *maskith*, reminds us of the prohibition in Lev. 26.[1] וְאֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית לֹא תִתְּנוּ where the *eben maskith*, refers to a stone with hieroglyphics (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 55). [4] Ezek. 8.[12] [5] Ezek. 8.[1]
[6] Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. 299. [7] See Sethe, "Byblos u. der Osirismythus" in *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xlv. (1908) p. 12. [8] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 116 f. 256. [9] The Phœnicians held an annual feast of floating papyrus arks on the river Adonis. A carnelian scarab found at Amrit in Phœnicia has a ship with a Sun above it, and the word *Kher*, which probably meant "Horus" (Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 83). To this day the villagers in the Anti-Lebanon bury their dead in graves of a boat shape (St. Clair in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 236: 1888, p. 107). Conder, however, thinks that the peculiar shape of the graves is a relic of Egyptian anthropoid mummy-cases (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1888, p. 40). [10] Lucian, *de Dea*

orgiastic worship had now been transplanted from Egypt to Jerusalem, and the women of the Jewish capital gave themselves over with wild enthusiasm to this debasing Syro-Egyptian cult.[1]

All this revealed the utmost disloyalty to Jehovah, the covenant God of Judah. We are not surprised, therefore, to find the prophets denouncing the idolatry of the Jewish nation under the metaphor of marital unfaithfulness. Ezekiel, indeed, has drawn up a lurid indictment of the Hebrew race under this characteristically Eastern mode of language. As the political entanglements with Egypt had introduced some of the worst features of Nilotic religion into the Jewish cultus, the righteous indignation of the patriotic prophet blazed forth. *Thou hast committed fornication with the Egyptians, thy neighbours, great of flesh, and hast multiplied thy whoredoms, to provoke me to anger.*[2] In the striking parable of the two sisters Oholah (Samaria) and Oholibah (Jerusalem), horrible in its Dante-like realism,[3] Ezekiel again has depicted, with the exactness and the satire of a Juvenal, the spiritual apostasy of the States of Palestine with Egypt and other Great Powers.[4] He describes how the Jews had never left off practising the abominations which they had learned during their Egyptian bondage,[5] though the Exodus was now so remote; and he reveals how he is aware that the debasing forms of Egyptian superstition are again being observed in the Holy City itself. His terrible descriptions indicate how far Judah was now throwing herself into idolatrous Nilotic practices, and how in the last days of the Jewish Kingdom she was resuscitating with wild passion the revolting uncleannesses and immoralities which had been indulged in centuries before in Egypt. Jerusalem was now remembering *the days of her youth, wherein she had played the harlot in the land of Egypt.*[6] But the judgment would fall. *I will make thy lewdness to cease from thee, and thy whoredom, brought from the land of Egypt: so that thou shalt not lift up thine eyes unto them, nor remember Egypt any more.*[7]

Next year [8] (B.C. 591) Ezekiel renewed his protest, and recalled God's former denunciations of Israel's proneness to Egyptian idolatry while the Hebrews were in bondage in the Delta. *In that day I lifted up mine hands unto them, to bring them forth out of the land of Egypt . . . and I said unto them "Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt" . . . but they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me . . . neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt. Then I said I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt. But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be profaned . . . so I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt.*[9] And then, following up this historical allusion to their past transgressions, the prophet in God's name assures Israel that if they persist in resuscitating the old idolatries of Egypt, renewed judgments will fall on them: *Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you.*[10]

Syra, 6: see also Otto Engel, *Isis und Osiris, eine mythologische Abhandlung*, Nordhausen, 1866. Budge, however, asserts (*Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 124) that Byblos here is not the Phœnician city, but the papyrus swamps of Egypt, called in Egyptian *Athu*, a name meaning "papyrus plants." The Greeks rendered the Egyptian word for papyrus into *βύβλος*, and some copyist applied the title to the city. The supposition is not probable.

[1] See Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 446 f. [2] Ezek. 16.[26] [3] *Cf.* Dante, *Epistola ad Florentinos*. [4] Ezek. 23.[1-49] [5] v.[8 19-21] [6] v.[19] [7] v.[27] [8] *In the seventh year, in the fifth month, i.e.*, B.C. 591 (Ezek. 20 [1]). [9] Ezek. 20.[6-10] [10] v.[36]

CHAPTER XXV

The Fall of the XXVIth Dynasty

After the death of Psammetichus II, the throne of Egypt was held by Apries (B.C. 589–570), probably his brother, who under the name of Uahabra,[1] or Pharaoh-Hophra, occupies an outstanding position in Scripture. He has the unenviable honour of figuring more largely in the Bible than any other Egyptian sovereign, with the exception of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Every reference to him, and to the Egypt of his day, is of a minatory and sinister nature.

Almost immediately after his accession, he involved himself in the affairs of Palestine, for at Jerusalem events were rapidly converging towards the great final catastrophe. Zedekiah, pinning his faith to promises of support from Egypt,[2] and relying on the co-operation of the Ammonites and the Tyrians, defied his suzerain Nebuchadnezzar. *He rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar who had made him swear by God: he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart from turning unto the Lord.*[3] Ezekiel in Babylon, with holy scorn denounced the perfidy of the Jewish monarch. He uttered his parable of the two eagles, the first of which, *a great eagle with great wings and long pinions full of feathers*, typified Nebuchadnezzar *who cropped off the topmost of the young twigs of the cedar* (the nobles of Palestine), while the second, *another great eagle with great wings and many feathers towards whom the vine* (Israel) *did bind its roots*,[4] signified Pharaoh-Hophra And then the prophet furnished the blazing and wrathful interpretation of the riddle: *He* (Zedekiah) *rebelled against him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *in sending his ambassadors into Egypt that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? Shall he escape that doeth such things? Shall he break the covenant and yet escape? As I live, saith the Lord God . . . neither shall Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company make for him in the war, when they cast up mounts and build forts, to cut off many persons.*[5]

It was not long before the army of Nebuchadnezzar appeared under the walls of Jerusalem.[6] The city was invested by the Babylonians. Never-

[1] His "Horus name." [2] It is difficult to accord the right date to the invasion of Palestine by Apries recorded by Herodotus (ii. 161). He says that Hophra "marched an army against Sidon and engaged the Tyrians by sea." Diodorus (i. 69) affirms that he subdued the Phœnicians in Sidon and other cities by a naval attack, and also annexed Cyprus to the Egyptian crown. These enterprises may have been conducted in Apries' first year, and their success may have led Zedekiah to put faith in his prowess. Or the events may have taken place *after* the revolt of Jerusalem when Hophra came out to face Nebuchadnezzar. At some time Hophra built a temple in Gebal to Hathor, details of whose remains, with altars and statues, are given in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 26 f. For other Egyptian remains at Gebal (Byblos) see De Rougé, *Rev. Archéol.* (1864), vii. 194 f. [3] 2 Chr. 36.[13] [4] Ezek. 17.[3 7]
[5] Ezek. 17.[16 17] [6] 2 Ki. 25.[1] Jer. 52.[4] 39.[1] Ezek. 24.[1]

theless, the " Egyptian " party still believed that deliverance would come from the Nile Valley, and it fell to Jeremiah to denounce their dreams as visionary and hopeless. Hophra did attempt to interfere, advanced perhaps as far as Gaza, and the populace of Jerusalem was elated. *Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt, and when the Chaldæans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they brake up from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the Lord unto the prophet Jeremiah, saying, " Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Thus shall ye say to the King of Judah that sent you unto me to inquire of me ' Behold, Pharaoh's army which is come forth to help you shall return to Egypt into their own land.' "* [1] The prophecy came true only too soon. When Hophra was faced with the Babylonian forces which had temporarily suspended the siege of Jerusalem, he thought better of risking his one army of mercenaries which stood between him and ruin. Nebuchadnezzar also was in no wise anxious to precipitate a mortal combat between the two world-powers ; and therefore as the Pharaoh retired once more across his border, the last despairing hope of the Jewish State vanished. *Our eyes do yet fail in looking for our vain help : in our watching we have watched for a nation that could not save.*[2]

The disappointment attending the extinguishing of this hope went well-nigh to cost Jeremiah his life. *When the army of the Chaldæans was broken up from Jerusalem for fear of Pharaoh's army, then Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin, to receive his portion there.*[3] He was arrested as if he were deserting to the Chaldæans, and after imprisonment in the court of the guard,[4] was cast into a loathsome subterranean dungeon where he was like to perish.[5] From this he was rescued by a native of Egypt, *Ebedmelech the Ethiopian,*[6] an eunuch in the Royal Palace, who in recompense for his kindness to the prophet received an assurance of personal safety when the city should be captured.[7]

The presence in Jerusalem of this dark-hued native of the Nile Valley is interesting, for it is in keeping with other indications which we possess that during the last few Jewish reigns there had been not a few persons resident in the capital whose ancestral homeland was the Upper Egyptian regions. Zephaniah, who prophesied in the days of Josiah-ben-Amon, was *the son of Cushi,*[8] or the " Ethiopian." He it was who had uttered the prophetic oracle *Ye Ethiopians also, ye shall be slain by my sword* : [9] but he had also in God's name promised that *from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.*[10] In the reign of Jehoiakim, one of the wicked princes was *Jehudi-ben-Nethaniah, ben-Shelemiah, ben-Cushi* [11] (or the " Ethiopian ") ; and seemingly so well known in the streets of Jerusalem were the dark features of the natives of Nubia that Jeremiah could use the swarthy hue of their countenances for one of his most telling apophthegms. *Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil.*[12] Now in the final throes of the expiring State, it is an Ethiopian who rescues the greatest patriot and prophet of the age.

Apparently the news of this treachery on the part of Hophra—inciting his allies to rebel, and then leaving them in the lurch—reached Ezekiel a little later,[13] and from the land of his exile in Babylon he hurled forth the most terrible denunciation on the Pharaoh in a prophecy of vengeance

[1] Jer. 37.[5-7] [2] Lam. 4.[17] [3] Jer. 37.[11 12] [4] Jer. 37.[12] [5] Jer. 38.[6]
[6] Jer. 38.[7-13] [7] Jer. 39.[15-18] [8] Zeph. 1.[1] [9] Zeph. 2.[12] [10] Zeph. 3.[10]
[11] Jer. 36.[14] [12] Jer. 13.[23] [13] Ezek. 29,[1] *In the tenth year, in the tenth month, in he twelfth day of the month.*

and desolation of his Kingdom. *The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, set thy face against Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and prophesy against him, and against all Egypt: speak and say, Thus saith the Lord God, "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great dragon* [1] *that lieth in the midst of his rivers, who hath said 'My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.'* [2] *And I will put hooks in thy jaws,* [3] *and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales; and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, with all the fish of thy rivers which stick unto thy scales. And I will leave thee thrown into the wilderness,* [4] *thee and all the fish of thy rivers: thou shalt fall upon the open field: thou shalt not be brought together nor gathered: I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the heaven. And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the Lord, because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel. When they took hold of thee by thy hand thou didst break, and didst rend all their shoulders: and when they leaned upon thee, thou brakest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand." Therefore thus saith the Lord God "Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee, and will cut off from thee man and beast. And the land of Egypt shall be a desolation and a waste: and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said 'The river is mine, and I have made it.' Therefore behold, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt an utter waste and desolation from Migdol to Syene,* [5] *and even unto the border of Ethiopia. No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years.* [6] *And I will make the land of Egypt a desolation in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be a desolation forty years: and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries." For thus saith the Lord God "At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the peoples whither they were scattered: and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt: and I will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their origin,* [7] *and they shall be there a base Kingdom.* [8] *It shall be the basest of the Kingdoms: neither shall it any more lift itself up above the nations: and I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations. And it shall be no more the confidence of the house of Israel, bringing iniquity to remembrance, when they turn to look after them: and they shall know that I am the Lord God."* [9]

So impressed was Ezekiel with the moral depravity of Egypt, and its

[1] Hophra is symbolized as a crocodile, and his people as fishes. [2] It is remarkable that Ezekiel should seize on this bit of boastful language as symptomatic of the pride of Hophra. Egypt was "the gift of the Nile," but the Nile was, to the intensely religious mind of the Jewish prophet, the gift of God. [3] Herodotus (ii. 70) speaks of the way in which the Egyptians caught the crocodile by baiting a large hook with a lump of pork (see also Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte*, i. 27). [4] Probably referring to the unfortunate expedition against Cyrene (Herod. ii. 161), regarding which see p. 341. [5] *i.e.*, from the frontier fortress on the extreme N.E. of the Delta to the extreme south of Egypt proper. South of Syene (Assuan) the confines of Ethiopia begin. [6] Skinner (*The Book of Ezekiel*, p. 268) says:—"The forty years of Egypt's desolation represent in round numbers the period of Chaldæan supremacy during which Jerusalem lies in ruins. Ezekiel at this time expected the invasion of Egypt to follow soon after the capture of Jerusalem, so that the restoration of the two peoples would be simultaneous. At the end of forty years the whole world will be re-organized on a new basis, Israel occupying the central position as the people of God, and in that new world Egypt shall have a separate but subordinate place." So also A. B. Davidson, *Ezekiel*, p. 214. [7] It is remarkable that Ezekiel should describe Pathros (=Upper Egypt) as the birth-land of the Egyptians. This is quite in accordance with uniform Egyptian tradition, which always placed the crown of Upper Egypt before that of Lower Egypt. The statutory phrase was "King of the South and of the North," see p. 36. [8] This was strictly fulfilled under the miserable Persian *régime*, when Egypt was merely a helpless appanage of a nation whose capital was in far-off Susa. [9] Ezek. 29. 1-16

ripeness for a great humbling that, a few weeks later, he thundered forth a prophecy still more explicit and minute in its details of vengeance. *The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying, Son of man, prophesy and say Thus saith the Lord God, "Howl ye, Woe worth the day!" For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a day of clouds: it shall be the time of the heathen. And a sword shall come upon Egypt, and anguish shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt: and they shall take away her multitude, and her foundations shall be broken down. Ethiopia, and Put,*[1] *and Lud,*[2] *and all the mingled people,*[3] *and Cub,*[4] *and the children of the land that is in league,*[5] *shall fall with them by the sword. Thus saith the Lord, "They also that uphold Egypt shall fall, and the pride of her power shall come down: from Migdol to Syene shall they fall in it by the sword . . . and they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. And they shall know that I am the Lord when I have set a fire in Egypt, and all her helpers are broken. In that day shall messengers go forth from before me in ships to make the careless Ethiopians afraid:*[6] *and there shall be anguish upon them, as in the day of Egypt, for lo, it cometh." Thus saith the Lord God, "I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease, by the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon.*[7] *He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations, shall be brought in to destroy the land: and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain. And I will make the rivers dry, and will sell the land into the hand of evil men: and I will make the land desolate, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: I the Lord have spoken it."*

Thus saith the Lord God, "I will also destroy the idols and I will cause the images to cease from Noph:[8] *and there shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt. And I will make Pathros*[9] *desolate, and will set a fire in Zoan,*[10] *and will execute judgments in No.*[11] *And I will pour my fury upon Sin,*[12] *the stronghold of Egypt,*[13] *and I will cut off the multitude of No. And I will set a fire in Egypt: Sin shall be in great anguish, and No shall be broken up: and Noph shall have adversaries in the daytime. The young men of Aven*[14] *and of Pi-beseth*[15] *shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity. At Tehaphnehes*[16] *also the day shall be dark, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt, and the pride of her power shall cease in her: as for her, a cloud shall cover her, and her*

[1] Put=Punt=Somaliland. [2] See Johns in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 160, *s.v.* LUD, whether these are Lydian mercenaries or not. [3] Perhaps=mercenaries of all races. [4] "Cub" should almost certainly be "Lub," *i.e.*, Lybia: reading לוּב instead of כוּב [5] The allusion is obscure and probably now lost: the nation designated would be well known to Ezekiel's contemporaries. [6] A reference to those who carried tidings to Nubia, in swift boats up the Nile, announcing the arrival in Egypt of the terrible invader. [7] This is the first explicit statement of the name of the threatened invader of Egypt. [8] Noph=Memphis. [9] Pathros=the Thebaid and Upper Egypt. [10] Zoan=Tanis. [11] No=Thebes. [12] Sin=Pelusium. Both "Sin" and "Pelusium" mean "mud" or "mire." Pelusium is from πηλός, "mud" (Strabo, xvii. 802): so also the modern name of the spot *Pheromi*. [13] Strabo, *op. cit.*, speaks of Pelusium as an obstacle to invaders from the East. [14] Aven=On (Gen. 41 [45]) =Heliopolis, Jer. 43.[13] Griffith (Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 204) says that the name was intentionally distorted from "On" to "Aven" (=idolatry) by a punning change of vocalization. When Petrie excavated Heliopolis in 1912 he was unable to find any remains later than those of the XXVIth Dynasty. "The only conclusion," he says (Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar, and Shurafa* (1915), p. 2) "to be drawn is that at the Persian invasion the city was laid waste and depopulated,on purpose to prevent its being an outwork of Memphis on the eastern road"—a remarkable fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecy. [15] Pi-beseth=Bubastis. [16] Tehaphnehes=Tahpanhes= Daphnæ, now Tell Defenneh.

daughters shall go into captivity. Thus will I execute judgment in Egypt and they shall know that I am the Lord." [1]

About three months later,[2] Ezekiel again broke out in an announcement of ruin for Hophra. *The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, I have broken the arm* [3] *of Pharaoh, King of Egypt: and lo, it hath not been bound up to apply healing medicines, to put a roller to bind it, that it be strong to hold the sword. Therefore thus saith the Lord God "Behold I am against Pharaoh King of Egypt, and will break his arms, the strong and that which was broken, and I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand. And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries. And I will strengthen the arms of the King of Babylon, and put my sword in his hand: but I will break the arms of Pharaoh, and he shall groan before him with the groanings of a deadly wounded man. And I will hold up the arms of the King of Babylon and the arms of Pharaoh shall fall down, and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall put my sword into the hand of the King of Babylon, and he shall stretch it out upon the land of Egypt. And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them through the countries: and they shall know that I am the Lord.*" [4]

So large a place did Egypt occupy in the mind of Ezekiel that, after an interval of a little more than a month and a half,[5] he gave still another fulmination against the colossal pride and arrogance of Hophra, and another intimation of Egypt's impending fall. *The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, say unto Pharaoh King of Egypt, and to his multitude "Whom art thou like in thy greatness? Behold, a teasshur,*[6] *a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature: and his top was among the clouds. The waters*[7] *nourished him, the deep made him to grow: her rivers ran round about her plantation: and she sent out her channels* [8] *unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his stature was exalted above all the trees of the field: and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long by reason of many waters, when he shot them forth.*[9] *All the fowls of heaven* [10] *made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches, for his root was by many waters. The cedars in the garden of God could not equal him: the fir trees were not like his boughs, and the plane trees were not as his branches: nor was any tree in the garden of God like unto him in his beauty. I made him fair by the multitude of his branches, so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God envied him.*" [11]

Therefore thus saith the Lord God "Because thou art exalted in stature,

[1] Ezek. 30 [1-19]. [2] The date is *In the eleventh year* (of Jehoiachin's captivity), *in the first month, in the seventh day of the month* (Ezek. 30 [20]). [3] This must refer to the repulse of Hophra when Nebuchadnezzar went against him. Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 7. 3) says that there was an actual battle, and that the Egyptians were routed and driven out of all Syria. This may or may not have been: the necessity of returning to Egypt was equally a "breaking of the arm of Pharaoh." [4] Ezek. 30.[20-26] [5] The date is given as *In the eleventh year, in the third month, in the first day of the month*, Ezek. 31.[1] [6] The A.V. and R.V. translate "The Assyrian," and interpret the whole chapter as a description of the pride and the downfall of Nineveh. But Nineveh had already fallen, and it was superfluous for Ezekiel to announce its destruction. It is much better to regard the word *asshur* here as the name of a tree, the same as *teasshur* (Ezek. 27 [6]), the Arabic "sherbin," a species of cedar. It is to this lofty tree that Egypt in its pride is likened all through this chapter, as v.[18] clearly shows. [7] The Nile. [8] Egypt's many canals. [9] A reference to the width of Egypt's empire in her former palmy days. [10] The smaller nations that looked to Egypt for protection and support. [11] These "other trees" vainly aspired to emulate the prosperity and magnificence of Egypt" (Skinner, *Ezekiel*, p. 273).

and he hath set his top among the clouds, and his heart is lifted up in his height : I will even deliver him into the hand of the mighty one of the nations : [1] *he shall surely deal with him : I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him : upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the watercourses of the land :* [2] *and all the peoples of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him.*[3] *Upon his ruin all the fowls of the heaven shall dwell, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches : to the end* [4] *that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves in their stature, neither set their top among the clouds, nor that their mighty ones stand up in their height, even all that drink water : for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth, in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit."*

Thus saith the Lord God, " In the day when he went down to Sheol I caused a mourning : [5] *I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the rivers* [6] *thereof, and the great waters were stayed : and I caused Lebanon* [7] *to go into mourning black for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to Sheol with them that descend into the pit : and all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that drink water, were comforted in the nether parts of the earth.*[8] *They also went down into Sheol with him unto them that be slain by the sword : yea, they that were his arms, that dwelt under his shadow in the midst of the nations. To whom art thou thus like in glory and in greatness among the trees of Eden ?* [9] *Yet shalt thou be brought down with the trees of Eden* [10] *unto the nether parts of the earth : thou shalt lie in the midst of the uncircumcised, with them that be slain by the sword. This is Pharaoh and all his multitude," saith the Lord God.*[11]

While Ezekiel thus hurled abroad his anathemas against Egypt, the final catastrophe happened at Jerusalem. Two months after Ezekiel's last prophecy the famine-stricken city was stormed. Zedekiah, attempting to flee, was captured and carried before Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, where his eyes were put out.[12] Barely a month later, Nebuzaradan burned Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple, and carried off most of the remaining population to captivity in Babylon [13] (B.C. 587). The centuries of coquetting with Egypt had ended in utter humiliation and ruin for the Jewish State, and the warnings of the Hebrew prophets as to the folly of placing trust in such a broken reed had been fully vindicated. Judah had *given the hand to the Egyptians, and to the Assyrians, to be satisfied with bread,*[14] and both policies had proved equally suicidal.

A year and a half after the fall of the city, *one that had escaped out of Jerusalem came* unto Ezekiel in Babylon, *saying " The city is smitten."* [15]

[1] Nebuchadnezzar. [2] The great fallen tree blocks the water courses. [3] The nations which dwelt under Egypt's shadow, desert her when she is stricken. [4] It is noteworthy that Ezekiel's purpose is always ethical and moral, to warn others as to the dire consequences of overweening pride and sin. [5] All creation seems to be paralysed when Egypt, the splendid empire of antiquity, falls. [6] The Nile is deeply affected by the ruin of the land it waters. [7] Egypt had much commercial intercourse with Lebanon, and the timber trade with the Nile Valley would be ruined. [8] Those peoples that have already perished, and have gone down to Sheol, are " comforted " when they see so mighty a power as Egypt become as weak as they. [9] Implying that Egypt was without a peer, unique among the governments of mankind. [10] Other Kingdoms of the ancient world which had perished. [11] Ezek. 31.[1-18] [12] 2 Ki. 25.[3-7], Jer. 52 [6-11], 39.[2-7] [13] 2 Ki. 25 [8-21], Jer. 39 [8 9], 52.[12-30] [14] Lam. 5.[6] [15] The date is *In the twelfth year of our captivity, in the tenth month, in the fifth day of the month,* Ezek. 33.[21]

The news affected him profoundly, and about two months later[1] there came from him another denunciation of Egypt which had promised so much and done nothing. *The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, take up a lamentation for Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and say unto him "Thou wast likened unto a young lion of the nations: yet art thou as a dragon*[2] *in the seas: and thou brakest forth with thy rivers,*[3] *and troubledst the waters with thy feet, and fouledst their rivers." Thus saith the Lord God, "I will spread out my net over thee with a company of many peoples: and they shall bring thee up in my net. And I will leave thee upon the land, I will cast thee forth upon the open field, and will cause all the fowls of the heavens to settle upon thee, and I will satisfy the beasts of the whole earth with thee.*[4] *And I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valleys with thy worms. I will also water with thy blood the land wherein thou swimmest, even to the mountains: and the watercourses shall be full of thee. And when I shall extinguish thee,*[5] *I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light.*[6] *All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God. I will also vex the hearts of many peoples, when I shall bring thy destruction among the nations into countries which thou hast not known. Yea, I will make many peoples amazed at thee, and their Kings shall be horribly afraid for thee, when I shall brandish my sword before them and they shall tremble at every moment, every man for his own life, in the day of thy fall."*[7]

For thus saith the Lord God, "The sword of the King of Babylon shall come upon thee. By the swords of the mighty will I cause thy multitude to fall: the terrible of the nations are they all: and they shall spoil the pride of Egypt, and all the multitude thereof shall be destroyed. I will destroy also all the beasts thereof from beside many waters: neither shall the foot of man trouble them any more, nor the hoofs of beasts trouble them. Then will I cause their waters to settle, and cause their rivers to run like oil,"[8] *saith the Lord God. "When I shall make the land of Egypt desolate, and waste, a land destitute of that whereof it was full, when I shall smite all them that dwell therein, then shall they know that I am the Lord. This is the lamentation wherewith they shall lament; the daughters of the nations shall lament therewith: for Egypt, and for all her multitude, shall they lament therewith," saith the Lord God.*[9]

Brooding for other fourteen days,[10] Ezekiel seemed to see still more clearly the utter collapse of Egypt, and in a final anathema he gave utterance to one of the weirdest dirges in literature. He pictured Egypt and her monarch descending into the lower world of shades, and finding there many other nations on whom doom and death had already descended. These defunct peoples he imagined as still living on in the gloomy realms of Sheol.

[1] The date is given as *In the twelfth year, in the twelfth month, in the first day of the month,* Ezek. 32.[1] [2] *i.e.,* a crocodile. [3] Or, as Ewald and Smend translate, *Thou didst spurt out the water* as a crocodile does on coming to the surface. [4] The carcase of the crocodile becomes food for all manner of carrion birds and beasts of prey. Egypt was large enough to afford plenty to satiate other nations; *cf.* Psa. 74.[14] [5] There may be a reference here to the constellation of the Dragon between Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Draco suggests an enemy of God (*cf.* Isa. 51[9]). [6] Expressive of the effect upon the whole course of Nature of the fall of a nation so great as Egypt. [7] Their feeling will be "If Egypt falls before this all powerful Chaldæan, what hope is there for us?" [8] When man is cut off from Egypt there will be none left to disturb the waters, and the Nile will run pure and smooth. [9] Ezek. 32.[1-16] [10] The date is *In the twelfth year, in the fifteenth day of the month,* Ezek. 32.[17]

Son of man, wail for the multitude,[1]
Wail for the multitude of Egypt
And cast them down, even her,
And the daughters of nations renownèd
To the nethermost parts of the earth,
With them that go down to the pit.
Whom dost thou pass in beauty?[2]
Go down: be thou laid with the uncircumcised
They shall fall in the midst of them,
Even of them that are slain by the sword:
Delivered she is to the sword:
Draw her,[3] *and her multitudes all.*
The strong 'mong the mighty[4] *shall speak*
To him from the midst of Sheol,
With them that do help him together:
They are all gone down, they lie
Uncircumcised, slain by the sword.[5]

When Egypt thus descends into Sheol, she will find there *Assyria,*[6] *Elam,*[7] *Meshech,*[8] *Tubal,*[9] *Edom,*[10] *the princes of the north,*[11] and *all the Zidonians* [12]*:*

Which down are gone with the slain:
With their terror, ashamed of their might:
And uncircumcised they lie
With them that are slain by the sword,
And they bear their shame with them,
Even with them that go down to the pit.

Then when Pharaoh sees so many proud nations overwhelmed before him, he will be comforted over his own individual fall and descent into Hades :—

Pharaoh shall see them, and cheered
Shall he be over all his host,
Even Pharaoh and all his army,
His army slain by the sword,
This is the word of the Lord God.
For my terror I have causèd
My fear in the lands of the living:
And therefore, laid shall he be
In the midst of the uncircumcised
With them that are slain by the sword,
Even Pharaoh and all his host:
This is the word of the Lord God.[13]

[1] I have attempted to reproduce the majestic rhythm of this dirge in its English dress in full in *The Expos. Times*, v. (1894) 475. A portion of it is inserted here. See also the analysis of it by F. H. Woods in *Expos. Times*, xxii. (1910) 21. [2] A question of mingled irony, triumph, and perhaps sorrow. [3] An apostrophe to the keepers of Sheol to drag Egypt down to the lower world. [4] The mighty nations already in Sheol rise and make scornful comment on the latest comer to these gloomy abodes; *cf.* Isa. 14.[9 18] [5] Ezek. 32.[18 21] [6] Destroyed by the Chaldæans and the Medes. [7] Fearfully ravaged by Ashurbanipal. [8] Meshech was in the region of Commagene : it is not known by what means the Kingdom was overthrown, but it may have been by the Scythians. [9] Tubal represents the Tibareni in the mountains to the S.E. of the Black Sea. [10] Edom had been treated with great barbarity by Esarhaddon. [11] These probably refer to the vassal rulers of Damascus, Hamath, Arpad, etc. [12] It is noteworthy that Zidon, not Tyre, is mentioned. The fall of Tyre at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar was still a future event. [13] Ezek. 32.[30-32]

In all these repeated denunciations of Egypt, Ezekiel spoke both as a patriot and as a religious teacher. His passionate devotion to his native land led him to cherish the bitterest feelings of resentment against the Nilotic government, which had proved so uniformly false to its promises of help against the Babylonians. But to an even greater degree, Ezekiel's abhorrence of Egypt arose from his keen perception of the debasing influence of Egyptian religion, and of the dangers that might accrue to his Hebrew compatriots were Deltaic conceptions to become endemic amongst the Jews, whether resident in Palestine, or exiles in Chaldæa. Deeper than other men, he penetrated beneath the surface of Egypt's seeming magnificence, and saw there the rottenness, the materialism, the pride in brute strength, and the practical atheism of a people steeped to the lips in religiosity.

Yet with all his aversion towards Egypt, Ezekiel was not a bigot. He could recognize in her arts and civilization features that were praiseworthy and even deserving of imitation. It is of interest to note that in his ideal description of the restored temple of Jehovah, he introduces certain conceptions borrowed from the architecture of the Nile Valley. The building in the after court of his temple was suggestive of similar arrangements about Egyptian temples. Like these, it was surrounded by an open space which in Egypt intervened between it and the sacred enclosure, or as Ezekiel phrased it, *with twin galleries at the side.*[1] Now, galleries imply a porch, and this porch was none other than the *parbar* dedicated to the Sun-god, where formerly a heathen fane had stood.[2] We must therefore place here, in Ezekiel's plan, a temple of Egyptian type, distinguished by a double gateway like Egyptian pylons.[3]

Five years[4] after the destruction of Jerusalem, an event of great moment for the Jews took place. Gedaliah, who had been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar governor of Judæa, was murdered at Mizpah by Ishmæl, an ex-courtier and a relative of the deposed Jewish King. The remanent Jews, terrified that this crime would be laid by the Babylonians at their door, resolved *at the Khan*[5] *of Chimham, near Bethlehem, to go to enter into Egypt, because of the Chaldæans, for they were afraid of them.*[6] The whole body of the Jews, led by Johanan-ben-Kareah, approached Jeremiah, and asked him to pray for guidance as to whether they should emigrate to Egypt. Ten days later the prophet announced to them God's answer, that if they stayed on in Palestine all would be well, *but,* he added, *if ye say "We will not dwell in*

[1] Ezek. 41.[14] [2] 1 Chr. 26.[18] 2 Ki. 26.[11] Ezek. 41.[15] [3] Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria, and Asia Minor,* i. 218 (1890). [4] It is evident that *the seventh month* of Jer. 41 [1] cannot mean two months after the burning of Jerusalem and the appointment of Gedaliah. There is not time for all the events narrated in Jer. 40 to have taken place in the interval. Ezekiel (33 [24-29]) refers to Jewish people remaining in Palestine more than a year after the fall of the Holy City who were expecting to claim the deserted land for themselves. Time is also needed for the capture of the *cities that ye have taken* (Jer. 40 [10]), and for the cultivation of the soil so that it yielded *wine and summer fruits and oil very much* (v.[10 12]). But most conclusive of all is the clear statement (Jer. 52 [30]) that, besides the 830 *persons* who were carried away captive to Babylon in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, *in the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carried away captive of the Jews* 745 *persons* (*i.e.*, in B.C. 582–581). How could he have done this if the remnant of the Jews migrated to Egypt only two months after the fall of Jerusalem? It is much more likely that this final deportation took place as a result of the murder of Gedaliah five years after the Jewish Kingdom perished. (See Grätz, *Monatschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judenthums* (1870), p. 268 f. [5] The *Khan of Chimham* (Geruth-Chimham) seems to have been a caravanserai near Bethlehem erected by Chimham, son of Barzillai the Gileadite (1 Ki. 2.[7] 2 Sa. 19 [31]), for the benefit of travellers journeying from Jerusalem to Egypt. It was afterwards the inn where Jesus Christ was born (Luke 2 [3]). [6] Jer. 41.[17 18]

this land . . . but we will go into the land of Egypt where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell" : now therefore hear ye the word of the Lord, O remnant of Judah : Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, "If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt, and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass that the sword, which ye fear, shall overtake you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine, whereof ye are afraid, shall follow hard after you in Egypt, and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt, to sojourn there : they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence : and none of them shall remain or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them." For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, "As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt : and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach : and ye shall see this place no more." The Lord hath spoken concerning you, O remnant of Judah, "Go ye not into Egypt"; know certainly that I have testified unto you this day.[1]

His remonstrances were in vain. The Jews in their mad infatuation for Egypt, and with the fables of grandeur and glory and security of the Nile Valley fascinating their imagination, would not be diverted from their resolve. *Johanan-ben-Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah . . . the men, and the women, and the children, and the King's daughters . . . and Jeremiah the prophet*[2] *. . . and they came into the land of Egypt . . . even to Tahpanhes.*[3] It is remarkable that to this day, Tahpanhes, or Daphnæ, is known as *Kasr Bint el Yehudi*, "the palace of the Jew's daughter."

As the fugitives from Palestine entered this great frontier fortress, a strange scene was enacted. *The word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah in Tahpanhes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand, and hide them in mortar in the brickwork, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, in the sight of the men of Judah, and say unto them "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar, the King of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid : and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them. And he shall come, and he shall smite the land of Egypt : such as are for death shall be given to death, and such as are for captivity to captivity, and such as are for the sword to the sword. And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt : and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives : and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment : and he shall go forth from thence in peace. He shall also break the obelisks of Beth-Shemesh that is in the land of Egypt,*[4] *and the houses of the gods of Egypt shall he burn with fire."* [5]

In 1886, Petrie [6] discovered this very "brickwork" in which Jeremiah buried these stones. It is a large open-air platform, a sort of *mastaba*,

[1] Jer. 42.[13-19] [2] Jer. 43,[5-7] 2 Ki. 25.[26] [3] Jerome says that Hebrew tradition avers that Jeremiah and Baruch, his secretary, died in Egypt almost immediately after their arrival there (*Comment in Isai.* xxx. 6.7). Josephus (*Antiq.*, x. 9. 7) implies that both of them were removed to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the latter's conquest of Egypt (B.C. 583). [4] Beth-Shemesh = On = Heliopolis. The descriptive title *that is in the land of Egypt* is added by Jeremiah when addressing Jews familiar with Palestine, to distinguish the Egyptian city from Beth-Shemesh of Judah (1 Sam. 6 [7-20]). The obelisks of Heliopolis were those so closely identified with the worship of Ra, the Sun-god. [5] Jer. 43.[8-13] [6] Petrie, *Tell Defenneh* in *Tanis*, ii. 50 : and *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 54. The story of this discovery and of the exploration of the mound is well told by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers* (1892), p. 63 f.

where business such as loading camels with bales, pitching tents, etc., was transacted, and where guests were received. The explorer turned over all that remained of the ruined brick platform, but the "stones" had disappeared. It was on this raised brickwork, opposite the gate of the fort, that Nebuchadnezzar, when he at last arrived in Egypt, spread his royal canopy. Three terra-cotta cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar found here are now in the Cairo Museum, and probably came out of the structure itself.[1]

While this second "Descent into Egypt" was taking place, Nebuchadnezzar was preparing for his long contemplated invasion of Egypt. But his advance was hindered by the necessity of undertaking a protracted siege of Tyre, which seems to have lasted for thirteen years.[2] Till this Phœnician city was reduced, he could not hope for a successful attack on the Delta. Ezekiel [3] had prophesied this siege,[4] and had contributed an immortal sketch of the magnificence and the multifarious splendour of the commerce of the Tyrians soon destined to pass away.[5] He had pictured the riches, and glory, and marvellous trade of the island-city, and had brought out the intimate connection that subsisted between Tyre and the Nile. *Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, that it might be to thee for an ensign:* [6] *Lud* [7] *and Put* [8] *were in thine army, thy men of war, they hanged the shield and helmet in thee: they set forth thy comeliness.*[9] For thirteen years the blockade continued, yet when at last the city capitulated it was not sacked and destroyed. Its King, Ethbaal III, was permitted still to exercise rule under the suzerainty of the Babylonian monarch.[10]

This comparative ill-success of the Chaldæan was promised a better reward. Ezekiel in B.C. 570 [11] uttered another prophecy concerning the invasion of Egypt. *The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army, from Tyre, for the service that he had served against it: therefore thus saith the Lord God "Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon; and he shall carry off her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey: it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt as his recompense for which he served, because they wrought for me," saith the Lord God.*[12]

But it was not during the lifetime of Hophra that the Babylonians entered Egypt. On the contrary, Apries enjoyed a very considerable amount of prosperity. He devoted himself to the advancement of trade, and the Nile Valley grew increasingly rich. The ancient temple of Ptah at Memphis claimed a special amount of his attention, a stele found here preserving a decree in which the Pharaoh ordered liberal provision to be made for its upkeep. Hophra's cartouche is found throughout the entire

[1] Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. 51. [2] Josephus, *Antiq.*, x. 11. 1. [3] The prophecy was uttered in B.C. 586 almost immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, for in Ezek. 26 [2] he refers to the sneers of Tyre over the destruction of the Judæan capital, and to her boast that the riches of Judah would now come to her. [4] Ezek. 26.[1-21] [5] Ezek. 27,[1-36] 28.[1-19] [6] Ezek. 27.[7] [7] For the identification of *Lud* with the Lydians, or with an African tribe, see Johns in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 160. [8] Put=Punt=Somaliland. [9] Ezek. 27.[10] [10] Menander, *Fragm.* 2, in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* iv. 447. The question whether Tyre was actually *captured* by Nebuchadnezzar is discussed in *Expos. Times*, x. 378, 430, 475, 520, by Selbie, Sayce, and Hommel. All three, however, ignore the fact that there were *two* cities=*Palætyrus* on the mainland, which was certainly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and *Island-Tyre*, which seems to have capitulated on fair and favourable terms. See my article TYRE in Hastings' *One Volume Dict. of the Bible*, p. 952. [11] The date is given *In the seven and twentieth year, in the first month, in the first day of the month* (Ezek. 29 [17]). This gives the year as B.C. 570. [12] Ezek. 29.[17-20]

length of Egypt : and the hieroglyphics of the time betray careful copying of the best Early Empire models.[1]

Hophra erected for himself at Memphis a magnificent palace, the remains of which were excavated for the first time by Petrie in 1908–09.[2] On a mound 50 feet above the plain there were laid out courts more than 100 feet square, covering in all an area of two acres. The walls were from 10 to 22 feet thick, of black mud brick with stone linings, and they stood 45 feet high. A drawbridge spanned a surrounding fosse from which an interesting series of Persian sealings and Aramaic dockets from parcels have been recovered : there was a gateway 12 feet wide and 37 feet deep, while a lofty watch-tower overlooked the wide plain and desert. The passages, the corridors, the three great halls, and the guardroom were all floored with stone slabs, and there were stone doorways and stone staircases. The kitchen had still *in situ* its brick fireplaces, while remains of the drain-pipes and possibly of the Royal Stone Throne were also discovered.[3] Fragments of the splendid furniture which once adorned the palace were similarly unearthed, besides silver and gold heads of Hathor, bronzes, scale armour, and other weapons.[4] Ruins of a palace pylon of Senusert I, which had been demolished and left as rubbish, were also found, the limestone blocks of which, on being pieced together by Petrie, yielded a representation of the successive stages of the ritual of a *sed* festival when the old King invested his successor with the emblems of royalty, and became an incarnation of Osiris, instead of waiting till he was murdered by his successor, as the ancient practice had been.[5]

The Jews who migrated into Egypt from Palestine received a cordial welcome from Hophra. They not only settled at Daphnæ, but soon were scattered over the Delta and up the Nile as far as Thebes. *They dwelt at Migdol,*[6] *and at Tahpanhes,*[7] *and at Noph,*[8] *and in the country of Pathros.*[9] In a land of idolatry they speedily succumbed to the polytheistic influences around them. The stern lessons of experience were thrown away on them : the fall of their Holy City did not eradicate from their hearts the love of false gods, as was the case with their compatriots in exile in Babylon, who developed in the land of their captivity a fierce and ardent monotheism. Jeremiah had once more to rebuke his erring compatriots. *Thus saith the Lord . . . Ye provoke me unto anger with the works of your hands, burning incense unto other gods in the land of Egypt . . . that ye may be cut off, and that ye may be a curse and a reproach among all the nations of the earth.*[10] *. . . I will take the remnant of Judah that have set their faces to go into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, and they shall be consumed : in the land of Egypt shall they fall, they shall be consumed by the sword, and by the famine : they shall die from the least even unto the greatest by the sword and by the famine : and they shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse and a reproach. For I will punish them that dwell in the land of Egypt, as I have punished Jerusalem, by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, so that none of the remnant of Judah which are gone into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, shall escape or remain, that they should return into the land of Judah, to which*

[1] In 1892 Naville discovered a full-sized statue of Apries at Tme el Amdid, the ancient Mendes. The statue was absolutely Pharaonic, but the face and head had been recut to reveal the ill-natured features of the Roman Emperor Caracalla ! (*Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1892–93, p. 3). [2] Petrie, *The Palace of Apries* (*Memphis II*), 1909. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 3. [4] *Ib.* p. 13. [5] *Cf.* Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. 8. [6] The frontier watchtower next Asia. [7] *i.e.*, Daphnæ. [8] *i.e.*, Memphis. [9] *i.e.*, Upper Egypt or the Thebaid, Jer. 44.[1] [10] Jer. 44.[8]

they have a desire to return to dwell there: for none shall return save such as shall escape.[1]

This denunciation infuriated the men whose *wives burned incense unto other gods: and all the women that stood by, a great assembly, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt in Pathros*[2] defied the prophet, and announced their determination to continue in their idolatry. *We will certainly perform every word that is gone forth out of our mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offerings unto her. When we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make our cakes to worship her, and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our husbands?*[3] This worship of the "queen of heaven" which Jeremiah attacked was of old standing. The title was appropriated to Hathor, as well as to the Semitic Astarte, and Petrie[4] has discovered numerous altars for offering these meal offerings, and cakes of flour and oil at the Egyptian temple of Serabit-el-Khadem in Sinai. The confession of these angry Jewish women that they had practised this idolatry *in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem*[5] casts another lurid light on the extent to which debasing Egyptian customs had been observed in the Holy City prior to his fall.

Seeing their fixed resolve, Jeremiah hurled out at them his last anathema.[6] *Hear ye the word of the Lord, all Judah that dwell in the land of Egypt: Behold, I have sworn by my great name, saith the Lord, that my name shall no more be named in the mouth of any man of Judah in all the land of Egypt, saying "As the Lord God liveth." Behold, I watch over them for evil and not for good: and all the men of Judah that are in the land of Egypt shall be consumed by the sword and by the famine, until there be an end of them. And they that escape the sword shall return out of the land of Egypt into the land of Judah few in number: and all the remnant of Judah that are gone into the land of Egypt to sojourn there, shall know whose word shall stand, mine or theirs. And this shall be the sign unto you, saith the Lord, that I will punish you in this place, that ye may know that my words shall surely stand against you for evil: thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, King of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.*[7]

In the Cairo Museum there is preserved an interesting memorial of the period of the residence of the Jews in Tahpanhes. It is a limestone stele bearing the representation of a god in Asiatic dress.[8] He carries on his head a high Syrian mitre: he stands on a walking lion, and receives offerings from a man who is pouring out a libation. In his left hand the god holds a sceptre of a purely Egyptian character, but his right hand grasps an emblem as emphatically Asiatic. It is what the Greeks called the *lagobolon*, the *gamlu* of the Mesopotamians, originally the "throwing-stick" of the "great gods," of Marduk (Merodach) as well as of the divine hunter, Nimrod. The temple in which the god is shown standing is un-Egyptian in its architecture, and the small brasen fire-altar as well as the *mazzeba*, or sacred pillar, are similarly non-Nilotic and purely Semitic. The stele thus represents the attempt of a foreign Semitic population to adapt themselves to the new conditions involved in living in a frontier Egyptian town, garrisoned by foreign mercenaries. The old Semitic paganism is associated with Egyptian mythology in a curious amalgam.

[1] Jer. 44.[12-14] [2] v.[15] [3] v.[17-19] [4] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 134. [5] Jer. 44.[17]
[6] The tradition that after this fulmination Jeremiah died by stoning at the hands of his countrymen in Tahpanhes is found for the first time in Epiphanius, *De Proph.*, viii. [7] Jer. 44.[26-30] [8] See W. Max Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, 1. 30.

Such was the syncretism to which the Jews in Egypt were now exposed, and to which in so many instances they succumbed. No wonder that Jeremiah warned his countrymen of the dangers of the religious atmosphere they breathed, when the worship of Jehovah was linked to polytheistic forms that were debasing and vile. The temple in which this god is shown standing was one of those local shrines denounced by the Hebrew prophet: *I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt.*[1]

Prosperous though the career of Hophra seemed to be, the close of his life was full of anguish. The prophetic word that had gone forth from Jeremiah as to Hophra's being given *into the hand of his enemies*[2] came true. An invasion of Cyrene by a Greek force led the Libyan King to appeal to Hophra for help. But the Egyptian troops sent to his assistance were utterly routed. The survivors laid the blame of their defeat on the Pharaoh who had despatched them with inadequate resources, and revolted from his allegiance. Hophra immediately sent Aahmes or Amasis, one of his generals, to quell the rebellion. The revolted soldiers welcomed the newcomer and proclaimed Amasis King. On hearing of this, Hophra despatched Patarbemis, one of his chief nobles, to bring Amasis before him. When Patarbemis returned empty-handed, the Pharaoh cut off his nose and ears. Thereupon the country, already infuriated with Hophra for his phil-Hellenic sympathies,[3] rose in rebellion, and dethroned its sovereign. Hophra collected his Greek mercenaries, and marched against Amasis at the head of 30,000 Carians and Ionians. At Momemphis a great battle was fought. Hophra was routed, captured, and brought back to Sais as a prisoner. Amasis kept him in his palace in royal honour, though in subordinate rank, till after an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Hophra to regain his crown, popular clamour forced him to deliver the ex-King *into the hand of them that sought his life*,[2] by whom the great Pharaoh was strangled.[4] The ignominious fall of this sovereign, whose doom had been so clearly predicted, must have made a deep impression on the Jews in Egypt.

Aahmes or Amasis II (B.C. 570–526), though of plebeian origin,[5] manifested throughout his 44 years' reign much regnal vigour and ability. His position was legitimized by marriage with a lady of the royal house, and by an "official" marriage with a representative of the royal priestesses of Amen at Thebes. For many years swarms of Greek pirates had been ravaging the sea coast of Egypt, penetrating the numerous mouths of the Nile, and spreading distress and destruction on every hand. After a series of engagements, Amasis compelled the Greeks to evacuate Daphnæ, and after this they were restricted to the one treaty-port, Naukratis. This city accordingly grew into a great commercial centre, whence the arts and imports of the West were distributed over Egypt. Its great sacred

[1] Jer. 43.[12] [2] Jer. 44.[30] [3] There had already taken place before this a serious revolt of troops at Elephantine. See Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 556: Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iv. 506. [4] Herod. ii. 161 f. An inscription discovered by Daressy on a granite stele, once a doorstep in Cairo, minutely corroborates the narratives of Apries given by Herodotus and Diodorus (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxii. 1: English translation in Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 323). It gives a full statement of the war between Apries and Amasis, and describes the valour of the latter in the battle, his clemency thereafter which was abused, the oppression of the Greek mercenaries who wandered over the Delta robbing every one and infesting every road, the slaughter of Apries in his boat on the river, and his sumptuous burial at the hands of his former general and friend. It should be noted that Jeremiah never prophesied that Hophra would fall into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, though he announced most explicitly the invasion of Egypt by that monarch. [5] Diodorus (i. 68), however, states that he was of good family. But the likelihood is rather that he was a very capable private who rose from the ranks.

temenos, the Helleneion, was built at the joint expense of nine Ionian, Dorian, and Æolian towns of Asia Minor. It served not only as a sanctuary, but as a place of assembly for all the Greeks, as a storehouse, and a vast fort. Its walls were 48 feet thick, and 39 feet high, and its rectangular area could easily enclose 50,000 men.[1]

But the disorders of the times had left Egypt weakened. News of the death of Hophra reaching Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian deemed the hour propitious for his long-delayed invasion of the Nile Valley. Yet whether Nebuchadnezzar actually did invade Egypt has been a much disputed point. Budge maintains that Nebuchadnezzar advanced as far as the frontier city of Tahpanhes, but " there is no reason whatsoever for believing that he entered Egypt proper, or even that he conquered any part of it." [2] Hall goes even further. His verdict is " In the absence of contemporary proof from Egyptian or Babylonian inscriptions, we cannot assume that the expected invasion ever took place." [3] But this negative position is not generally accepted. While Wiedemann's [4] alleged discovery of an inscription recording how Nebuchadnezzar penetrated as far as Elephantine, and was repulsed there by Egyptian troops under Neshor, has now been interpreted otherwise, and is no longer regarded as a proof of a Chaldæan attack, there are other evidences which lead to the belief that an invasion so precisely and definitely announced by both Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with such particularity of detail, could hardly have failed of accomplishment.

Josephus [5] gives a tradition based on Berosus that five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian attacked Egypt, slew its King, and set up another. As Jerusalem fell in B.C. 587, five years subsequent to that catastrophe would bring us to B.C. 582—the year in which Gedaliah was murdered, and Nebuzaradan a second time harried Palestine. And as Hophra occupied the throne for twelve years after this, Berosus must be in some error about the removal of the Egyptian King. A more reliable witness is the fragment of the Babylonian Chronicle now in the British Museum, which informs us that in the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar (*i.e.*, B.C. 568, a date immediately subsequent to the death of Hophra and the accession of Amasis II) the Babylonian monarch set out to invade Egypt, defeated the King, captured his horses, and scattered the soldiers of " Phut of the Ionians." [6] This irrefragable evidence has satisfied scholars such as Driver,[7] Paton,[8] and Sayce,[9] all of whom maintain the authenticity of this invasion of Egypt. Indeed in 1886, Sayce had discovered in a quarry near Tura the name of " Babylon " applied to Old Cairo, even at this period

[1] See Petrie, *Naukratis*, Pt. i. (1885–86): Pt. ii. (1888–89): and for later researches see Hogarth in *Journ. Hellen. Soc.*, xxv. (1905) 105. Herodotus (ii. 178, 179) says that Amasis gave Naukratis to the Greeks to live in: but Greeks had been resident in Naukratis long before this: *cf.* Mallet, *Les premiers Établissements des Grecs en Egypte*, p. 180 f. [2] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, vii. 20. [3] Hall, *Near East*, p. 549. Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, p. 559) says practically the same: "There is nothing to indicate that the Chaldæans ever entered Egypt itself, and repeated the Assyrian exploit of a century before." Maspero, however, believes that Nebuchadnezzar *attempted* an invasion. [4] *Ægypt. Zeitsch.*, 1878, pp. 2–6, 87–90: and *Gesch. Ægypt.*, 1880, p. 168. Notwithstanding the attacks on his reading of the stele, Wiedemann not only holds to his opinion that a true invasion of Egypt by the Chaldæans as far as Syene is referred to, but he has induced others to adopt his view, *e.g.*, Tiele, *Babyl.-Assyr. Gesch.*, p. 433: Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. u. Assyr.*, p. 312 (but withdrawn in the English Translation by Craig (1907) p. 318). [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, x. 9. 7 x. 11. 1. [6] Strassmeier, *Babylonische Texte*, vi. No. 329. [7] In Hogarth's *Authority and Archæology*, p. 117. [8] *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 278. [9] Art. NEBUCHADREZZAR in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 503.

so long before the Christian era.[1] The inscription speaks of "Phuti, son of Shaman, the Babylonian." The name "Babylon" here is not that of the far-off Mesopotamian city, but refers to the spot near Memphis which derived its title from the invasion of the Chaldæan Nebuchadnezzar. It is a remarkable and significant coincidence to find "Phut of the Ionians" referred to both in this inscription and in the Babylonian Chronicle.[2] While therefore the *fact* that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt is fully established, we are still in the dark as to the extent of his military operations, the cities he stormed, and the vengeance he took. For light on these points we must be content to wait till some fortunate discovery is made in the Nile Valley or in Mesopotamia, which will reveal whether or not the Chaldæan carried his ravages as far up the river as Thebes.[3]

When the invader retired, Amasis turned his energies to the advancement of the best interests of his country. He made alliances[4] with the rising Greek tyrants of the Ægean and Asia Minor[5]—Crœsus of Lydia[6] and Polycrates of Samos.[7] Rich gifts bestowed on Lindos in Rhodes,[8] Delphi,[9] and Cyrene[10] contributed to the popularity of Egypt among the Hellenic race. His fleet captured Cyprus[11] and laid the island under tribute.[12] It was to the Court of Amasis that the famous Athenian Solon paid a visit during his voluntary exile from Greece.[13] In every quarter of the Nile Valley restorations of dilapidated temples were carried out.[14] The gigantic granite statues which attracted the notice of Herodotus were erected at Memphis. Amasis' capital Sais was greatly embellished;[15] and the huge shrine, formed of one piece of granite[16] and brought from Syene by 2,000 men in a toilsome enterprise which extended over three years, excited the amazement of the Greek historian a few decades later.[17] At Abydos the temple he erected for Khenti-Amenti was of red granite with an inner shrine of electrum, while all the utensils of the temple were of gold, silver, and precious stones.[18] So great was the prosperity of Egypt in the latter part of Amasis' reign that Herodotus makes the pardonable hyperbole that the country had then 20,000 inhabited cities.[19]

It is of deep interest to consider the religious influences that were at work during this period. The Jews who descended into Egypt with Johanan and Jeremiah multiplied in the Delta, and formed colonies of like-minded compatriots. While a number of them fell away into idolatry, as we have seen, succumbing to the pagan atmosphere in which they moved, others remained staunch and loyal to the main features of monotheistic Judaism. In a religious centre such as Heliopolis, with its college of sacred

[1] Sayce in *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) 208. [2] For a discussion of the question whether "Phut of the Ionians" refers to Lesbos, see W. Max Müller in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 178 n., art. PUT. [3] It is remarkable that a tradition of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt lasted down to Mohammedan times (*Abû Sâlih*, ed. Evetts (1895), p. 83 n.). [4] For details, see Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 609 f. [5] It is curious to note the irony of circumstances here. Amasis had been elevated to the throne as a protest against the Hellenizing policy regarding Egypt carried on by Hophra. Now he himself is forced to outdo his predecessor in alliances with Greek powers and in the subsidizing of Greek mercenaries. [6] Herod. i. 77. [7] *Ib.* ii. 182: iii. 39. [8] *Ib.* ii. 182: iii. 47. [9] *Ib.* ii. 180. [10] *Ib.* ii. 181. [11] Roth, *Die Proklamation des Amasis an die Cyprier*, Paris, 1885. [12] Herod. ii. 182. [13] *Ib.* i. 30. [14] For details of these extensive restorations, see Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 641 f. [15] The propylæa to the temple of Neith at Sais, its fine colonnade, and the avenue of sphinxes by which it was approached, were justly celebrated. [16] It measured nearly 30 feet high inside, 24 feet in depth, and 12 feet in breadth (Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte*, ix. 371 n.), and weighed nearly 500,000 kilogrammes. [17] Herod. ii. 175. [18] Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 355: *Abydos*, i. [19] Herod. ii. 177: Pliny, *H.N.* v. 11.

learning, Jews, Egyptians, and Greeks met and had mutual intercourse on the platform of their common citizenship. The three languages spoken there represented three distinct religious traditions, and inevitably their contact resulted in certain modifications taking place in the religions concerned. It is not without deep significance that we note the arrival in Egypt for purposes of study of Solon and of Pythagoras, during the reign of Amasis. We learn also that the father of the Eleatic philosophy, Xenophanes, visited the Delta in search of religious truth. When we find him later proclaiming the doctrine of the unity of God, may we not cherish the belief that this first Greek monotheist received some of his strongest spiritual impressions from conversation with Egyptian Jews? And when, a generation or two later, we find Plato studying at Heliopolis, and other Greek writers sojourning for a period in the Delta, and afterwards teaching doctrines far in advance of what was current in the gross mythology of the time, we feel that credit must be given for these changes in belief, not so much to the Egyptian priests who were themselves devotees of the polytheistic cult, as to the Jews of the Nile Valley, who made no secret of their attachment to the high monotheism and lofty ethical character of Jehovah.[1]

To a seal of the reign of Amasis, discovered by Petrie,[2] a peculiar interest attaches. As it is dated no fewer than four times there can be no dubiety as to the era to which it belongs. It shows a minute drawing executed with remarkable clearness, of a man emerging from the mouth of a sea-monster, and resting his elbow on the level of the land. The Vatican Museum possesses a Greek vase depicting a sea-monster ejecting Jason, though this incident does not occur in Greek literature, and the identity of Jason can be discovered only from the name on the vase. But Petrie inclines to the belief that the seal which he dug up at Memphis does not refer to Jason at all, but to Jonah.[3] If the representation be really one of the Hebrew prophet, then the date of the Book of Jonah must be put earlier than that to which modern criticism usually assigns it. It must be at least anterior to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The discovery of the seal is certainly extremely interesting.

Amasis II was succeeded by his son PSAMMETICHUS III (B.C. 526–525), on whom dire calamity and ruin descended. By this time the brief-lived Second Babylonian Empire had fallen. The death of Nebuchadnezzar II in B.C. 562 had been followed by the short reigns of Evil-Merodach[4] (B.C. 562–560), Nergal-Sharezer,[5] or Neriglissar (B.C. 560–556), Labor-osoarchod or Labashi-Marduk (B.C. 556), Nabonidus (B.C. 556–538) and his son Belshazzar[6] (B.C. 543–538).[7] In the fatal year B.C. 538 the Neo-Babylonian monarchy was overthrown by the superior might of Cyrus II.[8] Persia succeeded to the coveted supremacy of the Orient, which had been held by Babylon, and still earlier by Assyria. But the comparatively short reign of Cyrus, subsequently to his capture of Babylon (B.C. 538–529) was so crowded with constant wars as to forbid him from attempting to realize the great dream of so many Mesopotamian sovereigns, the subjugation of the Nile Valley. The enterprise descended to his son, Cambyses II, with disastrous results for Egypt.

[1] On this point see Sharpe, *Hist. of the Hebrew Nation and Literature* (1882), p. 247. [2] Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III* (1910), p. 43. [3] Jonah 2.[10] [4] 2 Ki. 25.[27 28] [5] Jer. 39.[3] At the time of the siege of Jerusalem, Nergal-Sharezer was merely a great Babylonian noble. [6] Dan. 5.[1-30] [7] See C. H. W. Johns in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxviii. (1916) 146. [8] Ezra. 1.[1] Isa. 44,[28] 45.[1]

Whatever be the true version [1] of the origin of the quarrel between the Persians and the Egyptians, a conflict between the two Great Powers was inevitable. Persia aspired to universal dominion, and Egypt was an obstacle in the path of her boundless ambition. Without undue delay Cambyses started from Susa, penetrated up the Euphrates Valley, and descended through Palestine to Gaza,[2] the last Canaanite town on the road to Egypt. Making this his headquarters, he entered into an arrangement with the King of the Arabs to assist him with an adequate water supply across the desert.[3] Then dashing across the sandy wilderness, his hordes fell upon the Greco-Egyptian mercenaries near Pelusium.[4] The Egyptians were defeated and fled back to Memphis. A Persian envoy was sent in a boat to offer terms. He and his crew were torn limb from limb by the infuriated populace, who were maddened by the thought that another Asiatic domination of their land was imminent. Cambyses marched on the capital, and Memphis was compelled to surrender On the unfortunate Pharaoh every indignity was heaped.[5] Psammetichus and his family were forced to dress as slaves, and to perform menial tasks For every Persian sailor who had been massacred, ten Egyptians were executed. Two thousand noble youths, including the Crown Prince, with halters round their necks and bridles in their mouths, were led out to death. A few months later, the ill-fated King was poisoned,[6] and with his death the famous XXVIth Dynasty expired. Egypt became a province of the vast Persian Empire.

The passage through Palestine of this huge Persian horde led by Cambyses must have entailed much suffering on the Jews so recently restored to their own land from their exile in Babylon.[7] They had responded in large numbers to the decree of Cyrus, and under Zerubbabel had settled down in Jerusalem and its environs.[8] While the Persian swarm moved through the land there was no peace, no security, and the hapless Jews were at the mercy of a ruthless foe, though technically the Persians were their overlords and their nominal friends. "Zechariah" seems to refer

[1] Herodotus (iii. 1–3)—see also Athenæus *Deipnosoph*, xiii. 10—has given the three accounts that were current in the ancient world. [2] Servius, *Ad Æneidos*, i. 123. [3] Herod. iii. 5, 8. [4] Herodotus (iii. 11) tells a gruesome tale of how the Greeks slew, one after another, the children of Phanes of Halicarnassus, who had acted the traitor, and had fled from Naukratis to Cambyses. They caught their blood in a bowl in the sight of the two armies which faced each other before the combat began: and pouring in wine and water, they drank the horrible mixture! [5] It was only when he arrived on the frontier that Cambyses learned that Amasis was dead. Had he lived, the issue of the war might have been different, as Amasis was a consummate general, and knew how to take the fullest advantage of Egypt's natural defences. So short was the reign of his unfortunate son that some ancient authors (*e.g.*, Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 8: John of Antioch, *Fragm.* 27 in Müller-Didot, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, iv. 522) actually imagined that the subjection of Egypt took place under Amasis. [6] Psammetichus after his submission was treated with clemency, through the conqueror's admiration of his stoical endurance of his sufferings: but being detected in an attempted revolt, Cambyses compelled him to drink a cup of bull's blood (Herod. iii. 14–15). Ktesias, however, says he was banished to Susa with 6,000 Egyptians (Müller-Didot, *Ctesiæ Cnidii Fragmenta*, p. 47). [7] Is Cambyses the "Artaxerxes" of Ezra $4^{5,6}$? Girdlestone (*P.S.B.A.*, xxiv. (1902), p. 14) maintains that he is. He points out that Persian kings were often known by two names. Thus, Astyages was known to the Greeks by another name (Jos. *Antiq.* x. 11. 4). Smerdis is called "Spendadates" by Ktesias, and "Oropastes" by Justin. Xerxes I is certainly Ahasuerus (Esth. 1^{1}) and he also bore the name of "Cyrus." Darius Nothus was also called "Ochus." Artaxerxes II Mnemon bore the title of "Arsaces." Ochus was known as Artaxerxes III: and Arses had another name=Arogus (see Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, § 55). This argument has been replied to by Sir H. H. Howorth, *ibid.* p. 16. Though Josephus defends the identification of Cambyses with the Artaxerxes of Ezra $4,^{5,6}$ it is more likely that the whole passage Ezra 4^{6-23} is misplaced, and that it refers to a later period. [8] Ezra $1.^{1-11}$

to this in his retrospect of the days through which his people had passed. *Before those days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast: neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in, because of the adversary.*[1] It was a time of sadness, bitterness, and trial: and it needed all the fortitude and faith of Haggai and Zechariah to incite the downcast Jews to pluck up courage, and fulfil their God-given task of finishing the building of the Temple. Thus once again we observe how closely the fortunes of the two neighbouring territories—Palestine and Egypt—were linked together.

[1] Zech. 8.[10]

CHAPTER XXVI

Egypt under the Persians—The XXVIIth Dynasty

The subjection of Egypt to Persia had been foretold with remarkable clearness. The great Prophet of the Exile had announced that, as a compensation to Cyrus for setting the Jews at liberty, Jehovah had granted to the Persians the rich and fertile lands of the Nile. *I have given Egypt as thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba* [1] *for thee.*[2] Not only the Delta, but far-off Nubia and the territory between the White and Blue Niles, were to be the reward of the Persians for freeing the Chosen People from their captivity. Yet the Prophet looked for some wonderful spiritual results from this invasion of the Nile Valley. *Thus saith the Lord, the labour of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabæans, men of stature,*[3] *shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine: they shall go after thee: in chains they shall come over: and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying "Surely God is in thee, and there is none else, there is no God."* [4]

But however glorious the ultimate benefits of the Persian domination of the Nile Valley might be, the actual experience of Persian rule was bitter in the extreme. The XXVIIth Dynasty was a purely foreign one, consisting of those sovereigns whose capital was distant Susa. The dynasty was inaugurated by Cambyses II (B.C. 525–521), the son of Cyrus II the Great. After his conquest of Egypt, the victor saw that the only way to conciliate the nation was that he should more or less "Egyptianize" himself, and pay homage to the national religion.[5] He therefore declared himself an adherent of the gods of Egypt, made munificent gifts to the priesthood, adopted the titles of the ancient Egyptian monarchs, and called himself *Mesut-Ra*, "offspring of the Sun-God." [6] By his reverent worship in the temple of Neith, the mother of Ra, at Sais, he showed that he meant

[1] Where Seba lay is not clearly known. It was beyond doubt an African district, not in Arabia. Glaser (*Skizze*, ii. 387) identifies Seba with the Sabæans of Jebel Shammir in Nejd. This is certainly erroneous. Margoliouth (in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 428) suggests that Seba may stand for Mashonaland, where Bent (*Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 1892) discovered so many vestiges of ancient and unknown States. But it is more likely that Seba stands for some district near Khartoum. It is also mentioned in Psa. 72,[10] *The Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.* [2] Isa. 43.[3] [3] *Cf.* Herod. ii. 20, who refers to the gigantic size of the Ichthyophagi of the Upper Nile. Isa. 45.[14] [5] Prof. Lincke (*Ebers' Festschrift*, p. 41) shows how in the Middle Ages Cambyses was regarded as a supremely evil genius. Yet he considers him to have really been one of the greatest Oriental monarchs, and maintains that he has been the victim of cruel and malignant slander on the part of the peoples he conquered. The Egyptian official account of him he treats as quite unhistorical, and based on malicious hatred. So also substantially Prof. Prášek, *Gesch. d. Meder u. Perser*, i. 257. See also in *Alt. Orient.* xiv. (1913), Pt. 2, pp. 1–31. [6] *R.P.*, x. 49 f.: Lenormant, *Anc. Hist.*, ii. 97.

to reign as a true Egyptian.[1] Nevertheless his reign was crowded with disasters and horrors, and it ended in madness and darkness.

He contemplated an expedition from Egypt against Carthage, but it was foiled by the refusal of his Tyrian sailors to fight against a Punic colony united to them by blood ties.[2] He next led an army up the Nile against Nubia, and when he reached Thebes, he despatched a contingent of 50,000 men to ravage the Oasis and Temple of Jupiter Ammon.[3] The army was never heard of again, and tradition had it that, to a man, the great host had been overwhelmed by a furious sandstorm in the desert.[4] Cambyses meanwhile held on his way to the south, and "as a madman, and not in possession of his senses, without making any provision for the sustenance of his army, or once considering that he was going to carry his arms to the remotest parts of the world."[5] Supplies failed; his wretched soldiers snatched at the desert shrubs for food, and at length resorted to cannibalism. Horror-struck, Cambyses turned and went down the Nile again, leaving the bones of thousands of his troops to bleach on the sands of the wilderness.[6]

On his reaching Thebes again, the ancient capital experienced the full blast of Persian hatred of idolatry.[7] The monuments of an immemorial past were sacrificed to the mad caprice of a religious maniacal iconoclast. His soldiers shattered, chipped, and otherwise defaced what they could not overturn, and the most senseless vandalism was exhibited in mutilating the finest works of antiquity. The temples, obelisks, porticoes, and galleries suffered irreparable injury, and Thebes presented a melancholy scene of desolation when the Persian hurricane had swept past. Cambyses is said to have carried off 2,500 idols, and to have obtained loot from the city to the value of £2,000,000.

The only building in Upper Egypt that seems to have escaped the fury of the Persians was a Jewish temple at Elephantine, whose existence has recently been made known by the discovery of the famous Assuan papyri. In one of these letters[8] the Jews wrote to the governor of Judah, "Already in the time of the Kings of Egypt, our fathers had built the temple in the fortress of Yeb. And when Cambyses entered Egypt, he saw this temple built: and while the temples of the gods of Egypt were all pulled down,

[1] The story of this incident, with many other details of great interest, is given by the priest Utcha-Her-Resenet on a green basalt statue preserved in the Vatican called the "Pastophorus." See Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii. 293. Herodotus' story (iii. 16) of the silly attempt to tear to pieces and burn the mummified body of Amasis II is not borne out by this eye-witness. [2] Herod. iii. 19. [3] Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vii. 49) thinks this is a mistake for the Oasis of Kharga, for the road to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon is not from Thebes, but westwards (and then southwards) from Memphis. [4] Herod. iii. 25, 26. Petrie (*Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 363) dismisses the whole tale as impossible, and says that probably the leaders may have died, or been murdered, and that the army melted away into the Oasis and Cyrenaica as settlers. Budge, however (*op. cit.*), maintains its possibility, and refers to a recent loss of 700 camels by a similar sandstorm, from which only two men escaped to tell the tale. [5] Herod. iii. 25. [6] Strabo, however (xvii. 1. 5), says that Cambyses penetrated to Meroe, and indeed bestowed this name on the city after his sister Meroe who died there. It is certain that while the earlier Nubian Kings had made Napata their capital, the later monarchs had retreated further up the Nile, thus placing the series of Cataracts between themselves and any invasion from the north. Breasted (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 561) says that by B.C. 560 they had established Meroe as their new capital. For a period the nation was withdrawn from contact with the outer world: the Egyptian hieroglyphics which till then had been in use were now forgotten: and a new and unknown script which is only now being deciphered took their place. [7] Strabo, xvii. 1. 46: Diodorus, i. 46. [8] For the system of posts introduced by the Persians which greatly facilitated this extensive correspondence, see Preisigke, *Die Ptolemäische Staatspost* in *Klio* vii. Heft 2 (1907), p. 241 f.

no damage was done to this temple by any one." [1] It is a new and interesting light shed upon the doings of this ferocious son of Cyrus. As the father had favoured the Jews, and had granted them permission to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, so we find here his son protecting another Jewish temple far up the Nile from pillage and destruction. This fact further throws an instructive light on Kosters' denial *in toto* of the story of the proclamation of Cyrus of liberty to restore the ruined temple at Jerusalem. The discovery of this papyrus has cut away the ground from most of Kosters' rash contentions.[2]

On arriving at Memphis, Cambyses found a festival in progress in honour of an Apis Bull.[3] Conceiving that the religious rejoicings were over his own ill-success, he killed some of the leading citizens, ordered the Bull to be brought in, in his madness broke into a peal of laughter, and then, to the horror of the Egyptians, stabbed the sacred animal to death.[4] This sacrilege was the signal for a succession of other insane acts, in which the monuments of the city suffered, while the wrath of the populace was unbounded.[5] But news now reached him that a revolt had broken out in Persia from which he had been absent so long. Before his departure from Susa, Cambyses had secretly murdered his brother Bardes (or Smerdis) lest the latter should seize the crown during his absence. The secret was divulged : a usurper Gaumâta assumed the royal insignia, gave out that he was Smerdis, and Cambyses in haste had to quit Egypt to put down this unknown claimant for his throne. Passing through Palestine,[6] he accidentally wounded his thigh : the wound mortified, and in a short time the mad conqueror of Egypt had expired.[7]

The short-lived usurpation of PSEUDO-SMERDIS was terminated by a conspiracy of the Persian nobles, who after murdering Gaumâta were led, through a stratagem, to elect to the vacant throne DARIUS I, son of Hystaspes (B.C. 521–486), who by a collateral branch was connected with the Achæmenid family.[8] But years of most arduous fighting had to be undertaken before Darius felt secure in his possession of the immense

[1] Naville, *Archæology of the O.T.*, p. 146 : Sachau in *Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Instit.*, 1907, p. 605. [2] See Whitehouse in *Expos. Times*, xx. (1909), p. 202 : and Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner*. [3] Herod. iii. 27–29. [4] Brugsch (*Gesch. Ægypt.*, p. 745) disputes the statement of Herodotus. Petrie also (*Hist. of Egypt.* iii. 363) denies its truth, on the score that the Apis died in the VIth year when Cambyses had already quitted Egypt. But the Bull lingered some time after being stabbed, and was buried unknown to the King. [5] For a list of these deeds see Herod. iii. 30–38. [6] There is no agreement as to the spot where Cambyses died. Herodotus (iii. 64) calls it Ecbatana : Hyde (*Religio Veterum Persarum*, p. 426) identifies it with Batanæa : Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 2.2.) says Damascus : but it is most likely Hamath. [7] It is difficult to say how much of Herodotus' narrative is truth or legend. The Behistun Inscription of Darius I says that Cambyses committed suicide (Rawlinson, *R.P.*, i. 111) in despair over a revolt on the part of his army (Weissbach and Bang, *Altpersische Keilinschriften* (1883) p. 14). Herodotus also states that in consequence of a dream while in Egypt, Cambyses despatched Prexaspes to Susa to kill Smerdis there (iii. 30). The Behistun Inscription, on the other hand, states that Cambyses killed Smerdis before he set out for Egypt. Ktesias (in Müller-Didot, *Ktesiæ Cnidii Fragmenta*, p. 47) says that the assassination of the brother took place *after* the Egyptian campaign. But again Rost (*Untersuch. zur Altorient. Gesch.*, p. 107) and Winckler (*Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, 1898, p. 39) declare that the story of Pseudo-Smerdis is a myth invented by Darius to justify his usurpation. But there are really no good grounds for rejecting the main features in Herodotus' story. Schulze (*Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1912, p. 685), examining the expression " having his own death " in the inscription of Darius regarding Cambyses, concludes that it is only a vague phrase for dying the death determined by fate. [8] Sachau has discovered that two papyri from Elephantine contain fragments of an Aramaic version of the great Behistun text of Darius, a fact which seems to prove that the decree recorded on the rock was officially communicated to all parts of the vast Persian Empire (*Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* (1909), p. 1295).

Empire to which he had succeeded.[1] Elam, Babylon, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, even Persia, and other States were all in full revolt, and one by one they had to be reduced.[2] When peace was restored, Darius came to Egypt (B.C. 517), where he put to death Aryandes, the viceroy left by Cambyses, on the ground that, after his successful expedition against Barca in Cyrenaica, he was aiming at the complete sovereignty.[3]

The Persian King now assumed the ancient royal titles of the Pharaohs, and sought to propitiate the priests by many favours. So lavish were his gifts and foundations, and so earnestly did he cultivate the good graces of the populace, that even while living, Darius was revered as a god, and after his death he was mourned with divine honours, while posterity hailed him as the sixth of the lawgivers of Egypt.[4] The shrine of Ptah at Memphis owed much to his zeal, and the magnificence of the temple which he erected to Amen in the Great Oasis of Khârga was a proof of his interest in the Theban god.[5] A passionate hymn to that deity inscribed on the wall of the temple [6] evidences the cosmopolitan spirit [7] of the ruler of the Orient who could revere Amen-Ra as the " Only God," could ascribe all his success to Ahura-mazda,[8] and could at the same time take a kindly and generous interest in the Jews and in their worship of Jehovah.[9]

Darius' greatest engineering enterprise was the completion of the canal uniting the Nile with the Red Sea, which had been begun by Rameses II, and carried forward by Necho II. The route was from Bubastis through the Wady Tumilât, passing by Pithom to the Red Sea. Remains of the stelæ commemorative of the completion of the canal are still being discovered along the line of its ancient course. They show on one side Egyptian hieroglyphics, while on the reverse are three kinds of cuneiform —Persian, Elamitic, and Babylonian.[10]

Notwithstanding the beneficence of Darius' rule,[11] and his accommodation to Egyptian susceptibilities, representatives of the ancient Royal Family were biding their time for an attempt to throw off the hated foreign yoke. The opportunity came in the later years of Darius' reign when the second vainglorious expedition sent against Greece had ended in the shameful

[1] An interesting sidelight on this Persian period is afforded by the excavation of a cemetery at Deve Huyuk in the Sajur Valley of North Syria, which shows the community here, after the fall of Assyria and Babylonia, maintained relations with Egypt as is evidenced by the amulets of Egyptian glaze, figures of Bes, Ptah, etc., bronze bowls, and other Nilotic objects (C. L. Woolley in *Liverpool Ann. of Arch. and Anthrop.* vii. (1916) 115). [2] See the Behistun Inscription for details, Rawlinson *op. cit.* and Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 8–79. [3] For details of this cruel war see Herod. iv. 167–204. [4] Diodorus i. 95. The most famous papyrus unearthed at Hibeh illustrates how Darius sought to ingratiate himself with the people. It is a petition to the King by one Peteêsi, nearly 14 feet long and closely written over nearly the whole. It is a complicated case of law, in which justice is asked from the sovereign. See Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library of Manchester* (1909) iii. 60. [5] See Ball, *Kharga Oasis, its topography and geology*, 1900, and H. J. Llewellyn Beadnell, *An Egyptian Oasis*, 1909. [6] The inscription has been transcribed by Hay, and translated by Birch, *T.S.B.A.*, v. (1876) 293 f. : Hoskins, *Visit to the Great Oasis*, 1837 : but the best transcription is that of Brugsch, *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el-Khargeh*, 1878, p. 27 f. [7] Baraize (*Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1909–10, p. 21) in clearing the temple of Hibis at Kharga, discovered some new reliefs hitherto unknown. One shows Darius in a boat picking papyrus flowers to offer to the god Min : another depicts the god Sutekh, the popular deity of the Oases, slaying the serpent of evil. [8] In the Behistun Inscriptions (Rawlinson, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, x. 1847). [9] See Ezra 6.[1-15] [10] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, vii. 63. [11] For an account of the magnificent way in which Darius divided his empire into Satrapies, constructed post roads, organized the system of couriers, and rearranged the tribute, see Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, iii. 417 f. : for the post roads see Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, p. 195 f. : and for the trade and commerce see Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 711.

defeat of the Persian troops at Marathon (B.C. 490).[1] The news of this reverse to the Persian arms rang throughout the ancient world. Darius planned revenge on the most stupendous scale, and his preparations were almost completed when Egypt broke into revolt, and the contemplated invasion of Greece had to be postponed. The leader of the Egyptian Nationalists was KABBESHA (B.C. 486–484), who may have been of royal blood, but of whom little certain is known.[2] While Darius was preparing to suppress the upstart, death overtook him,[3] and the sovereignty of the East passed to his magnificent but degenerate son, Xerxes I.

XERXES I (B.C. 486–466), the *Ahasuerus which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces*,[4] did not seek the reconquest of Egypt till the second year after his father's death. But his invasion of the Delta proved an easy task. Kabbesha was no match for the Persian hordes, and he soon disappeared, being probably captured and put to death.[5] The savagery of Xerxes came out in his treatment of the revolted nation. Herodotus [6] says "that he reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was under Darius." [7] He forced the nation to supply him with a contingent of 200 ships to swell his vast navy wherewith he intended to smash the Greek States.[8] But as he left the practical government of Egypt to his brother Achæmenes, when he went off to undertake his disastrous Greek expedition, relics of the reign of Xerxes, either in statuary, or in inscriptions, are very few.[9]

Within recent years, however, there have been discovered at Elephantine, opposite Assuan, a remarkable series of Aramaic papyri which have aroused almost as great an interest as the earlier unearthing of the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets.[10] They are all dated, and they run from the 27th year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 494) down to the time of Darius II, Nothus, about the year B.C. 400.[11] Some of them are merely business documents, and as such might have been considered dry and uninteresting. But they turn out to be of intense human interest, and of great historical value. They lift the curtain from an exceedingly dark and obscure portion of Jewish history, and they afford us a glimpse of the fortunes of the Hebrew colonies far up the Nile.[12]

From these papyri we gather that ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, if not long before, there had been going on a constant infiltration

[1] At Marathon, 6,000 Persians were slaughtered, while only 192 Athenians fell with Miltiades. [2] Petrie (*Palace of Apries*, p. 11) discovered in Memphis a sling bullet bearing Kabbesha's name. [3] Herod. vii. 4. His name is commemorated in the creation of the first Oriental coinage to which the name *Darics* was given (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ii. 43 f., 1881); see 1 Chr. 29 [7] R.V. His reign covered the period of the activity of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; see Ezra $4^{5\ 24}$, 5^{5-7}, 6^{1-15}; Hag. $1^{1\ 15}$, 2^{10}; Zech. $1^{1\ 7}$, $7.^{1}$ [4] Esth. 1^{1}, $8.^{9}$ [5] Yet he was recognized as a legitimate Egyptian Pharaoh, for Alexander Aigos mentions his benefactions to the sacred city of Buto, the oracle of which had prompted his revolt and prophesied his success. Xerxes treated Buto with wanton cruelty (*R.P.*, x. 71: Birch, *T.S.B.A.*, i.24). [6] Herod. vii. 7. [7] Mommsen (*Provinces of The Roman Empire*, ii. (1909) 239) says that in the Persian period Egypt paid an annual tribute to Susa of 700 Babylonian talents of silver = £200,000. [8] Herod. vii. 89, 97, 236. [9] In a grave at Abusir, Borchardt discovered in 1902 a papyrus roll containing a large portion of Timotheus' poem "Persæ." It celebrates the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis in B.C. 480. It represents the oldest "book" known, antedating the founding of the library of Alexandria and the establishment of the Alexandrian book trade (Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "Der Timotheus–Papyrus" in *Wissens. Veroffentlichungen d. Deutschen Orient. Gesell.*, Leipzig, 1903. [10] Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, 1906, and van Hoonacker, *Une Communauté Judéo-Araméene à Éléphantine, en Égypte, aux VI^e et V^e siècles av. J-C* (Schweich Lectures, 1915). [11] See W. W. Everts in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1911, p. 94. [12] For various readings in these papyri, see Torczyner, *Orient. Litt. Zeit.*, xv. 397.

into Upper Egypt of Jews from Palestine. Professor Bacher,[1] however, has boldly asserted that these Hebrews of the Thebaid, who were responsible for these documents, were not Jews in the strict sense, but rather members of Northern Israel; in other words, he claims that the Elephantine Hebrews were representatives of the "lost" Ten Tribes! This is very doubtful. But in any case the papyri disclose the existence here of a colony of Hebrews who had settled down as merchants, traders, and agriculturists. To these occupations they added that of moneylending[2] and even of banking, in this way becoming the prototypes of the modern Rothschilds and Montefiores. From various reasonings we must also conclude that this Jewish settlement at Elephantine was a military colony.[3] The guards of the Cataracts against the usurpation of Nubians from the south were Jews who were enrolled in the Persian garrison. It was impossible for a small country like Persia with only about 2,000,000 of a population to maintain in Egypt an army of occupation numbering 120,000, had they not utilized the services of subject races who were willing to serve them.[4] The Jewish garrison of Elephantine ("Yeb" as the papyri call it) was divided into six regiments, each with its own commander, and all under a general-in-chief. The subordinate officers were all Jewish. This guardianship of the Cataracts the Jewish garrison had held since the days of Psammetichus I, and the papyri thus curiously confirm a much discredited statement of the so-called "Letter of Aristeas" to the effect that "Jews had been sent as allies to assist Psammetichus in fighting against the King of the Ethiopians."[5]

Some of these papyri (discovered in 1904) deal with a lawsuit regarding the property of a widowed Jewess named Mibtahiah, who had married an Egyptian, whose name—Ashor—reveals that he was a devotee of the god Horus.[6] In the course of the details of the litigation, we come across numerous proper names which remind us of Biblical personages who also bore them—Gedaliah, Gemariah, Haggai, Hodaviah, Hosea, Isaiah, Jezaniah, Malchiah, Menahem, Meshullam, Nathan, etc.[7] Others are non-Semitic. The Egyptian husband of Mibtahiah seems to have become a Jew: in any case, at a later period he took the Hebrew name of Nathan. Yet we find the Jewess also taking an oath in the name of Sati, the Egyptian goddess of Elephantine! But what interests us most is the fact that the names are precisely those with which we are most familiar in the exactly contemporary age of Ezra and Nehemiah. Neither patriarchal names, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, occur, nor do we find any typical Maccabæan names, such as Simeon, Johanan, or Judas. Not a single name with *El* in it (such as El-nathan) is to be discovered in the documents: the great majority have *Jah* (Jehovah) forming a prefix or suffix.

Another profoundly important point is that the language is not Hebrew, but Aramaic, essentially the same as that found in the contemporary and relative portions of Ezra, sections which on account of their Aramaic

[1] *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1907. [2] In 1901, Sayce brought home from Elephantine three small rolls of papyrus which yielded an Aramaic deed of some Jewish money-lenders in that region (*P.S.B.A.*, xxv. (1903), pp. 202, 259). [3] See Smend and Wilcken, *Archiv fur Papyrusforschung*. iv. 228. [4] R. D. Wilson in *Princeton Theol. Rev.*, 1914, p. 416, and Sprengling, "Chronological Notes from the Aramaic Papyri: The Jewish Calendar" in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, xxvii. (1910) 233. [5] Sayce in *Expos. Times*, xxiii. (1911) 92. [6] Cook in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, p. 69. [7] Hosea, Nathan, Mibtahiah, Pelaliah, Pelatiah, Coniah, Reniah, Uriah, Jedoniah, occur six times: Menahem, Meshullam, five times: Isaiah, Jezaniah, Zechariah, thrice: Ananiah, Azariah, Baadiah, Berachiah, Gedaliah, Gemeriah, Hodaviah, Hoshaiah, Malchiah, Meoziah, twice: Ethan, Haggai, Zadok, Zephaniah, at least once (Hastings in *Expos. Times*, xix. 195).

dialect had been declared by many scholars to be spurious.[1] Indeed the use of Aramaic here as a *lingua franca* in Egypt confirms the statement of Nehemiah as to the language spoken by the common people in Jerusalem at this same period: *They read in the book, in the law of God, with an interpretation* (*mephoresh*),[2] *and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading*[3] The accuracy of this statement has been impugned by those critics who have made it an axiom that the presence of Aramaisms in a passage is an evidence of lateness of date.[4] But the pure Aramaic of these papyri has dealt a shattering blow at the credibility of the supposed axiom, and at the hypotheses built on it. It is now seen to be a very precarious argument indeed to accept the presence of Aramaisms as proofs of late composition: and the occurrence of numbers of Biblical expressions in these Elephantine documents (all so precisely dated that no dubiety as to their age can exist) has revealed the baselessness of many assertions once made with great positiveness.[5] We find in them, for example, the technical word (*pechah*[6]) used in Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Haggai, and Malachi for the "governor" of Judah: the "*Chemarim*,"[7] or idolatrous priests mentioned by Zephaniah; the phrase "God of heaven" so frequently met with in Ezra and Daniel:[8] the Persian word for "sheriff" (*tiph taye*[9]) found in Daniel, and the peculiar word for "palace,"[10] used in Esther.[11] Even the two words for "earth" found in Jeremiah's Aramaic verse, *The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, these shall perish from the earth, and from under the heavens*,[12] are also found in these Elephantine papyri, as if the prophet were writing specially to some Aramaic-speaking Jews, such as those at Assuan.

Another of these remarkable fragments from Elephantine attests another disputed Biblical event. In 1911, Sayce published[13] an Aramaic ostrakon which on the obverse bore these words, "Whether they have ground bread, or they have kneaded bread, cut off until their mother shall come. Send to me a maid who shall prepare the Passover. Haggai has sent greetings to the children." On the reverse were the words, "Go, Hoshaiah—peace with thee!—now, and see to the children until she comes: make haste, do not entrust them to others." Daiches[14] has interpreted these somewhat obscure sentences, and has brought out their pathetic reference. It was the eve of the Passover. All the Jews in Elephantine had made preparations for its celebration: only one household was behind hand. For some important reason the father was absent, the mother too was away, and the little ones' festival joy was damped. But the Passover *must* be kept in their house, and the children must be looked after. A friend intervenes, perhaps at the instigation of the father who sends the

[1] *E.g.*, C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (1910), p. xl.: Smend, *Old Test. Hist.*, p. 344: Baudissin, *Introd. to the O.T.* (1901), p. 286. The Aramaic section extends from Ezra. 4[11]–6.[18] [2] מְפֹרָשׁ A.V. "distinctly." [3] Neh. 8.[8] [4] The script employed in these Aramaic documents is the immediate predecessor of the so-called "square" script of our Biblical MSS. (scrolls, codices), and comes nearest to the characters employed in the Palmyrene and Nabatæan inscriptions. It is interesting to learn from these papyri that the script was current in Persian times. Margolis (*Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 1912, p. 422) maintains that Ezra introduced this script into the sacred roll to make Scripture to be "understanded of the people," and to differentiate the Jewish Scriptures from the Samaritan. [5] See Naville, *Archæol. of the O.T.* (1913), p. 163 f. Whitehouse in *Expos. Times*, xx. (1909), p. 201. [6] פַּחָה 1 Ki. 10.[15] 2 Ch. 9.[14] Ez. 8.[36] Neh. 2.[7 9] 3.[7] 5.[14-18] 12.[26] Esth. 3.[12] Hag. 1.[1 14] Mal. 1.[8] [7] כְּמָרִים Zeph. 1.[4] [8] Ezra, 5.[11 12] 6.[9 10] 7.[12 21 23] Dan. 2.[18 19 37 44] [9] תִּפְתָּיֵא Dan. 3.[2 3] [10] בִּיתָן *bithan*, Esth. 1.[5] 7.[7 8] [11] See Everts in *Biblioth. Sacra*, 1911, p. 96. [12] Jer. 10[11] *arka*, and *ar'a*. [13] *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911), p. 183. [14] *Ib.* xxxiv. (1912), p. 17.

letter. The friend does all that is necessary for the children. He sees that the children get their unleavened bread: he sends a maid to prepare the Passover: the children are reported well, but are not to be left to the care of outsiders: mother will soon come back. It is a pathetic little note, casting a pleasant light on the kindliness of Jewish home life in far-off Upper Egypt.

But it is more. It is a proof that the Passover was no late institution, as has been alleged, but a festival of ancient standing which had held a distinct and recognized place in the Jewish community for a long time. Sachau,[1] basing his argument on another Aramaic fragment in which there is reference to the Passover, had urged that this feast was celebrated for the first time in B.C. 419 under Darius II: Steuernagel[2] had similarly maintained that Sachau's papyrus actually proved that the Passover was not introduced into the Jewish cultus till after the introduction of the Priestly Code, which he dated from B.C. 445. Both suppositions have been quietly negatived and shown to be quite untenable by this artless little ostrakon whose date (B.C. 440–430) reveals that far up the Nile, in a remote Jewish settlement, the Passover was already a well-established Jewish institution. Thus Egypt has once again rendered an important service to the confirmation of the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Not all the Semitic immigrants, however, into the Nile Valley kept their ancestral feasts or preserved their faith ardent and pure while in contact with a fanatical polytheism. We possess a number of Aramaic inscriptions which testify to the way in which the influences of Egyptian religion were undermining the strict piety of more lukewarm and lax Israelites. Thus, for example, a stele from the old cemetery at Sakkara, dug up in 1877 and now in the Berlin Museum, gives us a representation of an Egyptian funeral scene.[3] It is divided into four panels, the uppermost of which contains the figures of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, surmounted by the solar disk. A man and a woman are shown in the attitude of prayer to these divinities, their clothing and the mode of dressing their hair being in the Asiatic style. The sculpture is quite Egyptian in manner, but the inscription is in Aramaic recording the death of one Aba, son of Hor. The stele is dated in the fourth year of Xerxes, *i.e.*, B.C. 482. It reveals the presence in Memphis of some Asiatics who had adopted the Egyptian cultus.[4]

It is possible that the Aramaic seal inscribed "Of Shekoa, son of Shaphan" found in the vicinity of the pyramids, which bears an Egyptian scarabæus, may be referred to this period,[5] or perhaps a little later.[6] On the back of a sphinx excavated by Mariette in the Serapeum at Memphis, an inscription of four lines was discovered, partly in Phœnician characters, partly in Neo-Punic. It speaks of Hasdrubal, and other well-known Phœnician names.[7] A dedicatory vase from the Serapeum has an Aramaic inscription testifying that it was given by one Abitab to the Osiris-Apis.[8] Similarly at Abydos many Aramaic inscriptions have been found on the walls of the temple of Osiris built by Seti I, being mostly the scribblings of tourists recording their names. Such names occur as Gersakon, Rambaalis, Abdesmunus, Esmunedon, etc. An Aramaic inscription from Abydos testifies

[1] Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka*, p. 39. [2] *Zeitsch. f. A. T. Wissen*, 1911, p. 310: *Z.D.P.V.*, xxxv. Pt. 2, 1912. [3] *Corp. Inscrip. Sem.*, ii. 122, 123: G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (1903), p. 200. [4] That part of the town of Memphis where the Aramæans dwelt had a special name, *Onh-tooui* (Brugsch, *Geog. Inschriften*, i. 199, 236, and *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Spr.*, 1863, p. 9). [5] *Pilcher*, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. (1910), p. 146. [6] Say B.C. 405–375. [7] *C.I.S.*, i. 1. No. 97 a and b. [8] *C.I.S.*, ii. 126.

that one "Hofra, son of Horus, was buried in the presence of Osiris." [1] At Wady-es-Saba Rigâleh, Petrie [2] discovered inscriptions in Aramaic betraying sympathy with Nilotic deities—"Blessed be Haga by Isis," and "Blessed be Azizu, son of Sapir, by Ahor." [3] Sayce has also found [4] the names of two Aramæans, written in the Aramæan form of the Phœnician alphabet, on a rock on the west bank of the Nile, a mile to the north of the Wady Shut-er-Rigâleh. The one name was "Amra," the other "Khnum-nathan," a curious amalgam of the name of the Egyptian god Khnum with a well-known Hebrew name. Another curious instance of capitulation on the part of a Semite to the domination of Nilotic religion is seen at Ipsambul, where an inscription [5] in Aramaic, by one who was presumably a native of Phœnicia, bears a name compounded of the Aramaic word for servant and that of the great god Ptah—"Thus far came Abdptah, son of Egoresmun . . Amasis . . Ptah." Various ostraka from Elephantine,[6] one describing a dream, another a famine, and another a judicial case, reveal the same syncretistic process at work. The funeral scene on the Carpentras Stele,[7] very similar to that found at Sakkara; the Papyri Blacassiani from Sakkara, now in the British Museum; [8] the Papyrus Taurinensis,[9] of the beginning of the 5th century B.C. discovered in 1823, an Aramaic document preserving the prayer of a Syrian in Egypt to some Persian magistrate who spoke Aramaic; and the Papyrus Luparensis,[10] of the 4th century B.C., all testify in like manner to the way in which Semitic settlers in Egypt, while retaining the use of their national Aramaic dialect nevertheless adopted the religion of the Nile Valley, and openly confessed their polytheism.[11]

Meanwhile in Syria the seductive influences of the Egyptian religion proved more potent than the weak inhabitants could withstand. A stone with an inscription has been discovered in Phœnicia [12] representing a king in a Persian dress, standing in the presence of a goddess who wears an Egyptian robe, and who carries a sceptre which terminates in a lotus flower. To her he offers a double-handled bowl. The goddess is Baalath-Gebal herself. Another stone shows the king and the goddess embracing, and there is an Egyptian inscription on the right side. These inscriptions evidence how widespread was the extension of the fame of Egyptian divinities.

With Xerxes, the Persian Empire began to go to pieces. His character was a lamentable contrast to that of his father; and his Oriental luxury and savagery, his wickedness and contempt of moral obligations; and finally his fatal expedition against Greece, with the crushing defeat of his forces at Salamis [13] and Platæa,[14] inflicted on his Kingdom wounds from which it never recovered.[15] After a reign of twenty years he was murdered by

[1] *C.I.S.*, ii. 132. [2] Petrie, *A Season in Egypt* (1888), Pl. xvi. No. 523. [3] *Ibid.* Pl. xvi. No. 519. [4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, p. 251. [5] *C.I.S.*, i. 1. 111b. [6] *C.I.S.*, ii. 137, 138: Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 202. [7] *C.I.S.*, ii. 143: Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 205. [8] *C.I.S.*, ii. 145. [9] *C.I.S.*, ii. 144. [10] *C.I.S.*, ii. 146: Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 210. [11] On this diffusion of polytheism, or at least of syncretistic tendencies, on the part of the Elephantine Jews, see S. A. Cook in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, xix. (1915) 370. [12] *C.I.S.*, i. 1: Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 179. [13] B.C. 480. [14] B.C. 479. [15] Rawlinson's verdict on him is scathing (*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, iii. 470), "Excepting that he was not wholly devoid of a certain magnanimity . . . he had scarcely a trait whereon the mind can rest with any satisfaction. Weak and easily led, puerile in his gusts of passion and his complete abandonment of himself to them, selfish, fickle, boastful, cruel, superstitious, licentious, he exhibits to us the Oriental despot in the most contemptible of all his aspects—that wherein the moral and the intellectual qualities are equally in defect, and the career is one unvarying course of vice and folly. From Xerxes we have to date at once the decline of the Empire in respect of territorial greatness and military strength, and likewise its deterioration in regard to administrative vigour and national spirit."

his two Court officials, Artabanus and Aspamitres.[1] His son, Artaxerxes, after assassinating his elder brother Darius,[2] ascended the vacant throne, and seven months later the two Court conspirators were put to death.[3]

Artaxerxes I Longimanus (B.C. 466–425), though sovereign of Egypt, never visited that country. He has left no memorials there except a few rock inscriptions in the Wady Hammâmât, where he styled himself " King of the South and North," " Lord of the two lands," and " Pharaoh the Great," after the fashion of the ancient Egyptian monarchs.

But his accession was the signal for another revolt on the part of the native Egyptians. Inaros, son of Psammetichus,[4] a Libyan, and probably a scion of the Royal Saite House, rebelled, and appealed to Athens for help. The Greeks sent 300 ships which sailed up the Nile and besieged Memphis The Persians were routed, and their leader, Achæmenes, the uncle of Artaxerxes, was slain. Artaxerxes at once despatched Megabyzus, the satrap of Syria, with 300 Phœnician and Cilician triremes, to recover Egypt to her allegiance to Persia. So grave was the crisis for Persia that no fewer than 300,000 men[5] marched from Syria in this expedition. The attack on the Egyptian Nationalists was made by land and sea. It ended in the defeat of the insurgents, and in the flight of their Athenian allies from Memphis to an island in the Nile named Prosopis. After an ineffective siege of their camp for eighteen months, the Persians diverted the stream into another channel, leaving the Greek fleet dry.[6] The Athenians in despair burned their useless vessels, and thereafter were scattered or slain. Inaros surrendered on condition that his life should be spared. He was carried to Susa,[7] where, after five years' residence, he was inhumanly flayed alive.[8] Thus by B.C. 455 Egypt was recovered to the domains of the Great King.

One of the great services rendered to Biblical scholarship by the Elephantine papyri is the way in which they have proved that it was Artaxerxes I (and not Artaxerxes II[9]) who is associated in Ezra and Nehemiah with the fortunes of the Jews. It was he who permitted Ezra to lead back from Babylon the Second Return of about 8,000 exiled Jews and their families,[10] that they might join their compatriots who had shared in the First Return under Zerubbabel. It was the year of the Egyptian revolt, and all the lands involved were in commotion. Brigandage was flourishing on the main roads : the withdrawal of the army of nearly half a million from its accustomed location to the invasion of the Nile lands must have meant serious dislocation of traffic and of organized government ; and Palestine as the territory through which the vast horde passed must have been in a very disturbed and distressed condition. Nevertheless, Ezra refused an escort, and successfully conducted his large company to Jerusalem. Some years later Nehemiah was permitted by Artaxerxes to lead a third, but much smaller, contingent to Palestine, to repair the fallen fortunes of the returned exiles there.[11] That there were Egyptians resident

[1] Diod. xi. 69. 1 : Plutarch, *Vit. Themist.* c. 27. [2] Diod. xi. 69, 3–5. [3] Ktesias, *Exc. Pers.* 30. [4] Thucydides, i. 104. [5] Ktesias, *op. cit.*, 33, reckons the army of Megabyzus at 500,000. [6] Thucyd. i. 109 : Diod. xi. 77. 2. [7] Along with 6,000 prisoners of the main body of the Athenians. [8] It was this treachery on the part of Artaxerxes which aroused the indignation of Megabyzus, who had given his sworn word to Inaros that his life would be spared. When Megabyzus returned to his province of Syria, he revolted from his allegiance, and defeated the Persian generals sent against him. The conqueror of Egypt did not resume friendly relations with his sovereign till Artaxerxes had humbly condescended to treat with him (Ktesias in Müller-Didot, *Ctesiæ Cnidii Fragmenta*, pp. 52–68). [9] The claims of Artaxerxes II had been strenuously advocated by H. P. Smith, *Old Test. Hist.*, p. 270. [10] Ezra 7^{1-28} [11] Neh. 2^{1-9}, 13^{6}

in Canaan at this period is attested by the statement made to Ezra by the pious princes of Judah in their complaint regarding the intermarriages between Jews and heathens. *The people of Israel, and the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands, doing according to their abominations, even of the Canaanites . . . the Egyptians, and the Amorites.*[1] Nehemiah at a later period complained that some of the Jews *had married women of Ashdod . . . and their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language.*[2] It is remarkable that to this day the inhabitants of Ashdod, in type and dress, resemble the Egyptian rather than the Palestinian peasantry.[3] These aliens were doubtless Egyptian settlers who had migrated from the Nile Valley, and who had occupied the farms that had been left desolate when the moiety of the population had been swept away. Their descendants were now regarded with aversion by the godly in Jerusalem, and intermarriage with them was frowned on.

It was during the reign of Artaxerxes I (about B.C. 450) that Herodotus paid his celebrated visit to Egypt. The account given of this strange land by the "Father of History" has preserved its perennial interest by reason of its *naïvété*, its freshness, and the frank note of astonishment with which he records what he saw. Herodotus went through the land[4] with a note-book in his hand in which he jotted down all the legends and queer tales which the priests of the various temples told him, describing in this way the many marvels, the architectural triumphs, and the chequered history of the Nile Valley.[5] Thus he tells of his amazement at seeing the Apis Bull in a court in front of the temple of Ptah, and records that he was begotten by a ray of light from heaven.[6] He regrets he did not see the Phœnix which makes its appearance at Heliopolis only once in 500 years.[7] At the Lake of Moeris he was shown a sacred crocodile whose ears had crystal and gold ear-rings, and on whose forepaws were bracelets.[8] He gives a vivid picture of the religious fanaticism of the people; how they adored as divinities, cows and goats, cats and dogs, crocodiles and hippopotami, rats and mice, hawks and ibises, perch and eels;[9] and how in the case of a fire, attempts to put out the conflagration must be preceded by the rescue of the cats.[10] To be eaten by a crocodile is a fate greatly to be desired, death under these circumstances being most enviable:[11] but he who even unintentionally kills a sacred animal is guilty of a capital offence.[12] Herodotus made a point of identifying the gods of Egypt with those in the Greek pantheon with which he had long been familiar. Thus he equates Osiris and Isis with Dionysos and Demeter: Horus is Apollo: Set, the enemy of the gods, he identifies with the giant Typhon: Neith of Sais is Athene: Min is Pan: Ptah is Hephaistos: Amen is Zeus: and the cat-headed Bast is Artemis. The Egypt thus visited by Herodotus must have

[1] Ezra 9.[1 2] [2] Neh. 13.[23 24] [3] Conder in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 164. [4] Fragments of vases from Naukratis have been found to bear the name of Herodotus, and though the identity of the writer cannot be established, the writing is quite suitable to his date and style, and it is quite probable that we have thus the very signature of the Father of History (*Journ. of Hellenic Stud.*, xxv., p. 116). [5] A thorough discussion of the route followed by Herodotus, and as to whether the Nile was in flood or not at the time of his visit, has been undertaken by Sayce, *The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus*. [6] Herod. iii. 27, 28. [7] Herod. ii. 73. [8] Herod. ii. 69. [9] A fuller account of the animals considered sacred by each individual city, with a description of their worship, will be found in Uhlemann, *Thoth, oder die Wissenschaften der alten Ægypter*, Gottingen, 1855, p. 64 f., a very comprehensive work, full of useful information. [10] Herod. ii. 66. [11] Herod. ii. 90. On this species of morbid fanaticism see Griffith in *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, xlvi. (1909), p. 132. [12] Herod. ii. 65.

been a land of great magnificence and prosperity, bearing traces of the convulsions through which it had passed, yet exhibiting to the eyes of the Greek traveller a splendour and a glory shining through the mists of untold antiquity which bewitched and thrilled his soul.

One of the religious customs obtaining in Egypt of which Herodotus speaks [1] is certainly of Semitic origin. He says that, at the sacrifice of a bull, a fire is lighted: wine is poured on the altar; the god is invoked, the bull is slain and its head cut off. The body is then flayed, but the worshippers heap curses on the head, saying "If any evil is about to befal either those that now sacrifice, or Egypt in general, may it be averted on this head!" The heads of all animals were therefore unclean to the Egyptians, who would on no account eat of them. They might sell them to Greeks, but if there was no sale, the head was thrown into the Nile. According to Erman,[2] this avoidance of the head as an article of diet, and this partial burning of the offering, was a Canaanitish importation: and inasmuch as Herodotus describes the custom as "the established mode of sacrifice" in Egypt, it reveals how strong the influence of Palestine had been, not only to introduce, but to stereotype, this particular form of oblation.

The long reign of Artaxerxes I was followed by a brief spasm of treachery and anarchy. His son, XERXES II (B.C. 425), reigned only 45 days, when he was murdered at a banquet by his half-brother, SOGDIANUS.[3] After a seven months' rule the latter was himself assassinated by another brother, Ochus, who reigned as DARIUS II NOTHUS[4] (B.C. 424–405). By bribery and cruelty, assisted by luck, this worthless monarch kept his seat on the throne of Persia for 19 years, but Egypt slipped from his grasp.

His reign, however, has had peculiar interest attached to it by an archæological discovery, dating from his lifetime, which he would himself have regarded with perfect contempt. In 1907, Rubensohn[5] unearthed at Elephantine another box of Aramaic documents similar to those previously lit upon and described by Sayce. The papyri have yielded most important historical information. One of them, dated B.C. 418–417, is an edict of Darius Nothus to the Jews, through the satrap of Egypt, permitting the Hebrews resident in Elephantine to observe the Passover. It was sent from Hananiah, a Jewish officer of Arsames, the Persian governor, that he might inform his brother, Jedoniah, and the other officers in the Jewish army stationed at Assuan.[6] These names are of frequent occurrence at this period,[7] and it would be hazardous to identify this particular Hananiah with any of those mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah, and especially with Hanani, the brother of Nehemiah.[8]

But another document tells how on that remote island on the Upper Nile the Jews had built a fine structure to the worship of Jehovah, not shaped like a Synagogue, but reared after the model of the temple in Jerusalem. It had a pendant candelabrum in place of the seven-branched candlestick, a vestibule with an altar for burnt sacrifice and for meal offerings, numerous gold and silver bowls to catch the blood, and another altar for incense. The temple's roof was of cedar which must have been obtained from

[1] Herod. ii. 39. [2] Erman, *Handbook of Egypt Religion*, p. 180. [3] Ktesias, *Exc. Pers.* 45. [4] As Ochus was not the son of Damaspia, the only legitimate wife of Artaxerxes I (see Neh. 2[1] *the queen also sitting by him*), the name of Nothus (Νόθος) the "bastard" was given him by the Greeks. [5] See Honroth, Rubensohn, and Lucker in *Zeitschr. f. Ägypt. Sprache*, xlvi. (1909), pp. 11–81. [6] S. A. Cook, *American Journ. of Theol.*, xix. (1915), 356. [7] See Ezra 10[28] [8] Neh. 3[8, 30], 7[2], 10[23]. Neh. 1[2], 7[2].

Lebanon at great expense ; it had seven gateways with stone pillars [1] and fine doors ; and the sacred building was the joy and rejoicing of all the Jews of Upper Egypt. It was no new erection, for it had been a rallying point for Judaism for 120 years. It was built in the lifetime of Cyrus the Great, and when Cambyses ravaged Egypt and despoiled its temples, he spared this fane consecrated to Jehovah's worship. But now in the year B.C. 410, the 14th year of Darius II, and when Jedoniah was priest of the temple, during the temporary absence from Egypt of the Persian governor Arsames, the friend of the Jews, the heathen priests of the ram-headed god Khnub [2] bribed Waidrang (a strange non-Semitic, and non-Egyptian word, evidently the name of a local Persian magistrate at Elephantine [3]) to destroy this temple of the Jews where the emblem of their deity, the Sacred Ram, was offered in sacrifice. Egyptian soldiers under Waidrang's son were accordingly landed on the island. They rifled the sanctuary of its gold and silver vessels : they broke down its walls, chipped off its decorations, levelled its stone pillars and its seven noble stone gates, and set the cedar roof on fire. No massacre took place, yet the destruction was complete, and there was intense sorrow on the part of the Hebrew community. On the return, however, of the Persian satrap, vengeance fell on the depredators Waidrang was deposed from his office, the stolen property was restored, while those responsible for the outrage were put to death.[4] Yet seemingly no compensation was given for the loss, nor was any permission granted to rebuild the ruined temple.[5]

The papyrus then goes on to appeal to Bagohi (the Bagoas mentioned by Josephus [6] as Persian governor of Jerusalem) and to Jehohanan, the high priest in Jerusalem, for authority to restore the desecrated structure. This was in B.C. 407, three years after the outrage, in the 17th year of Darius II.[7] This Jehohanan is the same as Johanan whose high priesthood is referred to in the Book of Nehemiah.[8] He is the " John " of whom Josephus [9] narrates that he murdered his brother Jesus in the Temple and seized the pontifical office. Bagoas, being prevented by the scrupulous Jews from entering the sacred precincts, made his celebrated protest against such distinctions between sacred and profane things : " Am not I purer than he that committed murder in the Temple ? " [10] He did enter the Temple, and for the next seven years punished the Jews for the murder of Jesus, who had been his friend. Other letters were sent by the Elephantine authorities to Delaiah and Shelemiah, son of Sanballat,[11] the governor of Samaria, and the well-known enemy of Nehemiah, who was related by marriage to the Jewish high priest.[12] This mention of Sanballat

[1] Sayce (*Expos. Times*, xxiii. (1911) 92) says he has found in the quarry the beds of some of the sandstone columns on which the roof was supported, and they reveal that the columns were as large as those of the principal Egyptian sanctuaries. [2] Khnub was the principal object of worship at Elephantine (Strabo, *Geog.* 817). For the mythologico-astronomical association of this god with the worship of the Sun's rays, see Gruson, *Im Reiche des Lichtes, Sonnen, Zodiakallichte, Kometen*, Brunswick, 1893, p. 99 f. [3] Ed. Meyer considers it the equivalent of the Persian "Hydarnes." [4] These events were very obscurely hinted at for the first time in an Aramaic papyrus fragment from Luxor, which showed that in the 14th year of Darius II there had been disturbances in Upper Egypt (Euting, *Mémoires presentés par divers Savants à l'Academie*, xi. 298. [5] C. H. H. Wright, *Light from Egyptian Papyri* (1908) pp. 11–34. [6] Jos. *Antiq.*, xi. 7. 1. [7] On the determination of Jewish months and dates of Cyrus and Darius II, by means of these Aramaic papyri, see Sprengling in *Amer. Journ. of Semitic Lang.*, xxvii. (1911), p. 233, and Handcock, *Expos. Times*, xxii. 500, and Fotheringham in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xiv. (1913), p. 570. [8] Neh. 12.[22] [9] Jos. *Antiq.*, xi. 7. 1. [10] For divergent comments on this, see Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews* (Eng. Trans.) i. 423, and Stanley, *Jewish Church* (1890) iii. 152. [11] Neh. 2 [10 19], 4 [1 7], 6.[1-14] [12] Neh. 13.[28]

as living in the time of Artaxerxes I is a corroboration of the historical accuracy of the book of Nehemiah; and at the same time a refutation of Josephus, who transports him from the reign of Longimanus to that of Darius Codomannus, the last Persian King.[1] The Syene Jews thus remind their Palestinian superiors that they had reported all these circumstances to them already, and had had no response. Now they again ask for permission. Evidently the Jewish authorities in Canaan had been reluctant to reply in the affirmative, either because they were too much occupied with their own affairs to trouble themselves about an incident that had occurred so far away, or perhaps because they were not sorry that a schismatic temple had been destroyed which might have injured the prestige of the recently restored Jerusalem Temple. At last, however, the answer came. It is a very brief note, preserved in a papyrus in the same box, in which Bagoas replies that the Temple may be rebuilt in the spot as it was before, and offerings made of meal and frankincense.[2]

These documents thus cast most important light on the otherwise obscure relations of the Jews in the Egyptian Diaspora with those in Jerusalem during the Persian period. Especially curious is it to find such close connection subsisting between Elephantine and the Samaritan sectaries. Redpath [3] has even suggested that the reason of the delay in replying was that the Assuan Jews were Samaritans, and therefore obnoxious to the Jerusalem authorities. The papyri also speak of a goddess "Anat-Bethel,"[4] of a divinity "Ism- (or Ashima)-Bethel," and of a vow being taken before a god entitled "Haram-Bethel."[5] The latter, however, may be merely a deification of the "Haram," or sacred enclosure of the temple at Yeb. All these items suggest reminiscences of the old Bethel-cult in pre-exilic Israel. It would seem that in former times not merely the Samaritans but the Hebrew population worshipped a deity whom they called "Bethel," for Jeremiah announced that *Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh, as the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel their confidence.*[6] It is remarkable to find in Upper Egypt a resuscitation of the old Bethel-cult, long after Israel had ceased to dwell in Palestine. But still more. Another possible connection between Elephantine and Samaria has recently been brought to light. At Turmus Aya near Shiloh, two sarcophagi were dug up in 1913. The one is of white marble, with neither inscription nor ornamentation, yet it is extremely handsome in its noble proportions of 8 feet long by 4 feet broad, with a gable-shaped lid. The other, also of white marble, is richly carved with elaborate designs of male and female figures representing the four Seasons. Unfortunately, there is no inscription or clue to the period to which it belongs: and by some it has

[1] Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 7, 2) seems to be quoting from some apocryphal Jewish account of the origin of the Temple on Mount Gerizim. Winckler had even swept aside both Sanballat and Bagoas as legendary characters! [2] See Driver, *Guardian*, Nov. 6, 1907: *Church Quarterly Rev.*, April, 1908: Nöldeke, "Neue jüdische Papyri" in *Zeitsch. f. Assyriol.*, xxi. (1908) 195: Sachau, "Drei Aramäische Papyruskunde aus Elephantine" in *Abh. d. König.-preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1907: and especially *Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka aus einer Jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, 2 v. 1911. See also *Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Instit.*, 1907, p. 605: Margoliouth, *Expositor*, Dec. 1907: Peters, *Die jüdische Gemeinde von Elephantine*, 1911: Ed. Meyer in *Sitzb. d. Berlin Akad.*, 1911, p. 1,026: Maspero in *Rev. Archéol.* xix. 415: Max Margolis, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, 1912, p. 428: Lidzbarski in *Ephemeris f. Semitische Epigraphik*, 1909, pp. 69–843: 1912, pp. 238–260, and Sprengling in *Amer. Journ. Theol.*, xxi. (1917), pp. 411–452, and xxii. (1918) pp. 349–375, who summarizes all that has been published in regard to these papyri. [3] In *Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1907. [4] Anat=Anath, the goddess whose name is preserved in Anathoth, Beth-Anath, Beth-Anoth close to Bethel, which may explain her being reverenced at Elephantine. [5] *Cf.* 2 Ki. 17.[30] [6] Jer. 48.[13]

been allotted to the Greek age before the arrival of the Romans in Palestine.[1] But both of them may perhaps be of the Persian period, for in this same neighbourhood there exist ruins of an imposing temple called Kefr Istuna, the architectural features of which have a resemblance to the unusual type of artistic decoration on the sarcophagus: and inasmuch as the Elephantine papyri make mention of a certain Ishtuma as a dweller at that time in Jerusalem, it is quite possible that this individual was the builder both of the temple and of the sarcophagi.[2]

But these papyri not only thus suggest interesting and long-forgotten connections between Samaria and the Upper Nile; they also help to a correct interpretation of some baffling parts of Scripture. An Isaian oracle, for example, had declared *In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called "The City of Destruction":*[3] *in that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and He shall send them a Saviour, and a defender, and He shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day: yea, they shall worship with sacrifice and oblation, and shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and shall perform it. And the Lord shall smite Egypt, smiting and healing: and they shall return unto the Lord, and He shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.*[4] It is remarkable that these Elephantine papyri reveal *an altar to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt: a pillar at the border thereof* (Assuan was the frontier post next to Nubia); a Jewish population speaking Aramaic, *the language of Canaan*, and *swearing* by the name of the *Lord of hosts*, as they repeatedly do. It is also of significance that the Jews there are in distress *because of the oppressors*, and that they enjoy deliverance from a defender.

It has been suggested by Whitehouse[5] that this sanctuary at Yeb may also throw light on the question of the date of Joel. Joel's closing oracle is *Egypt shall be a desolation . . . for the violence done to the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land.*[6] Though there was no actual massacre at Elephantine itself, this upheaval of heathenism against the followers of Jehovah may have been but a single incident in what was a wholesale persecution of the Jews in Egypt, wherein many perished. If such be the case, it is possible that it is to this systematized outburst on the part of the idolatrous Egyptians to which Joel refers, and thus we are afforded a clue to the probable date of the prophet's writings.[7]

Similarly, Whitehouse[8] has conjectured that the much disputed words *Lo, these shall come from far, and lo, these from the north and from the*

[1] These sarcophagi are figured and described in *Revue Biblique*, x. (1913), pp. 262–277, by Savignac and Michon. The latter tentatively dates the "Season" sarcophagus as of the 2nd century A.D. [2] For these facts I am indebted to Prof. G. L. Robinson in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, viii. (1915), p. 548. [3] Whether "Ir-ha-heres" means "City of Destruction," or "City of the Sun" = Heliopolis (so Symmachus), or "City of Righteousness" (LXX) or = Leontopolis (Duhm); or whether the original "City of the Sun" was modified by Palestinian Jews to "City of Destruction," and by Egyptian Jews to "City of Righteousness" (Dillman, Cheyne, Skinner) is discussed by Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 479, art. IR-HA-HERES. [4] Isa. 19.18 22 [5] *Expos. Times*, xx. (1909), p. 201. [6] Joel 3.19 [7] On the other hand, Hoonacker (*Une Communauté Judéo-Araméene à Elephantine en Égypte* (Schweich Lectures, 1914, 1915) connects this outrage referred to in Joel with the destruction of this Jewish community at Elephantine which took place when the Persians were driven out of Egypt by Amyrtæus. Jedoniah, the leader of the Samaritan-Jewish community which had sent letters to Jerusalem and Samaria, is stated in a fragment of a letter of this period to have perished in this rising. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

west, and these from the land of Sinim,[1] by a very slight emendation of a single Hebrew letter,[2] may legitimately be applied to the Jews of Elephantine or Syene, for we know that here there was a large and flourishing Jewish colony to which Ezekiel makes reference,[3] and to whose existence the papyri bear witness.

The discovery of the existence of this important Jewish settlement so far up the Nile, with their magnificent temple, their wealth and abounding prosperity, may have a further effect on criticism in that it is now possible to accord an early date to some passages which hitherto have been attributed to the Ptolemaic period. Thus, the prophecies of "Zechariah"—*They shall remember me in far countries, and they shall live with their children and return: I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt . . . he shall pass through the sea of affliction, and shall smite the waves in the sea, and all the depths of the Nile shall dry up . . . and the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away*[4]—passages which Sir George Adam Smith[5] asserts could "suit only the Greek period, after Ptolemy had taken so many Jews to Egypt," are now seen to be applicable to this large Nilotic Hebrew colony. Indeed the prophecy of the speedy passing away of the Egyptian royal line is much more natural to this era when the last of the native dynasties—the feeble XXVIIIth, XXIXth, and XXXth—were hastening to a close, than to the Ptolemaic era when the absorption of Egypt by Rome was still centuries distant.

Other references in "Zechariah" may also be addressed to this same Jewish community at Assuan. Speaking of the obligation resting on the Hebrews of the Diaspora to attend the Feast of Tabernacles, the author says *Whoso of all the families of the earth goeth not up unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, upon them there shall be no rain. And if the family of Egypt go not up, and come not, shall there not be upon them the plague? . . . This shall be the punishment of Egypt.*[6] This statement is in harmony with still another mysterious oracle found in Malachi, the clue to which may also perhaps be found in this remote Egypto-Jewish settlement: *From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name is great among the Gentiles: and in every place incense and a pure oblation are offered: for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts.*[7] The *going down of the sun* may well refer to the far-off Elephantine sanctuary in Upper Egypt, to the west and south of Palestine.

May we not still further trace, in certain post-Exilic psalms, the influence of this temple of Jehovah, with its organized worship, its altar of sacrifice, its expressive ritual, and its noble religious ideals, upon the inhabitants of the province of Nubia at whose portals it stood? Was this sanctuary of the Lord not a half-way house, so to speak, which introduced the dark rude tribes of Ethiopia to the worship of the one great Jehovah, and thus led them, as proselytes to the grand monotheistic creed of Judaism, to entertain the desire of coming up to the ancient central seat of the God of Israel? Did this Assuan temple at the foot of the Nile Cataracts not act as a missionary agency throughout the regions beyond, inducing the natives to see the beauty of religion based on devotion to an

[1] Isa. 49.[12] The identification of Sinim with China is open to serious objections. See Dillmann, *Jesaja ad loc.*: Duhm *ad loc.*, and Richthofen, *China*, i. 436, 504. [2] Read סְוֵנִים instead of סִינִים *i.e.*, by a change of the first י into ו: so also Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, p. 275. [3] Ezek. 29,[10] 30.[6] [4] Zech. 10.[9-11] [5] *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 470. [6] Zech. 14.[17-19] [7] Mal. 1.[11]

invisible Deity, and thus preparing the way for their coming up to Zion to join in the great national religious festivals of the Hebrew race? *Because of thy temple at Jerusalem, Kings shall bring presents unto thee. Rebuke the wild beast of the reeds* (*i.e.*, the crocodile as symbolizing Egypt), *the multitude of the bulls, with the calves of the peoples . . . princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God.*[1] And once again, another psalmist sees representatives from distant Nilotic provinces coming up to the city of God: *I will make mention of Rahab* (*i.e.*, Egypt) *as among them that know me: behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia: this one was born there.*[2]

[1] Psa. 68.[29-31] [2] Psa. 87.[4] It may also be pointed out that the existence of this temple at Syene destroys the opening remark of Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* that "in the days of Jesus it was taken to be as certain as the unity of God himself that there could be only one place of worship." It cannot have been so, for this sanctuary with its priests, altars, and sacrifices negatives it.

CHAPTER XXVII

The XXVIIIth, XXIXth, XXXth, and XXXIst Dynasties

1. *The XXVIIIth Dynasty* (B.C. 405–399)

The Persian sovereignty over Egypt was by this time a mere name. The aged Darius II was tottering to his grave. When he died and was succeeded by his son, Artaxerxes II Mnemon (B.C. 404–358) the Persian Empire was shaken to its very foundations by the attempt of Cyrus the Younger to wrest the sceptre from the hands of his royal brother. Nothing revealed the inherent weakness of Persia more than the ease with which this prince cut his way from Greece right across Asia Minor and through Mesopotamia, till he was within 120 miles of Babylon. His bodyguard of Greeks again and again routed Persian troops ten times their number. Had Cyrus not been killed at Cunaxa (B.C. 401) the history of Persia might have been very different, for the younger brother of Artaxerxes II was of a type who might have restored the Empire and imparted life and vigour to its organization. Nevertheless, the successful Retreat of his Ten Thousand Greeks through the heart of the enemy's country evidenced the vulnerability of the great colossus, and showed to the world that the Court at Susa was living on the reputation of a military strength that was already a thing of the past.

As the power of Persia waned, the native Egyptians renewed their former attempts to restore their ancient independence. Though the revolt of Inaros had been quelled under Artaxerxes I, his friend Amyrtæus (B.C. 405–400), probably a member of the Royal House of Sais,[1] had maintained his hold on an obscure island[2] in the Delta till at a favourable moment he contrived to raise an army, and drive out the Persian officials. The long slumbering wrath of the populace blazed forth, and the last remains of the Persian regime were swept away in a popular rising. A Persian army marched through Judæa to quell the revolt, and the Jews of Palestine, though remaining loyal to the Persian interest, suffered severely by the passage of the army. The Jews in Egypt seem also to have been involved in the troubles that befel the Persian official class. Remembering their repeated indebtedness to former Persian Kings they had maintained their attachment to the Court of Susa: but now in the day of vengeance which overtook the Persian rulers of Egypt, they shared in the anguish of

[1] Maspero (*Passing of the Empires*, pp. 732, 751) says that this Amyrtæus was a grandson of the Amyrtæus who had been made a local king after the defeat of Inaros.
[2] Called Elbo: according to Herodotus (ii. 140) it was formed of ashes in the inextricable swamps of the Delta, and the secret of its precise locality was maintained for 700 years.

the times. Their restored temple at Elephantine was seemingly again demolished.

How far Amyrtæus' sovereignty extended we cannot say. There must, however, have been something remarkable and distinctive about his military exploits and his brief rule, for Manetho recognizes him as the sovereign, though the sole one, of a legitimate dynasty, the XXVIIIth. His Egyptian name, Grecized into Amyrtæus, may have been Amen-rut. His capital in all likelihood was Sais.

II. *The XXIXth Dynasty* (B.C. 399–378)

Another short-lived dynasty followed, the XXIXth. It exercised its feeble sway from Mendes.[1] Mendes was the centre of the worship of Pan under the likeness of a Ram.[2] The Sacred Ram lived in the temple, and had his priests and priestesses who took care of him. Like the Apis Bull, there was only one Ram at a time, distinguished by certain marks.[3] Amyrtæus had had a son named *Pausiris*[4] who had showed some vigour, and it is not easy to understand why he did not succeed his father on the throne and continue the XXVIIIth Dynasty. Perhaps though he followed his father he may have bowed to the Persian menace, and thus earned deposition at the hands of the enraged Egyptians. In any case the Saite royal line failed, and for some unknown reason the Kingship passed to another family.

NEPHERITES I (B.C. 399–393), the first King of the new dynasty,[5] has left his name on a few stone blocks and sphinxes throughout the country, as for example at Memphis, where he repaired the temple of Ptah.[6] Burning with ardour to maintain the freedom of Egypt from the hated Persians, he entered into alliances with Syria, Cyprus, Caria, and Greece; fomented quarrels among the various Persian satraps against their own worthless sovereign, and thus tried to divert the attention of Artaxerxes from any organized invasion of the Nile Valley. Yet strange to say, through the fortune of war, he most unwillingly was led to advance the interests of the Persians, his national foes. In B.C. 396 he despatched 100 ships of war with half a million bushels of wheat to the assistance of his ally, Agesilaus, King of Sparta, who was encamped at Ephesus after a successful attack on Phrygia. The ships put into Rhodes, which had previously professed friendship for Sparta, but had, unknown to the Egyptians, secretly changed sides. Conon, the Persian admiral, captured the entire Egyptian fleet with all the supplies of wheat. Nepherites was intensely chagrined, and embittered against any further alliance with the Greeks.[7]

He seems to have turned his attention to Palestine as a buffer State against Persia. He may have aspired to restore there the ancient dominion

[1] The excavation of Mendes (in the Middle Ages El Mondid, later Tel Roba, now the southern mound of Tmei el Amdid) was undertaken by Naville (*Ahnas el Medineh*, 1894, p. 15). For new historical inscriptions discovered at Mendes, see Daressy in *Rec. de Trav.*, 1913, p. 124: and for a description of Greek heads, along with a large number of marble and alabaster objects found at Mendes in 1908, see Edgar in Maspero's *Le Musée Égyptien*, xiii. Pt. i., 1909, p. 1. [2] Naville (*op. cit.* p. 19) maintains that the god was a he-goat, τράγος=the word used by Herodotus (ii. 42, 46), Strabo, Plutarch, Suidas and Nonnus. [3] For Khnemu who was worshipped at Mendes under the form of a Ram, see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 64. Coffins of the Sacred Ram are photographed in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1892–93, p. 4. [4] Herod. iii. 15. [5] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 8, 9. [6] During this XXIXth Dynasty Tanis enjoyed some new architectural vigour, but of an ignoble kind. Dwelling houses were erected under the shadow of the Great Wall, and rose up amid the ruins of obelisks, pylons and colossi. [7] Diodorus, xiv. 79, 4. He is there called Nephereus.

of the Pharaohs, knowing that Egypt could never be secure against attack from the East so long as Canaan was held by his country's enemies In the higher strata of the excavations at Gezer, Macalister picked up a small slab of syenite bearing the cartouche of Nepherites I,[1] showing that there must have been some inter-communication of a direct character between Palestine and the Nile Valley. This connection is further witnessed to by the fact that Petrie discovered at Memphis[2] a fragment of limestone with an Aramaic *graffito*, which bore evidence of having belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes II, who was the overlord of Canaan at this time. It may have been a Jewish document.

The second King of the dynasty, ACHORIS or HAKAR (B.C. 393–380), prosecuted building operations in many parts of the country, especially in Upper Egypt among the temples of Thebes.[3] But he mixed himself up also in the struggle between Artaxerxes II and Evagoras, King of Sparta. The former invaded the Cypriote territory with 300 triremes and an enormous army. Evagoras implored the assistance of Hakar against their common foe. The Egyptians responded by contributing corn and other supplies. The Athenians[4] and the Carians[5] assisted. Together the allies conquered Tyre,[6] and in Cilicia[7] and Idumea they fanned the flame of revolt against the Great King. It looked as if Persia was destined to be humbled, so numerous and so powerful were those who attacked her. But the treacherous Peace of Antalkidas (B.C. 387), while it left all the Greek States in Europe autonomous, resigned the whole of Asia to the Persians, and gave liberty to Artaxerxes to crush Evagoras and his remaining confederates. After a six years' struggle, the Cypriot King capitulated, but was spared, and even his royal city of Salamis was restored to him along with his title of King (B.C. 380). But the Persian meditated a terrible vengeance on Egypt which had dared to insult the majesty of the throne at Susa. Before, however, his generals were ready for the invasion of the Nile lands, the brief-lived XXIXth Dynasty had expired. Hakar's short reign had been followed by that of PSAMMUTHIS[8] (B.C 380–379), a cruel and worthless sovereign. Then succeeded MUTHES (B.C. 379–378), and NEPHERITES II, who reigned four months. These followed each other quickly into obscurity, leaving hardly a trace behind.

III. *The XXXth Dynasty* (B.C. 378–342)

For the last time, Egypt, during the XXXth Dynasty, enjoyed a brief resurrection of glory, ere her line of native monarchs ceased for ever. NECTANEBUS I[9] (B.C. 378–361), seizing the supreme power from the weak Mendesian princes, ruled from Sebennytus,[10] and gave a strong peace to the Nile Valley. Success in the long run had till now always attended the arms and diplomacy of the Persian Artaxerxes II, and during his

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 9. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, ii. 313. [2] Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, p. 12. [3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. Pl. 284. [4] Xenophon, *Hellen.* iv. 8, 24. [5] Isocrates, *Orat.*, ix. 75, 76. [6] Diodorus, xv. 2, 2. [7] *Ib.*, xv. 2, 3. [8] Psammuthis is the Psammetichus of Diodorus (xiv. 19–35) who claimed to be descended from the famous Psammetichi of the XXVIth Dynasty. He was guilty of great inhumanity and ingratitude towards Tamos, governor of Ionia, who had fled to Egypt for refuge. He murdered the fugitive and his children. [9] A Ptolemaic tradition made out that Nectanebus I was the son of Nepherites I. See the *Demotic Rhapsody* (Révillout in *Rev. Egyptol.*, ii. 56). [10] 'Now Samanood. Inscriptions bearing the names of Kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties have been discovered on the spot. The city was the birth-place of Manetho. See Naville, *The Mound of the Jews and the City of Onias* (1887), pp. 23–27.

protracted and troubled reign, the revolted provinces of his huge empire had one by one been recovered. Egypt alone had continued for more than 30 years practically free from Persian control, and Artaxerxes now determined to assert his flouted authority. He secured the services of the great Athenian general, Iphicrates, with 20,000 Greeks, 300 triremes, and 200 galleys of 30 oars, while 200,000 Persians marched under the standard of the satrap Pharnabazus.[1] This vast fleet and army assembled in the bay of Acre, and for three years the Palestinian seaport was thronged with a hive of men accumulating stores and military supplies for an attack on Egypt on a colossal scale.[2]

Nectanebus displayed a hero's courage. He built forts at the mouths of all the seven streams of the Nile. He fortified Pelusium, excavated a moat round it, deepened the fords, and blockaded every passage through which a ship might pass. Despairing of capturing Pelusium, Pharnabazus sent a contingent of 3,000 to enter the Mendesian mouth of the Nile. The attack was successful: the barricade was burst, the fort after a bloody encounter was stormed, and the main Persian army might have pushed on to the capture of Memphis But though the active Iphicrates urged haste, the sluggish Persian counselled a cautious advance.[3] The season for hostilities passed: the Nile inundations commenced: the Egyptians strongly fortified Memphis: and Nectanebus hurled his troops against the invaders with such fury that in the end the foe was driven out. The enslavement of the Nile Valley was delayed for another quarter of a century.[4]

With peace there came to Egypt opulence and prosperity. The Pharaoh devoted himself to the restoration of the old forms of religion, and almost every one of the ancient centres of worship—Bubastis, Memphis, Abydos, Thebes—was enriched by some shrine, or temple, or obelisk. Even the remote Oasis of Kharga was not overlooked, for its temple was much embellished by Nectanebus. The architectural labours, indeed, of the new sovereign evidence the extraordinary recuperative capabilities of Egypt, whenever peace gave her leisure to cultivate the fine arts. What immensity of toil was involved in the erection by Nectanebus of an entire temple of red granite from Assuan, which he built in his native town of Behbet, every block cut out and transported many hundreds of miles! The hardest and most costly stone was purposely selected, for all seemed easy to the architects of Egypt, even when many thought that Egypt's day was past.[5]

The Egypt of the XXXth Dynasty revealed a cosmopolitanism, and a seething flux of different nationalities, most remarkable. New proofs of this have recently come to light. In 1908, Petrie unearthed at Memphis the Foreign Quarter of the metropolis.[6] One of his most interesting finds consisted in a large number of modelled terra-cotta heads, representing types of the various foreign races that thronged the bazaars of Memphis.[7]

[1] Corn. Nepos, *Iphicrates* 2: Diodorus, xv. 29, 3, 4. [2] Diod., xv. 41, 3 [3] *Ib.*, xv. 43, 1 2. [4] See Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 159–163. [5] Naville (*The Shrine of Saft el Henneh* (1888) p. 3) says: "Looking at the monuments of the two Nectanebos, it is impossible not to be struck by the beauty of the workmanship as well as by the richness of the material employed. Egyptian art undergoes a new resurrection more complete than under the XXVIth Dynasty. There is more vigour in the style than at the time of the Psammetichi, perhaps less delicacy than in the works of the Saite Kings, but a decided tendency to revert to the stern beauty of the works of the great Pharaohs. For their models they chose the Kings of the XIIth Dynasty." [6] Petrie, *Memphis*, i. 15 f. [7] The dates of these plaques vary from the 5th to the 2nd century B.C.

Egypt was still maintaining her ancient rôle as the greatest commercial centre of the Old World. Her cities were visited by crowds from all nations, attracted by the fame of her architectural triumphs, and possibly through the writings of Herodotus. These terra-cotta plaques were sold as " curios " or " souvenirs " to the tourists and traders who flocked to the Delta. The ethnological types depicted are remarkably characteristic and perfectly recognizable to-day. We see the unmistakable features of the Egyptian lady with her hair in a net ; the Persian King with his bushy curls and close fitting tiara ; Persian cavalry officers with faces swathed to keep off heat and dust ; [1] Sumerians, the survivors of the ancient inhabitants of Chaldæa, whose type of skull and physiognomy were perpetuated even after the Turanian language they spoke had passed away : Semitic Babylonians with faces resembling that of Hammurabi ; Indians of a Tibetan type and also some that suggest Aryan Punjabis ; Semitic Syrians of a strongly Jewish cast, including one of a girl playing on a Syrian *kinyra* ; Scythian (Sacæ) cavalry ; [2] Archaic Greeks, Classical Greeks, Italians, and even the typical mutton-chop-whiskered Spanish toreador with the flat cap ! Egypt was thus the common meeting-ground of all nations, and the influence of her culture, civilization, and religion spread far over the Orient and the Occident.[3]

Of especial interest are the representations of Indian life, and this connection between Egypt and Hindostan opens up a wide vista of historical possibilities. As early as the time of Darius Hystaspes, India was regarded as a State tributary to Persia, and it yielded an annual revenue of 360 talents of gold. Indians fought under Xerxes in the vast campaign against Greece : and as *Ahasuerus* (*i.e.*, Xerxes) *reigned from India even unto Ethiopia*[4] it was possible for Indian conceptions in philosophy and religion to penetrate into the Nile Valley by the ordinary channels of trade and barter. In this way we may explain the fact that there seem to have been settlements of Indians at Assuan even in this early period, and through them the religious views associated with Gautama Buddha were disseminated throughout Egypt.[5] The consequences were remarkable. Monasteries, or groups of ascetic devotees living together in a communal form and ordering their lives on rules laid down by Indians, were established in Egypt by B.C. 340. It is in many ways probable that Greek Stoicism was not an indigenous Hellenic product, but merely an infiltration *via* Egypt of beliefs derived from the Buddhist priests of India.

Of equal interest are the evidences of the close connection subsisting at this time between Egypt and Syria. The comings and goings between the two neighbouring lands were frequent. Thus a Phœnician tourist of this period has left his name on the wall of the temple of Osiris at Abydos. The text, written in Phœnician characters, reads " I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Sed-yathon, son of Ger-sed, the Tyrian, dwelling here in On of Egypt, after the departure (?) of Bod-muqsth, the man of On " (Heliopolis).[6] In Palestine itself there was a distinct drawing closer of the bonds of

[1] *Man*, 1908, No. 71. [2] Petrie, *Memphis III* (1910), Pl. xlii. [3] An illustration of this wide diffusion of Egyptian culture is afforded by an inscription discovered at Citium in Cyprus, dated a few years before the advent of Alexander the Great, in which reference is made to one Bodo, the priest of Reshef-hesi. This Semitic-Egyptian god was much adored under earlier Dynasties (*C.I.S.*, i. 10 (1881) : also i. 1, No. 44, 48). Reshef-Mikal occurs in Nos. 91, 92, 93 from Cyprus. Another from Larnaka of date B.C. 400–350 has the name of the Egyptian Bast on it (*C.I.S.*, i. 1. No. 86, p. 98). [4] Esth. 1.[1] [5] The date of Gautama Buddha is about B.C. 500–450. [6] Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 90 : see also Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1919, p. 123.

sympathy between the Jews and Egypt. There were so many Jews in the Nile Valley that it was a second Canaan to them, and in many ways an asylum from the troubles of the times in their own land of Judah. The traditional friendship and loyalty of the Jews to the throne of Persia which dated from Cyrus' Edict of Restoration, and which had been fostered by the wise and humane policy of Darius I and Artaxerxes I, had now undergone a change. The high-toned Zoroastrianism professed by the earlier Persians had by this time greatly degenerated, and the national worship had descended into a fanatical devotion to Mithra, along with a licentious service of Anaitis. Artaxerxes II even attempted to force this idolatry on the Jews as on other parts of his empire, and his ill-timed folly transformed the hitherto loyal Hebrew race into bitter enemies of his dynasty. The drilling of the nation under Ezra and Nehemiah had not been in vain. The sterner and more conservative section were ready to lay down their lives in support of the Law. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Egypt and Canaan once more in close alliance. The Jewish State looked to the Delta for aid against the aggressively heathen policy of the Court at Susa. Egyptians and Jews fought side by side against the armies of the Great King. Yet the contest in the meantime ended disastrously The Jewish revolt was severely put down, and while thousands of the Jerusalem patriots were banished to Hyrcania near the Caspian, many others were exiled to Babylonia.[1]

In the Jewish Royal Pottery stamps we possess a most curious relic of this period when Canaan was alternately inclining towards Persia and towards Egypt. Pilcher[2] has shown how these stamps occur with two distinct devices upon them. One is that of a two-winged object identified with the "winged disk of Ormuzd." The other is a four-winged object generally recognized as a scarabæus. The Persian device tended under Egyptian influence to become identified with the Egyptian winged disk, as is illustrated by an inscription in a naos of the temple of Edfu dedicated by Nectanebus I.[3] In these symbols, which embody respectively the Persian and the Egyptian Powers, we have thus an indication of the uncertainties of the period, and of the readiness of the people of Palestine to adopt either, according as one or other of the two antagonists got the upper hand, and promised them a greater amount of religious autonomy.

To this same period of great unsettlement we may also relegate other monumental and literary pieces. The "Stele Saltiana"[4] is a very interesting slab, acquired by Henry Salt in Egypt, which has two panels, bearing Aramaic letters. It shows the Pharaoh in royal habit, wearing a crown of the *pschent* style, standing before the god Osiris, as if the King was the mediator between the Egyptians and their divinity. The fact that the inscription is in Aramaic points to the presence in Egypt of Palestinians who had gone over to the worship of Nilotic deities. Another Aramaic inscription at Akhmin of this period, with the words ". . . son of Petptah, in presence of . . ."[5] indicates that this particular Canaanite had adopted Ptah as his object of devotion. Above all, to this era wherein there was going on a struggle for the mastery between Persia and Egypt, with all the religious ideals which that struggle involved, when alternately the two Great Powers waxed and waned in strength, when Hebrew monotheism, purified in the fire of trial, was gaining ever wider sway, and

[1] Syncellus (ed. Dindorf) i. 486. [2] *P.S.B.A.*, xxxii. (1910), pp. 93, 143. [3] F. W. Read in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1910, p. 232. [4] *C.I.S.* (Aram. Div.), Pt. ii., No. 143, Pl. xiv.: Cook, *P.S.B.A.*, xxv. (1903), p. 34. [5] *C.I.S.*, ii. 135.

yet when the mystery of God's Providence was increasingly felt to be an enigma, there appeared in Egypt, or there was composed in Palestine by one who was intimately familiar with Egyptian institutions, the most profound and most famous product of the Hochma literary tendencies, the *Book of Job*. The evidences of its Egyptian origin will be marshalled in the next chapter.[1] Perhaps it was also at this period that there was brought out the *Song of Songs*, the drama which exhibits the power and beauty of true and holy love over sensual passion. The presence of the Persian word *Pardes*[2] in the phrase *Thy shoots are a paradise of pomegranates* suggests the influence of post-Exilic days, and an acquaintance with Persian Royal "paradises": the time of Solomon to which the poem was allotted is used as a foil to exhibit the corrupting influences of the age in which the poet lived, and his knowledge of Egypt's wealth and glory is shown by his remark *I have compared thee, O my love, to a steed in Pharaoh's chariots*.[3]

The struggle with Persia was renewed under TCHE-HRA or TACHOS (B.C. 361–359). Imagining that the Persian *bear*[4] was becoming old and feeble, Tachos broke the peaceful prosperity won and maintained by Nectanebus I, and plunged into a great conspiracy against Artaxerxes II. In the league were the Spartans, the Phrygians, the Carians, the Mysians, the Lydians, a multitude of other Asian principalities, and the Syrians of Palestine. Tachos got ready 200 ships, 80,000 Egyptian soldiers, and hired 10,000 Greek mercenaries, using for the purpose temple treasures which he had appropriated. The Spartans sent Egypt their best man, Agesilaus, with 1,000 other stern Lacedæmonians. But treachery on a flagrant scale wrecked the scheme. The Asiatic confederates one after another accepted Persian gold, and betrayed the cause. Tachos marched into Palestine, joined forces with the Phœnicians, and began to wrest some cities from the Persians. Discontent, however, broke out meanwhile at home. News reached him that his own son, Nectanebus, whom he had left as governor of Egypt, had seized the throne. In despair, Tachos fled first to Sidon, and then across the Arabian desert to Susa, and cast himself on the clemency of the Persian monarch. Artaxerxes pardoned him, and made him leader of the army with which he was once more intending to subdue Egypt. Whether Tachos was successful or not we have no means of knowing. Diodorus asserts that he returned to Egypt, and with the help of Agesilaus, after a desperate struggle reached his throne once more. But this is doubtful: the likelihood is rather that he was slain, and that the Sicilian historian has confused the fugitive King with his successor.[5]

The last native King of Egypt was NECTANEBUS II (B.C. 359–342). His revolt against his father proving successful, his reign for seventeen years was marked with vigour and energy. Under him, many of the ancient glories of the Amenemhats and the Thothmidæ were revived. From Philæ in the south to Memphis, Heliopolis, and Sebennytus in the north, architectural remains testify to the splendour and the excellence of his building operations.[6] The ancient skill had not died out from the Egyptian craftsman, for the monuments of his reign are as perfect as those of any

[1] Chap. xxviii. [2] Cant. 4.[13] [3] Cant. 1.[9] [4] See Dan. 7.[5]
[5] Diodorus, xv. 90 f. The other authorities of the period (Nepos, *Chabrias*, 2, 3 Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, ii. 28: Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 36 f.) give contradictory details. Petrie (*Palace of Apries*, p. 12) found a bowl belonging to Tachos at Memphis, made of deep blue glaze, showing that this city was the Royal Residence to the very end of the 30 Dynasties. [6] Three limestone sphinxes and several beautiful sets of porcelain figures found at Tanis are probably to be dated from his reign (Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 21).

previous dynasty.[1] Revolt in the Delta was, however, chronic: disturbances were constant: while Persia was ever hammering at the gates on the frontier. Nevertheless, amid these distractions, Egypt showed for the last time a marvellous reflorescence of native talent and artistic skill, ere the night of political extinction finally came down.

Meanwhile the aged Artaxerxes Mnemon died, killed with grief over the horrible domestic tragedies in his family.[2] He was succeeded by the savage Ochus, who took the name of Artaxerxes III (B.C. 358–338). The new monarch signalized his accession by the assassination of all the princes, and of as many of the princesses, of the Persian blood royal, as his sanguinary zeal could reach.[3] Vengeance on Egypt was then resolved on. During his father's lifetime Ochus had unsuccessfully attacked the eastern frontier of the Delta.[4] This time he left nothing to chance. With 300,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 300 warships, and 600 transports, he advanced to meet a grand coalition of Phœnicians, Cyprians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews. Sidon was to have been the rendezvous of the allies.[5] But ere the confederates had massed their forces, Sidon had fallen by treachery. The famous city with its great population of 40,000 men, women, and children, disappeared in the flames of a conflagration lit by the despair of the inhabitants themselves.[6] Thus was fulfilled the ancient prophecy of Isaiah, *Be thou ashamed, O Zidon, for the sea hath spoken, the stronghold of the sea, saying "I have not travailed, nor brought forth, neither have I nourished young men, nor brought up virgins" . . . thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin daughter of Zidon.*[7]

Ochus swept on to the coveted reduction of Egypt. The "Serbonian Bog" with its treacherous swamps covered with a fictitious layer of sand swallowed up a large part of his army.[8] The remainder pushed on to Pelusium, where the decisive contest took place.[9] The struggle was mainly one between the Greek mercenaries hired by the respective sides. Nectanebus in his self-conceit insisted on being generalissimo. He was outflanked, and forced to flee to Memphis. One by one the cities of the

[1] Naville (*The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh* (1885), p. 3) says that, "judging from the monuments which they erected, the two Nectanebos must have been much more powerful than might be gathered from the narrative of Diodorus Siculus." On p. 4, he remarks that "many of these massive structures were built for fortresses as well as temples, and hence, after the capture of Egypt, they were purposely demolished, not by the feeble hands of a fanatical mob, but by the trained engineers of a Roman, or other, army." [2] The queen-mother Parysatis, a woman of fiendish temperament, poisoned the good queen Statira, and forced the King to marry his own daughter Atossa. Of his three sons by Statira, Darius the eldest tried to assassinate his father, and was executed: the next, Ariaspes, committed suicide: and a natural son Arsames was murdered by his half-brother Ochus. See Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 507. [3] Justin, x. 3. [4] Isocrates, *Orat. v. Phil.* 118: Demosthenes, *De. Rhod. Libert.*, p. 193: Trogus, *Argument. ad Justin*, x. [5] For the history of Sidon, with an attempt to prove that it was not older than Tyre, or enjoyed political supremacy before Tyre, see F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon, a study in Oriental History* (New York), 1907, p. 25. [6] Diod., xvi. 8. [7] Isa. 23.[4] [12] So Duhm and Marti, *Comm* in loco. [8] For a vivid description of the perils of the Bog (the βάραθρα) see Diodorus, i. 30, 4. [9] For an elaborate article on Pelusium, see Lagier in Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible s.v.*, and Greville J. Chester in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 149, who says "At every step I sank nearly up to the knees in mud . . . at last I had the satisfaction of standing on the remote and rarely visited site of Pelusium or Sin. The Tel, which in truth is an island rising from a vast lake of mud which must occasionally be covered with water, is of very large extent, scarcely less than two miles in length. Its surface is red from the quantity of broken pottery . . . the top of the Tel commands a view of the sea, breaking on a sandy beach on the other side of a swamp, at a distance of about three miles of great trackless marshes of brown mud. . . . The desolation is complete and awful. There is no fresh water, no sign and indeed no possibility of human habitation, and the silence was alone broken by the hoarse murmur of the distant waves."

Delta were compelled to open their gates to the savage Persian. The ill-fated Pharaoh in despair packed up his treasures, and fled up the Nile into the wilds of Nubia. His fate is unknown, but Wiedemann[1] believes that after his tragic career had come to a close, his body was interred in royal state at Memphis.

The vindictive Ochus indulged his lust for revenge on unhappy Egypt. Far and wide the land was cruelly ravaged. Walls were razed, fortresses demolished, temples rifled, vast accumulations of gold and silver carried off. Even the priestly records were seized and had to be redeemed at an extravagant price. Imitating and excelling Cambyses, Ochus slaughtered and ate the Apis Bull at Memphis and the sacred Ram at Mendes, installing an ass at Memphis in place of the venerated incarnation of the god.[2] Then leaving Pherendates as viceroy, he returned to Susa, laden with the riches of the wealthiest and most cultured of all lands.[3]

IV. *The XXXIst Dynasty* (B.C 342–332)

According to Manetho, the Egyptian priests reckoned a XXXIst Dynasty consisting of the three remaining Persian Kings who ruled the Nile Valley until the subversion of the Persian Empire. The first of these three was OCHUS (B.C. 342–339), whose atrocities have just been mentioned. His cruelties and his mad attacks on the Egyptian religion earned for him the unbounded hatred of his Nilotic subjects. His name also is associated in legend[4] with an attack on Jerusalem and a profanation of the Temple, probably on account of the participation of the Jews in the revolt which had been quenched in the awful fires of Sidon. The *Book of Judith*, a romance of the 2nd century B.C.,[5] written to nerve the Jews during the Maccabean tyranny, takes for its setting this invasion of Palestine by Ochus. The principal character is "Holofernes," a name obviously akin to Orophernes,[6] the commander of the Persian army at this time, though by an outrageous anachronism Orophernes is made chief captain of the host of Nebuchadnezzar! How extensive was the humiliation of Jerusalem we have no means of knowing, but the anguish and misery of the Jews must have been great while this vast marauding horde of Persians marched to and fro through the land.

This reconquest of Egypt, and her inclusion again within the bounds of the vast Persian Empire, "must," as Grote says,[7] "have been one of the most impressive events of the age." Ochus' exploit rivalled that of Cambyses and Darius I. The terror of his reduction of the land kept Egypt quiet henceforth. Mentor and Bagoas, the two skilful generals to whom Ochus owed his success, maintained a strong peace along the Levantine seaboard, and to all intents, just before its final collapse, the Persian Empire seemed as strong as ever.[8]

But as Ochus had gained his throne by assassination, by assassination

[1] *Ægypt. Gesch.*, p. 716. [2] Ælian, *Variæ Historiæ*, iv. 8: vi. 8. [3] Diodorus, xvi. 43–51. [4] Syncellus (ed. Dindorf), i. 486: Eusebius, *Chronicon* (ed. Schoene), ii. 112: Solinus, *Collectanea* in Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, p. 339. [5] See R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, i. 242. It is interesting to note that St. Paul quoted from the Book of Judith (1 Cor. 2 [10]=Jud. 8 [14]). See Prof. Rendel Harris, *Expos. Times*, xxvii. (1915), p. 13. [6] Diodorus, xxxi. 19. [7] *Hist. of Greece*, xi. 394 (Everyman's Edit.). [8] The synthesis of Syrian and Egyptian religions at this period is shown in the coinage. Coins of Sidon with figures in Egyptian costume have been discovered of the time of Bagoas (B.C. 346–343). See Babelon, *Les Monnaies et la Chronologie des rois de Sidon*, 1891.

he himself perished. Bagoas, in fear of his life from the jealous caprice of his royal master, poisoned his sovereign, and placed on the throne of Persia his youngest son ARSES (B.C. 339–336).[1] The boy after a year or two began to be resentful of the eunuch's leading strings, and Bagoas solved the difficulty by murdering his youthful monarch.[2] Looking around for a successor, Bagoas chose one of his friends, Codomannus, who may have been distantly related to the Royal House,[3] but whose destiny it was to be the last occupant of the throne founded by Cyrus the Great.

It is a curious coincidence that the same year witnessed the accession of the last Persian monarch, DARIUS III CODOMANNUS (B.C. 336–331), and the elevation to the throne of Macedonia of Alexander the Great, who was fated to be the instrument whereby the Persian Empire was overthrown. The victorious son of Philip, flushed with his reduction of Greece, set out at once on his career of universal conquest. In the battle of the Granicus (B.C. 334) the first deadly blow was struck. The second stroke, at Issus in B.C. 333, witnessed the utter rout of the Persian hordes, and was followed by the capture of Darius' wife and family. In this second battle one of the nobles slain was the Persian governor of Egypt, who bore an Egyptian name, Sabakes or Shabaka, once of note under the XXVth Dynasty ;[4] and with him there probably also fell the Egyptian contingent which he commanded.

Darius fled to Babylon, but ere he was tracked to his lair, Alexander resolved to secure the provinces to the south.[5] He enjoyed a triumphal march through Phœnicia. Samaria was besieged and punished, a settlement of Macedonian colonists being made on the spot.[6] Tyre, which refused to accede to his demands, was captured and stormed after a siege which is reckoned among the most famous and marvellous in history.[7] Gaza, which also resisted, met with the sternest treatment.[8] Even Jerusalem may have been visited. For Josephus,[9] in a narrative which is a strange mixture of truth and legend difficult to unravel, tells how Alexander, enraged against the Jews through their refusal to send him provisions and auxiliaries for the siege of Tyre, marched up to Jerusalem with the intention of teaching the city a terrible lesson. The high priest Jaddua, warned by God in a dream, in his pontifical robes headed a multitude of priests and citizens in white garments who streamed out of the city towards Scopus. When Alexander drew near, to the astonishment of all he bowed low before the name of Jehovah emblazoned on the gold mitre of the high priest. Questioned by Parmenio as to the reason of this action, he replied that this figure of the Jewish high priest had appeared to him in a dream

[1] Diodorus, xvii. 5, 3 : Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, vi. 8. [2] Arrian, *Anab. of Alex.*, ii. 14 : Strabo, xv. 3, 24 : Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, vi. 3. [3] Diod., xvii. 5, 5. [4] See p. 297. [5] Hogarth (*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* (1915) ii. Pt. ii. 53) has brought out the necessity that lay on Alexander to secure command of the Eastern Mediterranean before he ventured into the interior of Asia. [6] Syncellus (ed. Dindorf), i. 496. Riedel discovered in Samaria a sling bolt of lead bearing the image of the thunder-bolt of Zeus, and of the trident of Poseidon, which he ascribes to this siege by Alexander. Nash (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxvi. (1914) 279). [7] Fully described by Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* : Curtius, *Life of Alexander* : Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* : Diodorus, xvii. [8] Coins of Alexander have been found at Ashkelon, Ptolemais (Accho) and possibly at Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and Rabbah (Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre*, pp. 303–309). There seem also to be reminiscences of Alexander's journey down the coast of Palestine south of Tyre in the fact that between Tyre and Ptolemais we have to-day preserved in Arabic the place-names *Ain Iskanderuneh*=the spring of Alexander : *Khurbet Iskanderuneh*=the ruin of Alexander : *Mizrat Iskanderuneh*=the sown-land of Alexander : and *Nahr Iskanderuneh*=the river of Alexander (between Cæsarea and Jaffa), *Survey of West Pal.* (*Place-Names*), maps iii. and x. [9] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xi. 8, 5.

at Dium in Macedonia, promising him the dominion of Asia. The populace of Jerusalem saluted the young King. Alexander was led by Jaddua into the Temple, and permitted to sacrifice to the God of the Jews. He took the Jews into his favour, invited them to enrol in his army, granted them full liberty of worship according to the laws of their fathers, and gave them exemption from taxation in their sabbatical years.

How far these statements are based on facts will likely always be a matter of doubt,[1] but there is no question that there is a substratum of fact. This *Jaddua* who was high priest *in the reign of Darius the Persian*[2] certainly conferred a great benefit on his countrymen if he won for them the favour of the coming new World-Power. The advantage, however, was mutual. Alexander gained the good will of a nation whose influence was daily growing more and more pervasive. The Jews had business connections throughout the whole East, and their knowledge of trade-routes, of commercial outlets, and of the details of travel, were invaluable to the young Macedonian to whom the vast regions of Asia were all untraversed and unknown. It was the Jews who helped him greatly in his conquest of Egypt. They told the Egyptians of the clemency of the new ruler, so different from the ferocity of their late Persian masters, and thus prepared the way for Alexander's peaceful advent into the Delta. They disclosed to the conqueror the secret of how the desert between Canaan and Egypt might safely be traversed, avoiding the Serbonian Bog on the one hand, and the waterless wilderness on the other. The Jews owed much to Alexander for his constant friendship, but Alexander owed much also to the Jews.[3]

The arrival in Egypt of Alexander constituted a momentous era in the history of that land. For nearly 150 years the Nile Valley had been an appanage of the crown of Persia: and now that the power of Persia had been gravely shaken in the two great battles which had brought Asia Minor and Canaan into his sweep, the conqueror came down to secure the Egyptian hinterland before he plunged into the East to settle conclusions with Darius III.

By the Egyptians he was received with open arms, wearied as they were with the rapacity of the Persian revenue officials, and with the inhumanity of men like Ochus.[4] They were further inclined to receive the Macedonian graciously by reason of an absurd, yet readily swallowed, story,[5] that he was in reality not the son of Philip of Macedon, but of Nectanebus II, the last King of the XXXth Dynasty who had been forced by the Persians to flee to Ethiopia. Without having to strike one blow, the entire country passed into his hands amid the acclamations of the populace. Leaving a garrison at Pelusium, he passed on to Heliopolis, and then crossed the Nile to Memphis. The "Deliverer," as he was styled, enjoyed a triumphal progress through the Delta. Instead of emulating the mad folly of Cambyses and Ochus in stabbing the Apis Bull, he treated the religious feelings of the Egyptians with respect. At the ancient capital he assumed the royal titles of the Kings of Egypt.[6] He then went down the Nile to Canopus,[7] and sailed round Lake Mareotis, at that time an

[1] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 374, regards the whole story as legendary and mythical. But the silence of Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch, etc., in connection with the incident may be accounted for by their well-known habit of omitting, as a rule, all mention of matters relating to the Jews. [2] Neh. 12.[11 22] [3] See Mahaffy, *Greek Life from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, ch. xx. [4] Arrian, *Anab. of Alex.*, iii. 1, 3. [5] Narrated in Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Fabulous Hist. of Alexander*, i. 3: ii. 26: see Budge, *The Hist. of Alexander the Great* (1889), p. 12. [6] The treasure of 800 talents which fell into his hands at Memphis was a most welcome addition to his exchequer. [7] Now Aboukir.

extensive body of water, 15 miles wide, and navigable for the largest vessels, but now little more than a swamp. No longer connected with the sweet water of the Nile, the lake has become a salt marsh, and its vine-covered shores, so lauded by Horace and Virgil,[1] are now arid sand dunes.

In Canopus, Alexander formed the resolution of paying a visit to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon in the Oasis of that name.[2] The shrine was the only one in Egypt which the Greeks for centuries had known and consulted.[3] It was a journey of considerable peril across the waterless desert, but it was successfully accomplished. On the way he received the submission of Cyrene along with costly gifts.[4] The priest of Amen hailed him as the son of the god.[5] Neither he nor his subjects seem to have been astonished at this, for every Egyptian King was held to be a son of Amen. He was promised the dominion of the world, and with such an auspicious presage saluting him, he enriched the sanctuary with valuable offerings, and returned again to Canopus.

Only a narrow strip of land separated Lake Mareotis from the Mediterranean, and on this there already stood a small village named Rhacotis.[6] Nearly a mile out to sea lay a little island called Pharos. The discerning eye of Alexander at once perceived that the site was admirably suited for the creation of a great city.[7] For 600 miles that inhospitable shore offers no haven of refuge: but at this spot the conqueror saw that two excellent ports could easily be formed. By uniting the island with the mainland, ships could be sheltered behind the mole from either the east or the west winds.[8] The harbour might well become the commercial meeting-place of three continents—Africa, Asia, and Europe.[9] Desirous of showing the builders the boundaries of his new city, the legend runs that Alexander, in default of a plough, led the way on foot, while his followers scattered barley behind his steps.[10] Soothsayers observing the birds picking up the grain and flying away with it, prophesied that the city would prosper and would feed the world.[11] True it is that Alexandria, the great new capital then traced out (B.C. 331), has been for centuries the chief emporium for the export of Egyptian grain.

Yet Alexander did not remain in Egypt long enough to see the walls and houses, afterwards so famous, rise from the sand. News reached him

[1] *Georgics*, ii. 91. [2] For a description of this Oasis of Siwah, see H. von Minutoli, *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der Libyschen Wüste*, 1824: Parthey, *Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon*, Berlin, 1862: Jennings-Bramley in *Geograph. Journ.*, Dec. 1897: Silva White, *From Sphinx to Oracle*, 1899: Steindorff, *Berich. d. Kön. Sachs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1900, p. 209: Hohler, *Report on the Oasis of Siwa*, 1901: and Steindorff, *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase*, 1904. [3] Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 15, who gives proofs from Pausanias, Pindar, Aristophanes, etc. A list of the circumstances under which the oracle was consulted by the Greeks is given in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, s.v. AMMONEION, p. 1858. [4] Diodorus, xvii. 49. [5] Justin (xi. 11) says that the priests of Memphis had taken care to send on word in advance as to how Alexander should be received, and what message should be given to him! Maspero (*Ann. de l'école pratique des Hautes Études*, 1896, p. 5) explains the reasons for Alexander's desire to be thus deified and proclaimed son of Ammon. He thereby legitimized himself as a true Pharaoh in the eyes of the Egyptian populace. [6] Strabo, xvii. 1, 6. [7] Plutarch (*Alexander* 26) says that it was a quotation from the Odyssey (iv. 354) spoken by a figure that appeared to him in a dream that made him fix on the island of Pharos. [8] See Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, p. 189. [9] The older Greek settlement at Naukratis on the Heracleotic branch of the Nile was too far inland for it ever to become a metropolis of world-wide importance. [10] Strabo, xvii. 1: Plutarch, *Alexander* 26: Diodorus, xvii. 52: Curtius, iv. 33: Arrian, *Anab.*, iii. 2: Ammianus, xxii. 16. The same ceremony of tracing out the line of the future walls was observed in the case of many other cities, *e.g.*, of Antioch by Seleucus Nikator, and of Constantinople by Constantine (*cf.* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury), ii. 148). [11] Mahaffy (*Hist. of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 14) scoffs at this legend, and says "the real marvel would have been if this meal had not been picked up by the numerous birds that people the country."

of disturbances in Canaan. On quitting Jerusalem he had united Judæa with the newly created province of Coele-Syria which stretched from Lebanon to the border of Egypt. He had installed Andromachus as governor, and the latter had made Samaria his official residence. But the Samaritans rose in revolt, massacred the Macedonian troops, and burned Andromachus alive. The vengeance of Alexander was swift.[1] The leaders were put to death: a new governor, Memnon, was appointed; and a colony of Macedonians was left behind to maintain order. There may perhaps be also some basis of fact in the statement of Josephus[2] that Alexander settled Samaritans in the Thebaid ordering them to garrison that country. The assertion may possibly be merely a distorted version of something actually true, though referable to a much earlier period—say, that of the Elephantine papyri already alluded to—when there was undoubtedly some connection between Samaria and Assuan. Curiously enough there was in existence in the Fayum in the middle of the third century B.C. a village bearing the name of Samaria.[3]

From Palestine, Alexander moved on to universal conquest in the East. Darius III was finally overwhelmed at Arbela (B.C. 331), where the loss of 90,000 Persian troops signalized the ruin of the Empire. Thereafter, in quick succession, came the reduction of the four capitals owned by the deceased Codomannus—Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis—the conquest of Hyrcania, Bactria,[4] and Sogdiana, with the marriage of Alexander to Roxana the daughter of the prince of the last named province. The lust of conquest grew with every fresh victory. Onward through the passes of Kabul and the Khyber, over the swollen rivers Indus and Hydaspes, through the sweltering plains of the Punjab, Alexander pressed, and his ambition impelled him to reach the Indian Ocean on its eastern side by the way of the Ganges. But his wearied troops struck: they insisted on returning home, and the conqueror was forced to give in. After terrible privations he reached Babylon at last, to reign over an Empire that stretched from the Cataracts of the Nile to the snowy heights of the Himalayas, and to die in his capital, cut off prematurely through his intemperate excesses (B.C. 323).

It was to Alexandria that he left instructions that his body should be brought.[5] Never was there a more magnificent funeral. Diodorus[6] has given us a vivid picture of the unique spectacle. With great minuteness he describes the golden chariot, with its golden spokes and naves, and with its triumphal arch of gold studded with precious stones: the coffin of beaten gold, hammered to fit the exact shape of the body: the overhanging purple coat embroidered with gold: the aromatic spices: the throne of gold with its massive golden rings supporting miniature coronets: the large bells that announced the approach of the procession: the golden image of Victory: the four inlaid swinging tables with representations of battle scenes: the golden lions: the purple carpet on which was laid a vast golden crown so sparkling in the sunshine as to resemble a flash of lightning: the

[1] Eusebius, *Chron.* (ed. Schœne), ii. 114. [2] *Antiq.*, xi. 8, 6. [3] Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*. It was in all probability founded by Jews in the lifetime of Ptolemy I. For other towns and villages of Jews and Samaritans in Egypt, see Büchler, *Tobiaden und Oniaden*, p. 213. [4] This was the beginning of that remarkable period wherein Greek art was predominant in Central Asia in the once thickly populated, but now mostly sand-covered, region round about Kashgar. See Sir Aurel Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (1903), p. 396, etc., where Greek deities are shown found impressed on seals. [5] The dying request of Alexander was disputed, but a reference to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon settled the matter. [6] Diod., xviii. 26–28.

exquisite collars set with brilliants on the necks of the 64 mules which drew the car across desert and mountain: the levelling of the roads for the advance of the extraordinary *cortège*: the immense curiosity and the profound sensation in all lands as the cavalcade slowly wended its way month after month from Babylon to Alexandria. As it passed through Canaan, the Jews on the mountainous backbone of the country would see the far-off procession moving along the maritime plain; and the flashing gold would heliograph to them the decease of their benefactor, and the inauguration of a new and troublous time full of anguish for their nation. When the corpse at length reached its destination [1] it was preserved in honey and kept in a glass coffin in the Royal Mausoleum.[2] The body (*Soma*) [3] of the dead hero gave its name to the quarter of the city where it lay.

Alexander had done a great work though he died at thirty-three. He had broken up Persian mediævalism of government, and had paved the way for the introduction on the widest scale of new Hellenic principles of rule. The Greek tongue, the Greek art, the Greek polity were now made universal. His overrunning of the world brought in its train greater changes than any induced by the exploits of previous conquerors such as Thothmes III, Rameses II, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, or Cyrus. He was of extraordinary influence in the way of preparing the world for the advent of Christianity. He abolished *the silver Kingdom* and inaugurated *the Kingdom of brass*.[4] *The leopard which had upon the back of it four wings*[5] *of a fowl*, and which *had also four heads*, had now *dominion given to it. The he-goat came from the West*[6] *over the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground*,[7] *and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes: he came to the ram*[8] *that had the two horns, and ran upon him in the fury of his power.*

[1] Pausanias (i. 6, 3) says the body lay at Memphis till the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Rubensohn (*Das Grab Alexanders des Grossen in Memphis* in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. d'Alexandrie*, No. 12 (1910), p. 83) says that while the body of Alexander was removed to Alexandria by Philadelphus, the evidence seems plain that Ptolemy Soter intended its interment at Memphis to be permanent. It is possible that traces of the monument may some day be found. [2] Stanley (*Jewish Church*, iii. 214) wrote: "That tomb has gradually dwindled away to a wretched Mussulman Chapel, kept by an aged crone, who watches over a humble shrine called 'The grave of Iskander of the Two Horns,' founder of Alexandria" (*cf.* Dan. 8 [3 8]). But the title "Lord of the Two Horns" seems rather to be borrowed from the Egyptian, *Neb abui* —"Lord of the Two Horns," found on a stele of Tanut-Amen of the XXVth Dynasty at Gebel Barkal or Napata (B.C. 665). Hence the Arabic name, *Dhu'l Karnen* for the title of Alexander (Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 162). Another theory is that the name is derived from the two ram's horns seen in some of his coins curling backwards above his ears, which he adopted in honour of Amen to whom the ram was sacred (Wortabet in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 416, and Budge, *Alexander the Great*, p. l.). [3] Pseudo-Callisthenes (iii. 24) calls it *Soma*: Strabo (xvii. 1, 8), Zenobius, and St. John Chrysostom call it *Sema*: the latter states (*Hom.* 26, 12) that the tomb of Alexander had disappeared by this time. The last person known to have seen the body of Alexander was the Emperor Septimius Severus (Dio. 70, 13). [4] Dan. 2.[39] [5] Dan 7[6]: the "four wings" on the back of the leopard (=the Greek Empire of Alexander) signify the four Kingdoms into which that Empire was divided subsequent to the death of its founder. [6] The "he-goat from the West" was an appropriate symbol of Alexander's Greek Empire. It began in the West: the Macedonians were called Ægeadæ—"the people of the goat"; the "goat" was their national emblem or hieroglyphic; their chief city was Ægæ or "Goat-City." The son of Alexander the Great by Roxana was called Alexander Ægus He is represented on coins with goat's horns (Justin, *Hist. Philip.*, vii. 1). [7] Alexander's conquests were so rapid that he seemed to bound from country to country without touching the earth. [8] The Ram with the two horns was a most apt emblematic device for the Medo-Persian Empire. The Ram was the hieroglyphic of the Persian Monarchy as shown by the Persians themselves. It has been observed by travellers that ram's heads with horns, the one horn higher and the other lower, exactly as described in Daniel's vision, may still be seen sculptured on the pillars of Persepolis.

And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and trampled upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand: [1] *And he said "The ram which thou sawest that had two horns, they are the Kings of Media and Persia: and the rough he-goat is the King of Greece, and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first King."* [2]

[1] Dan. 8.[5-7] [2] Dan. 8.[20 21]

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Egyptian Origin of the Book of Job

The authorship, date, and place of composition of the Book of Job constitute some of the most keenly contested and most uncertain problems in Biblical Criticism. There is perhaps no book in the Canon of Scripture to which more diverse dates have been assigned. Every period of Jewish history, from B.C. 1400 to B.C. 150, has had its advocates as that to which this mysterious and magnificent poem must be relegated, and thus criticism ranges over 1200 years of uncertainty. The question is full of complexity and difficulty, and the names of great masters in theological learning are to be found as supporters of theories that differ *in toto* from each other.

The majority of the Rabbis held to the Mosaic authorship,[1] and this view has been perpetuated in the margin of our Authorized Version.[2] Amongst moderns, Ebrard and Rawlinson have advocated the same belief. Others, such as Delitzsch,[3] Cook,[4] and Cox,[5] credit the Solomonic age with its authorship. The period of the Great Hebrew Prophets—Isaiah and Jeremiah—is cited by other scholars among whom are Ewald,[6] Renan,[7] Merx,[8] and Dillmann.[9] The later years of the Jewish Kingdom, or the Babylonish Captivity, is favoured by Gibson.[10] The Exile, or a little after it, are the dates suggested by Davidson,[11] Driver,[12] Cheyne,[13] Margoliouth,[14] and Budde ; [15] Toy [16] places it about B.C. 350–300 ; while Cornill [17] brings its origin as far down the post-Exilic era as possible, making it the product of the Greek Age in Palestine.[18] Thus there is absolutely no consensus of critical opinion that would assign the book to any one period, and it must be left to the individual judgment to look at the question of dates and authorship with unprejudiced eyes, and to discard any preconceived notions.

In all the attempts that have been made to discover the secret of the place of composition of the book I feel that too little attention has been paid to the strong Egyptian influences which are evident in its structure

[1] For Rabbinic traditions as to this, see Ryle, *Canon of the O.T.*, p. 276. [2] For the erroneous identification of Job with Jobab (Gen. 36 [13 33]) see Nestle in *Expos. Times*, xix. 474. [3] *Bibl. Com. on the Book of Job*, i. 18. [4] In *Speaker's Comm.*, 1880. [5] *Comm. on the Book of Job*, 1880. [6] *Comm. on the Book of Job*, 1882, [7] *Le Livre de Job*, 1865. [8] *Das Gedicht von Hiob*, Jena, 1871. [9] *Text Kritisches zum Buch Hiob* in *Sitzb. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1890. [10] *The Book of Job* (1905), p. xxiii. [11] *Comm. on the Book of Job*, 1862. [12] *Introd. to Literat. of O.T.*[6] (1897). [13] *Job and Solomon* (1887), p. 71 f. [14] *Expos.*, 6th Ser. i. 433 f. ii. 25 f. [15] *Das Buch Hiob übersetzt u. erklärt* (1896), p. xxxix. f. [16] *Proverbs*, p. xxvi. in *Intern. Crit. Comm.* [17] *Einleitung in d. A.T.*, p. 241. [18] Details in W. T. Davison's article Job in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 669.

and texture.[1] By ignoring these "watermarks," many have been led to assign the poem to an age and to a country of origin in which it is impossible to believe that the drama could ever have been composed. I wish, therefore, in this chapter to marshal the proofs of the strong Egyptian flavour of the book, with the object of showing how difficult it is to reconcile these facts with the favourite modern view that *Job* was composed in Babylon by a Jew who had experienced the tragedy of the destruction of the Jewish Kingdom, and was meditating thereon. I trust that the arguments in the following pages may be held of sufficient validity to sustain the theory that the book is the work of a Jew resident in Egypt during the Persian period with which we have just been dealing.[2]

We must at the outset distinguish between Job the man and the poem which celebrates his career. That there was an actual individual of this name, who may have lived in patriarchal times, and whose patience, under misfortune, became proverbial, is vouched for by Ezekiel, *Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness.*[3] But this is not to affirm that the *poem* was composed by the time of Ezekiel: and these two facts must be clearly kept apart.

The first token of Egyptian influence is seen in the fact that *the land of Uz*,[4] in which Job is said to have lived, lies towards Egypt rather than towards Chaldæa, the scene of the Exile of the Jews. Uz cannot have been in the Hauran (in which nevertheless there are still a number of legends associated with the name of Job[5]), and the likelihood is that the site of Uz must be looked for further south, on the borders of Edom.[6] It was from Teman that Eliphaz came to comfort the stricken patriarch,[7] and Teman was an Edomite place-name.[8] Further, when Jeremiah was commissioned[9] to utter his woes consecutively on all the nations of the world, he started from *Pharaoh King of Egypt*, and from him passed to deal with *all the mingled people, and all the Kings of the land of Uz* before he announced any corresponding judgment on *all the Kings of the land of the Philistines*. Evidently, therefore, Uz was regarded as lying near Egypt, and not towards the Euphrates Valley, for Elam, and the Medes, and Babylon are not mentioned in connection with Uz, but only far down at the end of the list. Indeed from the XIIth to the XXth Dynasties, Edom (and therefore Uz) was reckoned as an integral part of the Egyptian Kingdom

A further evidence of the location of Uz is that Job is described as *the greatest of all the children of the East.*[10] The "Bene-Kedem" was a generic title for the Bedouin tribes which dwelt "eastwards" of the early seats of civilization. But eastwards of what? Of Babylonia and the Mesopotamian Valley where Abraham originally dwelt? Impossible. "Eastwards" of Chaldæa lay Susiana, Persia, Media, localities which are entirely inappropriate to describe the haunts of the wild roving Arabs. But how natural the term in the mouth of a resident in Egypt, for whom the territory near Edom lay in the east![11] It is in every way probable

[1] Among those who have advocated Egypt as the birthplace of the book have been Schlottmann, *Das Buch Hiob verdeutscht und erläutert*, 1851: Hirzel, *Hiob erklärt*, 1852 (Eng. Trans., *Job Explained*, 1852) who sought to prove that the author of the poem was brought to Egypt by Pharaoh-Necho in B.C. 611: and Hitzig, *Das Buch Hiob* (1874), p. xlix. [2] From the dialogue form in which the poem is cast, Gunkel (*Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verstandniss d. N.T.*, p. 27) has argued for decided Egyptian influence in its composition. [3] Ezek. 14.[14] [4] Job. 1.[1] [5] See p. 404. [6] "Aristeas says in his book, *Concerning the Jews*, that Esau married Bassara in Edom and begat Job. This man dwelt in the land of Uz, on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia"—Eusebius, *Præp. Evangel.*, ix., xxv. 430. [7] Job. 2.[11] [8] Gen. 36[11], where Teman is called a descendant of Esau. [9] Jer. 25.[19 20] [10] Job 1.[3] [11] See Mede, *Works*, ii. 580.

that the name " Children of the East " took origin in Egypt, and from there was transferred to Canaan by the Hebrews as a loan-word borrowed from their residence in the Delta. When the Hebrews entered Palestine under Joshua, they still continued to speak of these Bedouin tribes as the Egyptians had done under the title " Children of the East," although the peoples intended by that title dwelt now rather to the south than to the east of them.[1] Later, the term was carried right across to Babylonia, and the name was actually applied to Arab tribes that inhabited the desert to the *west* of Chaldæa. Nebuchadnezzar was told to *go up to Kedar and spoil the children of the East*,[2] though Kedar really lay to the west of his capital.

When we read that Job's *substance was* 7,000 *sheep, and* 3,000 *camels, and* 500 *yoke of oxen, and* 500 *she-asses, and a very great household*,[3] we are reminded of the very careful methods adopted by the Egyptians to estimate and record the amount of their farm-stock. In one inscription where herdsmen are represented as on their way to render to their master an exact enumeration of the cattle over which they have had charge, we find the figure 834 placed in hieroglyphic over the oxen, 220 over the cows, 3,234 over the goats, 760 over the asses, and 974 over the sheep.[4] Thus we find that the practice of precise enumeration of stock was a well-recognized Egyptian custom, and although the figures for Job's farm-stead are given in round numbers, the same principle is seen at work.

The name applied to the malady from which Job is said to have suffered affords another evidence of Egyptian influence. *Satan smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown.*[5] It is the Hebrew word *sh'hin*,[6] which is not only used to describe the boils of the sixth Egyptian plague,[7] but is distinctively indicated in Deuteronomy as being an Egyptian disease. *The Lord shall smite thee with the* (*sh'hin*) *botch* (or boil) *of Egypt ;* [8] and again *The Lord shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs with a sore boil* (*sh'hin*) *whereof thou canst not be healed, from the sole of thy foot unto the crown of thy head.*[9] The word *sh'hin* is pure Egyptian. It means an abscess, and we find it used in the celebrated Papyrus Ebers,[10] the well-known medical treatise of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1450, wherein are prescribed certain remedies for what was acknowledged to be a disease common in the Nile Valley.[11]

When we pass to the third chapter we find reference to " lucky " and " unlucky " days of birth quite in the Egyptian style. Doubtless the idea was current in most ancient nations, but in Egypt it attained special prominence, and Egyptian astrologers were famed for their skill in diagnosing the relative merits and demerits of certain days. In regard to the day of his own birth Job exclaims *Let that day be darkness, let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it.*[12] Then in his curse he continued *Lo, let that night be barren : let no joyful voice come therein : let them curse it that curse the day, who are skilful to rouse up leviathan.*[13] Here we come in contact with the favourite Egyptian notion of a vast serpent or dragon which was believed to have the power of causing eclipses of the sun, or moon, by enveloping these orbs within its folds and swallowing them up. Magicians were understood to be able to excite this demon from its lair, and to urge it to its dread work.[14] It is the same vast leviathan to whom Job in a later

[1] *E.g.*, Judg. 6[3 33], 7[12], 8[10 11] ; 1 Ki. 4.[30]; Ezek. 25.[4 10] [2] Jer. 49.[28]
[3] Job 1.[3] [4] See Carey, *The Book of Job translated from the Hebrew*, 1858, p. 425.
[5] Job 2.[7] [6] שְׁחִין [7] Ex. 9.[9] [8] Deut. 28.[27] [9] Deut. 28.[35]
[10] *Papyrus Ebers*, xxxviii. [11] It is used to describe Hezekiah's boil, Isa. 38.[21]
[12] Job. 3.[1-6] [13] Job 3.[7 8] [14] Davidson, *Job*, p. 20.

chapter again makes reference: *He stirreth up the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab: by his spirit the heavens are garnished: his hand hath pierced the swift serpent.*[1] Here while Job describes Jehovah's might and sovereignty over this dragon, at the same time it is evident that he admits the existence of this mythological conception. The belief in the power of this serpent was widespread in Egypt. The legend of the misery of Ra, the Sun-god, through a bite inflicted by a serpent belongs to the same cycle of thought.[2]

It is remarkable to find on an ostrakon discovered in 1888 at Elephantine by Erman an inscription in Aramaic [3] describing a dream and the apparition of a spectre in language closely similar to that of Eliphaz. Eliphaz said *When deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still, but I could not discern the appearance thereof, a form was before mine eyes: there was silence, and I heard a voice.*[4] The description on the ostrakon is "Now behold, I saw in my first dream, and from that time I was excited and wandering: a spectre appeared, and said to me "Hail!"

It is likely that the author of *Job* had before him the spectacle of the ordinary mud huts of the poorer classes in Egypt when he wrote *Bchold, he putteth no trust in his servants, and his angels he chargeth with folly: how much more them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed like the moth!*[5] The houses of the Egyptian fellahin were always made of Nile mud, and any extra high inundation of the river, or a sudden downpour of rain, or the impact of a hailstorm with strong wind, would cause them to dissolve and disappear. The expression is paralleled by another later on: *He hath dwelt in houses which no man would inhabit, which were ready to become heaps.*[6] The huts of the dwellers in the Mesopotamian Valley were of entirely different material. Osiers, willows, and a wooden framework entered into their composition: but the poor cultivator of the soil of Egypt had merely the mud of the Nile wherewith to erect his home. The houses were so frail that Job declared they could be dug through by nocturnal robbers: *In the dark they dig through houses.*[7]

We find another Egyptian reference in Job's taunt *Yea, ye would cast* (lots) *upon the fatherless.*[8] The true meaning would rather seem to be *Ye let fall the net upon the fatherless,* in allusion to the favourite Egyptian methods of snaring birds by enticing them within a certain space, and then causing a net to collapse and pin them to the ground.

Once more, in Job's complaint *Is there not a warfare to man upon earth?*[9] we come upon a reference to a feature of Egyptian social life. Every Egyptian soldier, whether on duty or not, was allowed a certain portion of land, free from all charge and tribute. But he was liable to be called on, when any emergency arose, to take up arms, and march wherever his military services were required. Hence we find Job enquiring "*Hath not man a soldiership to serve upon earth?*"[10]

Again, when Job complains to God, *Why hast Thou set me as a mark for Thee?*[11] he is seemingly alluding to what was a favourite sport with Egyptian ladies and gentlemen—the shooting with bows and arrows at

[1] Job 26.[12 13] [2] For further "serpent" conceptions in Egypt, see Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 208–228. [3] *C.I.S.*, ii. 137.
[4] Job 4.[13-16] [5] Job 4.[18 19] [6] Job 15.[28] [7] Job 24.[16]
[8] Job 6.[27] [9] Job 7.[1] [10] See Carey, *The Book of Job explained*, p. 438.
[11] Job 7.[20]

a target, as is shown frequently on the monuments. He protests that God seems to be using him as a target in this way in grim and cruel sport.

When Job remarks, *If the scourge slay suddenly, he will mock at the trial of the innocent,*[1] he is referring to the terrible instrument of torture which is so often seen in the hand of the Pharaohs as a symbol of their powers to execute justice and punishment. Cases were not infrequent where accused or condemned persons died suddenly under the lash. The expression is thoroughly consonant with Egyptian customs. Similarly with a further remark, *Let him take his rod away from me ;*[2] for beating with the rod, or the bastinado, was a very firmly implanted Egyptian punishment.

A further evidence of acquaintance with Egypt is seen in Bildad's question, *Can the rush grow up without mire? Can the flag grow without water?*[3] The Hebrew word for *rush—gomeh* גֹּמֶא—is rightly translated by the LXX πάπυρος, for, as Driver admits,[4] it refers to the papyrus plant which was such a well-known feature of Nilotic vegetation. Similarly the word flag—אָחוּ *akhu*—is the recognized technical expression for the luscious "reed-grass" which borders the great Egyptian river.[5] It is the same word as is used to describe the meadowland in which the seven lean kine of Pharaoh's dream were feeding.[6] So well known were the natural characteristics of this "reed-grass" that Bildad could use it as a simile to enforce his point: *whilst it is yet in its greenness and not cut down, it withereth before any other herb.*[7] The illustration would be pointless in a land like Babylonia where neither papyrus nor reed-grass grew, but it is entirely appropriate in the mouth of a resident in the Nile Valley.

A similar reference to the papyrus is found in the next chapter, where Job says, *My days are swifter than a postrunner, they flee away, they see no good. They are passed away as the swift ships.*[8] The system of posts established by Darius I throughout the length and breadth of the Persian Empire was maintained with regularity under the succeeding monarchs.[9] The like of these postal arrangements had never before been seen, and only by means of this effective organization, whereby all the far-flung provinces of the loosely assorted empire were closely connected with Susa, was any control exercised over a realm which stretched from Ethiopia to India. The expression *swifter than a postrunner* suggests the *posts on horseback, riding on swift steeds that were used in the King's service, bred of the stud,*[10] which in the time of Xerxes carried the edicts of the King to the utmost realms of his domain. Job's simile is therefore most suitable to the Persian period.

The *swift ships*, again, do not refer to great sea craft which to an observer on shore rapidly diminish in size as they disappear beneath the far horizon. Driver[11] translates the phrase "they shoot by like skiffs of reed." Not a few writers of antiquity, as Theophrastus,[12] Lucan,[13] Pliny,[14] and others, speak of the light Egyptian canoes, formed of papyrus, in which the natives of the Nile were accustomed to dart down the rapid current with remarkable velocity, like a Red Indian in a Canadian cataract, using merely a single paddle to propel their frail craft.[15] Similarly, Isaiah speaks of the

[1] Job 9.[23] [2] Job 9.[34] [3] Job 8.[11] [4] Driver, *Book of Job*, p. 22. [5] See Ebers, *Ægypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, p. 338 f.: Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter*, p. 16. [6] Gen. 41.[2, 18] [7] Job 8.[12] [8] Job 9.[25, 26] [9] See p. 350 n. [10] Esth. 8.[10] [11] *Op. cit.*, p. 26. [12] *Hist. Plant.*, iv. 8. [13] *Pharsalia*, iv. 36. [14] *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 56: xiii. 22. [15] See Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 212, art. REED.

Ethiopians *sending ambassadors by the sea* (*i.e.*, the Nile) *even in vessels of papyrus upon the waters.*[1] The conception of the swiftness and brevity of human life, as symbolized by these fragile and rapidly moving boats, was entirely natural and appropriate to one who had lived in Egypt, and who had seen how precipitate was the descent of these tiny skiffs. But of what force could such an illustration be to a resident in Babylonia where vessels of an entirely different construction were used—wooden frames covered with skins and coated with bitumen, or inflated pigskins formed into a raft which descended the slow-moving Euphrates with infinite leisureliness?[2] Again, how could such an illustration appeal to dwellers in Palestine where there are no rivers capable of being navigated by vessels of this description, and where papyrus boats were unknown? Or still more, what point could there be in the simile to residents in Arabia, where there are no streams at all, but merely vast stretches of sandy desert varied by a few oases? The reference, however, is thoroughly Egyptian, and testifies to the "Egypticity" of the book.

The author of *Job*, again, shows intimate acquaintance with Egyptian methods of agriculture. He speaks of the wicked as being *cut off as the tops of the ears of corn*[3] with reference to the Egyptian practice of cutting the straw of the standing wheat not at the base of the stalk, but at the top, close under the ears. He is also acquainted with the use of the Egyptian threshing machine: *He spreadeth as it were a threshing wain upon the mire.*[4] These agricultural features were purely Nilotic, and were entirely unfamiliar to dwellers in Chaldæan lands.

In the expression used by Job, *God will not withdraw his anger: the helpers of Rahab do stoop under Him,*[5] we recognize another Egyptian reference, or at least one which, by transference to the soil of Egypt, became Nilotic. The Babylonian Creation-epos, which in its origin goes back to a very remote antiquity, describes the victory of Marduk the Creator over Tiamat, the primeval sea-dragon, and her eleven "helpers."[6] The myth crossed from Babylonia to Egypt either as part of the original theological furniture carried from Chaldæa by the primitive immigrants into the Nile Valley:[7] or through the gradual infiltration of Semito-Babylonian conceptions in the course of the centuries subsequent to the establishment of the Dynastic Egyptians: or more probably by direct contact of East and West through the long drawn out Persian occupancy of the Delta. In any case, we find in historic times the epithet "Rahab" thought of first as a furious sea monster in the Red Sea, and latterly applied wholly to Egypt herself. Thus, *He stirreth up the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab:*[8] again, *Art thou not it that cut Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon,*[9] where the reference is to the Egyptians typified as a sea-monster who were drowned in the Red Sea at the Exodus: and again, *Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain,*[10] which in all likelihood refers to Egypt, just as in the 74th Psalm we read, *Thou didst divide the sea by Thy strength: Thou brakest the heads of the dragons* (or sea-monsters) *in the waters: Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces: Thou gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the*

[1] Isa. 18.[2] For a description of these early boats, see J. H. Breasted in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iv. (1917) 174. [2] On the complete difference between the Babylonian and the Egyptian style of boats, see G. Elliot-Smith in *Journ. of the Manchester Egypt. and Orient. Soc.*, 1916, p. 75. [3] Job 24.[24] [4] Job 41.[30] [5] Job 9.[13] [6] *Cf.* Hommel in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 220, art. BABYLONIA. [7] For other traces of Babylonian origins, see p. 31 f. [8] Job 26.[12] [9] Isa. 51.[9] [10] Ps 89.[10]

wilderness,[1] where the reference again seems to be to the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. Isaiah similarly poured his sarcastic scorn on the boastfulness and unreliability of the Pharaoh, *Egypt helpeth in vain and to no purpose, therefore have I called her "Rahab that sitteth still."* [2] And the Psalmist, thinking of Ezekiel's description of Egypt as a great mythological monster lying hid in the waters,[3] gives to the Nilotes the actual name of "Rahab," *I will make mention of Rahab as among them that know me*.[4] Putting all these passages together we surely cannot fail to discover traces of Egyptian colouring when in *Job* we find references to this primeval monster.[5]

In the expression of Job, *The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at His rebuke*,[6] we are once again in contact with another Egyptian conception. The view current in the Nile Valley in ancient times was that the heavens were supported on pillars.

Still a further Egyptianism is seen in the phrase which in the A.V. reads, *Oh that God would show thee the secrets of wisdom that they are double to that which is*.[7] Herz [8] has pointed out that the alterations suggested by Merx, Cheyne, Bickell, Beer and others, on the phrase "that they are double" [9] are quite unnecessary.[10] These critics maintain that to assert that God is merely doubly wise, and no more than that, is against Hebrew usage. But in Egypt as applied to Ra the expression was quite common. "Hail to thee, Ra Harmakhis, Khepera, who art self-begotten, twice beautiful." [11] Similarly, Thoth is called "twice-great." [12] It is quite possible, therefore, that in using the language he does, the author of *Job* may have been adapting to his own purposes a recognized Egyptian mode of magnifying the greatness of the deity.

Again, in Job's remark *The tents of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure, into whose hand God bringeth abundantly*,[13] we have an allusion to the extraordinary Egyptian practice that thieves, burglars, and night prowlers were under the protection of the Government, and therefore enjoyed security from punishment. Professional thieves registered themselves with their chief, and if anything was stolen, the aggrieved party applied to the chief who, on payment of one quarter of their value, restored to the owner his purloined goods. The chiefs even had a fixed remuneration from Government as if they were heads of police.[14]

When, once more, Job speaks of *counsellors* being led away spoiled, and *judges* [15] made fools, he refers to the outstanding feature of Egyptian civilization, wherein their judicial dignitaries occupied such an important place in official life. When he adds, *He looseth the bond of Kings*,[16] he refers to the royal sash or apron, which was part of the regal equipment of the Pharaohs, and which was usually richly ornamented, emblazoned with the royal name, and tied on with straps.[17] It is to be observed also that next to the King, Job places the *priests* [18] who are *led away spoiled*. This is in strict accordance with Egyptian custom which ranked the hierarchy of the temples as coming immediately after the Pharaoh himself. Only third in precedence came the *princes*. [19]

[1] Ps. 74.[13 14] [2] Isa. 30.[7] [3] Ezek. 29.[3] [4] Ps. 87.[4] [5] On the whole subject see Selbie in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 194: art. RAHAB.
[6] Job 26.[11] [7] Job 11.[6] [8] *Expos. Times*, xii. 109. [9] כִּי־כִפְלַיִם *Ki kiphlaim*. [10] The R.V. text is *that it is manifold in effectual working*: R.Vm. *For sound wisdom is manifold*. [11] Wiedemann, *Religion of the Anc. Egypt.*, p. 43. [12] *Ib.*, p. 228. [13] Job 12.[6] [14] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, ii. 47. [15] Job 12.[17] [16] Job 12.[18] [17] Wilkinson, iii. 351. [18] Job 12,[19] A.V., *princes*: R.V., *priests*. [19] Job 12.[21]

Turning now to the eschatological views of the book, we come across many indications of the author's familiarity with Egyptian conceptions. Job mourns, *Why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly . . . for now should I have lien down and been quiet: I should have slept: then had I been at rest: with Kings and counsellors of the earth, which built up waste places for themselves, or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver.*[1] The word for *waste places*, Driver[2] admits may quite legitimately be rendered " pyramids " in which Egypt's mighty dead were entombed amid the sands of the desert: while by " *houses* " may be intended the "mastabas" of the nobles, in which were stored many articles of gold and silver for the benefit of the soul of the dead magnate in the world of shades. The author thus seems to have had intimate acquaintance with the practice of royal entombing in pyramids as maintained by the monarchs of the early Dynasties; while modern exploration has discovered many an underground " house " in which the mummy case of some great Court official was placed, surrounded with the richest furniture and the most lavish gold ornaments that wealth could procure. As we have seen, the amount of gold and silver found in the subterranean burial chambers of the XVIIIth and subsequent Dynasties is bewildering and amazing.

The description of the life of the soul in Sheol given by Job is strikingly paralleled by the references on Egyptian monuments to the state of the dead in Amenti, the Egyptian underworld. Job says, *There the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest: there the prisoners are at ease together: they hear not the voice of the taskmaster: the small and the great are there.*[3] It is remarkable that this expression, unique in the Old Testament, is to be found in an Egyptian papyrus.[4] A woman in Amenti is represented as describing to her husband on earth what she finds in the lower world. She says " As to the god who is here ' Death Absolute ' is his name. He calleth on all, and all men come to obey him, trembling with fear before him. With him is no respect for gods or men; by him great ones are as little ones."

In the *Lay of the Harper*, a poem in praise of death to which reference has already been made,[5] we find the same expressions. The poet speaks of " the land of Eternity, the just and fair, where terrors are not, wrangling is its abhorrence, nor does any one gird himself against his fellows. In that land, free from foes, all our kinsmen rest. The children of millions of millions come thither every one, for none may tarry in the land of Egypt, none there is that does not pass yonder. The span of earthly things is as a dream, but a fair welcome awaits him who has reached the West." [6]

But not only that. There is a curious misreading of this verse in the Septuagint which bears a strong Egyptian colouring. The Hebrew word for *prisoners* is אֲסִירִים *asîrim*.[7] But the Egyptian translators were puzzled with the idea that there should be prisoners in Sheol. They therefore interpreted the word as the plural of Osiris, in accordance with the ancient Nilotic belief that every good person at death became an Osiris. The LXX Version accordingly here reads αἰώνιοι, the " immortals." [8] Though the Version of the Alexandrian scribes is much later than the time of the actual composition of *Job*, it is nevertheless interesting to note in it the resuscitation here of an ancient religious conception of the Egyptians.

[1] Job. 3.[11-15] [2] Driver, *The Book of Job*, p. 8. [3] Job 3.[17-19]
[4] Wiedemann, *Relig. of the Anc. Egypt.* (1897), p. 97: Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 241 f.: Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 113. [5] See p. 89. [6] See A. H. Gardiner, *P.S.B.A.* (1913), p. 165. [7] Job. 3.[18] [8] Herz in *Expos. Times*, xii. 109.

When Job asks, *Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul: which long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, which rejoice exceedingly, and are glad, when they can find the grave?* [1] he was giving a marvellously close description of the miserable lot of Egyptian convicts condemned to labour in the gold mines. Diodorus [2] tells us that great numbers of poor wretches were sent by the Kings of Egypt into the mines where they perished in a short time. They were bound in fetters, and compelled to work day and night without intermission: they had barbarian soldiers set over them, whose language they could not understand, and with whom they could not therefore intrigue to be set at liberty: their task-masters drove them to their endless toil with curses and blows: with scarcely a rag of clothing, and practically starved, they were given no rest, but were kept at their labour with whips till they fell down and died: and every one who saw their intolerable anguish pitied them for their misery, and recognized how eagerly these captives longed for death as a treasure of more value than the gold for which they were compelled to dig. The passage is a lifelike portrait of the unspeakable wretchedness of these Egyptian convicts, and is evidently drawn by one who had studied their misery at first hand.

The view of Sheol throughout the Book of Job is homogeneous. *As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his home, neither shall his place know him any more:* [3] *I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness, and of the shadow of death: a land of thick darkness, as darkness itself, a land of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.* [4] . . . *Man lieth down and riseth not, till the heavens be no more they shall not awake, nor be roused out of their sleep.* [5] . . . *If I look for Sheol as mine house, if I have spread my couch in the darkness . . . where then is my hope? . . . it shall go down to the bars of Sheol when once there is rest in the dust.* [6] Comparing these views of the underworld with what the wife of Pasherenptah says to her living husband, the similarity of belief between the Egyptian creed and that of Job is at once manifest. "As to Amenti," she says, "it is the land of heavy slumber and of darkness, an abode of sorrow for those who dwell there. They sleep in their forms: they wake not any more to see their brethren: they recognize not their father and their mother. Everyone on earth enjoys the water of life, but thirst is by me. The water cometh to him who remaineth on earth, but I thirst for the water which is by me. I know not where I am since I came into this spot: I weep for the water which passes by me. I weep for the breeze on the brink of the stream that through it my heart may be refreshed in its sorrow." Salmond [7] has admirably summed up the Egyptian view of Amenti in these words, "To the Egyptian living in a land in which brilliant light and smiling skies made the joy of life, nothing was more suggestive of unrelieved loss and woe than an existence on which the sun could never shine: and no figure is oftener applied to the final fate of the condemned than that of exclusion from the light, banishment into utter darkness. . . . Amenti was the land of heavy slumber, darkness, and sorrow: the water of life was for those who tarried on earth." [8]

Amongst no nation of antiquity was a sense of the inevitableness of death more developed than amongst the Egyptians. No sooner was a child born than his future tomb was begun to be prepared: and all through

[1] Job 3.[20 22] [2] Diod., iii. 11. [3] Job 7.[9 10] [4] Job 10.[21 22] [5] Job 14.[10]
[6] Job 17.[13 16] [7] Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (1895), p. 64.
[8] *Ib.*, p. 67.

his career the thought of impending death was kept in the forefront. The great repository of Egyptian thought regarding what lies beyond the present life is contained in the celebrated *Book of the Dead*, or " Per-em-hru," " The Coming Forth by Day." [1] The work consists of many religious compositions of varying dates, commencing from the so-called " Pyramid Texts " of the tombs of Unas of the Vth Dynasty, and of Pepi I, Pepi II, Teta, and Merenra of the VIth Dynasty about B.C. 4400–4000. But even these inscriptions, remote in date as they are, must represent views vastly older, for in the time of the VIth Dynasty the scribes had already forgotten the real meaning of certain passages.[2] The " Pyramid Texts " continued in use as late as A.D. 200. During the XVIIIth Dynasty, however (*i.e.*, from B.C. 1700 to 1400), the priests of Amen at Thebes brought out a new collection of Texts dealing with the underworld, which forms the famous *Theban Recension of the " Book of the Dead."* Under the XXVIth Dynasty, when the hegemony of Egypt had passed from Thebes to Sais, the priests of the temple of Neith issued a final edition of the same work which made its appearance about B.C. 600. The best copy, however, of this ancient composition is that known as the *Papyrus Ani*, bought by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1888, a magnificent new edition and translation of which appeared in 1913 brought out by Wallis Budge.[3] He gives the date B.C. 1450 to Ani, the learned scribe who piously collected in this papyrus all the ideas, conceptions, beliefs, and faiths of the Egyptians in regard to the future of the soul after death, the nature of the gods, and the funeral ceremonies appropriate to one who has died.

Between this thesaurus of Egyptian views as to the underworld and the Book of Job there are not a few close correspondences If we read in the *Papyrus Ani* " Thou knowest not when thou wilt die : death cometh to meet the babe at his mother's breast, even as he meeteth the old man who hath finished his course," we find Job also saying *Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble : he cometh forth like a flower and is cut down : he fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not.*[4] Similarly in a chapter of the *Book of the Dead* found inscribed on the linen mummy wrappings of Thothmes III, these words occur : " Homage to thee, O my father Osiris : Thy flesh suffered no decay : there were no worms in thee : Thou didst not crumble away : Thou didst not wither away : Thou didst not become corruption and worms : I myself (Thothmes) am Khepera (*i.e.*, the Rising Sun, a type of a dead body bursting into life again in a new and glorified form) : I shall possess my flesh for ever : I shall not decay : I shall not crumble away : I shall not wither away : I shall not become corruption," *i.e.*, as Osiris, the Holy One, had not seen corruption, nor his body remained in Amenti, so the devout follower of Osiris would similarly escape corruption and obtain immortality.

Not only is this a remarkable parallel to the statement of Psalm 16. *My flesh shall dwell in safety, for Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption,*[5] but it is significantly in close correspondence with two utterances by Job : *If I have said to corruption ' Thou art my father," to the worm " Thou art my mother and my sister," where*

[1] Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig, 1842) : Wallis Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (1898), 3 v.: Isaac Myer, *Oldest Books in the World* (New York, 1900) : pp. 281–354. [2] See St. Chad Boscawen, *Expos. Times*, vi. 393. [3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead, the Papyrus of Ani*, 2 v. (1913). Révillout (*Les Drames de la Conscience* (1901), p. 33) believes that Ani was not a native Egyptian but one of the many foreigners who established themselves in Egypt under the New Empire. [4] Job 14.[1 2] [5] Ps. 16.[9 10]

then is my hope? [1] and *But I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand up at the last upon the earth, and after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.*[2] The great anxiety of the ancient Egyptians was to arrest the process of physical decay in the case of those that had died, for the physical body (*Khat*) was considered necessary for the enjoyment of the soul (*Ka*) in the underworld. But what is specially noteworthy is the thought in the minds of both the ancient Egyptians and of Job that death does not end all, but that there is immortality beyond the grave for those who, in the one case, follow Osiris, and, in the other case, are attached to God: and further, that there is a body to be tenanted by the soul, after life on earth has ceased. In presence of the clear statements of the Pyramid Texts and the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, it is impossible to assert that the immortality, or at least the survival, of the soul after death was not believed in 4,000 years before Christ. That we should find references in the Book of Job to this belief need not surprise us, for conceptions akin to those attributed to Job were current in Egypt millenniums before the Christian era.

But further: nothing is more characteristic of Egyptian beliefs as to the future judgment of the soul than the scene described in the *Book of the Dead*, wherein the heart is weighed in the great balance which the ibis-headed Thoth reads and records. The heart was deposited in one scale-pan, the feather of Maat (Truth) in the other. Sins were supposed to weigh down the scale wherein the heart lay. The heart required to be light, if it was to pass the bar of judgment successfully.[3] In the tomb of Menna, for example, while Horus tests the tongue of the weighing machine to see if Menna's heart in the scale-pan balances equally with Maat, Menna appeals to his heart to stand by him, and not to bear witness against him in this dread day of trial.[4] "Pleasant," he says, "it is for thee, pleasant the hearing on the day of weighing of words." It is remarkable that this is the very phraseology employed by Job: *Doth not the Almighty see my ways and number all my steps? If I have walked with vanity, and my foot hath hasted to deceit, let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity.*[5] It is akin to the idea to which he had given earlier utterance, *O that my vexation were but weighed, and my calamity laid in the balances together!* [6] It would seem as if the author of *Job* had read the *Book of the Dead*, knew its contents, and was familiar with the scene of the weighing of actions in the underworld.

For, still more, the Egyptian belief was that the dead man, when he appeared before Osiris for Judgment, was introduced by the jackal-headed Anubis, and that at that dread tribunal he had to make a solemn protestation of innocence in the so-called "Negative Confession." He had to deny that he had been guilty of committing any one of 36 specified crimes (in later recensions increased to 42).[7] The sins repudiated are not always the same in the various versions, but the variations are not of much consequence. Yet what impresses us forcibly is the fact that Job immediately before, and immediately after, he makes this request that his actions and heart might be weighed in God's balance, also gives a catalogue of 36 sins which he too (like the Egyptian soul) repudiates, and which he

[1] Job 17[14, 15] [2] Job 19.[25-27] [3] Petrie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 243: Budge, *Dwellers on the Nile*, p. 175. [4] Colin Campbell, *Two Theban Princes* (1910), p. 99. [5] Job 31.[4-6] [6] Job 6.[1] [7] See Isaac Myer, *Oldest Books in the World* (New York, 1900), pp. 385-413: Sayce, *The Religions of Anc. Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 175: Baikie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 827.

denies having committed. Placing these two lists alongside each other, we see at once their fundamental similarity, and their temperamental, ethical, and racial differences.[1]

Job's Confession	*The Negative Confession*
(1) As *I made a covenant with mine eyes*, I have not *looked upon a maid*.[2]	(21) I have not committed fornication.
(2) I have not *walked with vanity*.[3]	(17) I have not dealt treacherously with any one.
(3) *My foot hath not hasted to deceit.*	(1) I have not acted with deceit or done evil to men.
(4) *My step hath* not *turned out of the way.*	(4) I have not known aught of wicked things.
(5) *Mine heart* hath not *walked after mine eyes.*	(3) I have not judged unjustly (xxxi.), I have not judged hastily.
(6) No *spot hath cleaved to my hands.*	(36) I am pure, I am pure, I am pure.
(7) *Mine heart* hath not *been enticed unto a woman.*	(xxvii.) I have not committed acts of impurity.
(8) *I have* not *laid wait at my neighbour's door*.[4]	(xix.) I have not defiled the wife of a man.
(9) I have not *despised the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant.*	(12) I have not ill-treated servants.
(10) *I have* not *withheld aught that the poor desired*.[5]	(6) I have not exacted more work from the labourer than was just.
(11) *I have* not *caused the eyes of the widow to fail.*	(14) I have made no one to weep.
(12) *I have* not *eaten my morsel alone.*	(13) I have made none to hunger
(13) I have not prevented *the fatherless* from *eating thereof.*	(2) I have not oppressed the poor.
(14) *I have* not *seen any perish for want of clothing:* or *the needy* to have *no covering.*	I have given clothing to the naked.[6]

[1] After an invocation to Osiris, the man was made to recite a preliminary repudiation of sins—36 in number. I have indicated these by Arabic numerals in the order in which they occur in the Papyrus. To complete the list, however, I have added some from the later and more elaborate Negative Confession as given in the Nebsini Papyrus in the British Museum. The latter are distinguished by Roman numerals. It will be noted that while the Egyptian Confession is a positive denial, Job's is a hypothetical repudiation of certain sins: but I have (for purposes of comparison) translated Job's hypothetical denial into a positive repudiation. [2] Job 31.[1] [3] Job 31.[5] [4] This remark on the heinousness of adultery made by Job is very significant. *That were an heinous crime, yea, it were an iniquity to be punished by the* JUDGES (Job 31 [11]). It reminds us that the sin of adultery was punished at the bar of Osiris, not only by the principal judge, but by the two assessor divinities Isis and Nebhat, and by the 42 gods, who formed a kind of jury before whom the man had to plead (see Griffith in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 126, art. ADULTERY (EGYPTIAN). [5] Birch (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, p. 46) says "The Egyptian's duties to mankind were comprised in giving bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, oil to the wounded, and burial to the dead." [6] This protestation occurs, not in the Negative Confession, but in the address to the assessor gods, a positive assertion which follows the former.

Job's Confession	*The Negative Confession*
	I have given a passage over the river to him who hath no boat: [1] (26) I have not taken the milk from the mouths of children: (30) I have not kept the water from my neighbour in the time of inundation: (31) I have not cut off a water channel.[2]
(15) I have not acted so that the *loins* of the poor *have not blessed me.*	(10) I have not defrauded the oppressed of his property.
(16) I have not let the poor be *not warmed with the fleece of my sheep.*	(18) I have not defrauded the temples of their offerings.
(17) *I have* not *lifted up my hand against the fatherless.*	(23) I have not stinted and been niggardly of offerings.
(18) *I have* not *made gold my hope.*	(xli.) I have not increased my wealth except with such things as are my own possessions.
(19) *I have* not *said to the fine gold "Thou art my confidence."*	(7) I have not brought forward my name for exaltation to honours: (xl.) I have not sought for distinctions.
(20) *I have* not *rejoiced because my wealth was great.*	(9) I have not thought scorn of God (xlii.) who is in my city.
(21) I have not rejoiced *because mine hand had gotten much.*	(11) I have not done what the gods abhor.
(22) *My heart hath* not *been secretly enticed if I beheld the sun when it shined.*[3]	(xvii.) I have not set my mouth in motion against any man
(23) *My mouth hath* not *kissed my hand to the moon walking in brightness.*[4]	(xxi.) I have not struck fear into any man.
(24) *I have* not *rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me.*	
(25) I have not *lifted up myself when evil found him.*	
(26) I have not allowed *the men of my tent* to say that there were some whom I have not *satisfied with flesh.*	(Hospitality, though not inculcated in the *Book of the Dead*, was a well-recognized principle of Egyptian life, and a sacred duty.)
(27) I have not allowed *the stranger to lodge in the street.*	
(28) I have not shut *my doors to the traveller.*	

[1] See Note 6, p. 390. [2] These are four peculiarly Egyptian Confessions which were inapplicable to non-Nilotic residents. Job gives the equivalents in connection with his own pastoral conditions. [3] Job here deliberately renounces the Sun-worship of Egypt which was such a pronounced feature of Nilotic religion. Herz (*Expos. Times*, xii. 110) has pointed out that in this verse Job uses אוֹר uniquely for שֶׁמֶשׁ, the latter word being employed only once as a fructifying power of Nature (Job 8 [16]). He suggests that אוֹר was used as an assonant to Ra, and that he shuns the use of the word *Shemesh*, inasmuch as it must have become an offensive term, ever since the flagrant idolatry into which the Jews fell after their descent in Egypt with Jeremiah (Jer. 41 [17]—44 [29]). [4] The moon was associated in Egypt with the worship of Thoth and of Khonsu. To show reverence to these deities while professing to be a worshipper of God, was an outrage: *this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges, for I should have lied to God that is above* (Job 31 [28]). It is paralleled by the Egyptian expression "I have not thought scorn of the God who is in my city."

Job's Confession	*The Negative Confession*
(29) I have not *covered my transgressions.*	(xxiv.) I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth.
(30) I have not *hid mine iniquity in my bosom.*	(xxxvii.) I have not made haughty my voice.
(31) I have not *feared the great multitude.*	
(32) I have not been *terrified by the contempt of families.*	
(33) I have not allowed *my land* to *cry out against me.*	(23) I have neither added to, nor filched away, land.
(34) I have not allowed *the furrows thereof to weep together.*	(xv.) I have not laid waste ploughed land.
(35) I have not *eaten the fruits thereof without money.*	(24) I have not encroached upon the fields of others.
(36) I have not *caused the owners thereof to lose their life.*	(15) I have not committed murder: (16) I have not caused any man to be treacherously murdered.

Towards the end of this remarkable "Negative Confession" on the part of Job, we hear him saying: *O that I had one to hear me! (Lo, here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me) and that I had the indictment which mine adversary hath written!* [1] The language is taken from the judicial practice of Egypt, according to which both the charge and the defence were laid before the court in writing.[2] Once more, therefore, we have here a watermark of Egyptian influence.

This close correspondence between Job's apology for himself and the defence of the soul of an Egyptian before the bar of Osiris, is surely a token of some mutual dependence. That the author of *Job* was acquainted with the language of the *Book of the Dead* seems evident. Yet what strikes us is the immeasurable superiority of the Biblical poem in its religious conceptions over the puerilities of the Egyptian composition, and the depth and intensity of the spiritual grasp of things in the Jewish writing in comparison with the shallow and superficial sense of wrong-doing in the Nilotic catalogue. There is nothing in the Egyptian Confession to correspond to Job's manly and faithful introspection of his own heart, wherein he denies that he has inwardly lifted up himself when evil fell upon his enemy. It is here wherein we trace the subtle workings of God's Holy Spirit which makes the distinction between an inspired and an uninspired piece of literature quite manifest and plain.

Returning to the 19th chapter, we find another allusion to Egyptian practices in Job's exclamation—*O that my words were now written! O that they were inscribed in a book! That with an iron pen and lead they were graven in the rock for ever!* [3] It is a reference to methods of preserving records that were customary in the Nile Valley, but quite unknown in Mesopotamia where clay tablets and cylinders were in use. The only carvings on rocks known in the Lower Euphrates Valley are those executed by Gudea and by Naram-Sin at Telloh about B.C. 3500: and the great stele of Hammurabi (about B.C. 2100) which was discovered, not in Chaldæa at all, but at Susa in Persia. The language of Job here is however quite

[1] Job 31.[35] [2] A. B. Davidson, *Job in loco.* [3] Job 19.[23 24]

appropriate in the mouth of one who was familiar with the literary methods followed by the dwellers on the Nile, where steles of stone covered with inscriptions were ubiquitous, and where rock sculptures were to be seen in all directions.[1]

It is remarkable that Zophar's saying regarding the wicked man finds an exact illustration in the Egyptian monuments. *He shall flee from the iron weapon, and the bow of brass shall strike him through. He draweth it forth, and it cometh out of his body: yea, the glittering point cometh out of his gall.*[2] In a lifelike painting on one of the tombs, a warrior is shown striking a fugitive soldier with the sharp point of his *bow*—not with the arrow, and the "glittering point" of it pierces his chest and comes out in the gall. It is almost as if the author of *Job* were describing this identical scene as he had studied it in a mural decoration.[3]

When Job said to his "friend" to suffer him to speak, he used the expression, *Lay your hand upon your mouth.*[4] It is the Egyptian mode of inculcating silence. The Greeks used the placing of the forefinger to the mouth as a symbol of silence, but the Egyptian method was to symbolize the action by placing the whole hand. This is shown in the well-known fowling scene, where a man, crouching down, orders silence by thus covering his mouth.

There seems also to be a reference to the stately funeral scenes which Egypt loved to see carried out with the utmost dignity and importance in the case of a wealthy Theban grandee when we read *Yet shall he be borne to the grave and shall keep watch over the tomb: the clods of the valley shall be sweet unto him, and all men shall draw after him, as there were innumerable before him.*[5]

When Job complains *Oh that I knew where I might find Him, that I might come even to His seat!* [6] he is evidently thinking of God as he is frequently depicted in the Egyptian monuments. The deity is represented sitting in a chair of state, and the Pharaoh is shown approaching him on bended knee.

Another allusion to African influence is recognized in Eliphaz' words, *Lay thou thy treasure in the dust, and the gold of Ophir among the stones of the brooks, and the Almighty shall be thy treasure, and precious silver unto thee.*[7] If, as is now generally believed, Ophir is to be located in Mashonaland opposite Madagascar,[8] where the vast remains of the gold mines of Zimbabwe have recently been explored,[9] it would seem that in this reference we have a further indication that our author was acquainted with Egyptian affairs, for the Mashonaland mines were worked seemingly by Nilotic enterprise. The word *Ophir* suggests *Afr*-ica; and Carl Peters believes that the whole continent derived its name from its connection with the gold mines of Ophir.[10]

[1] Sharpe (*Hist. of the Hebrew Nation and Literature*[4] (1882) p. 284) supposes that the reference is to the sculptured rocks of the Wady Mokatteb in Sinai, and that the "Mount Sephar" of Gen. 10^{30} is really Mount Serbal. He translates "*O that my words were now written! O that they were imprinted on Mount Sephar!*" He traces the journey of the author of the book from the Jordan to Sinai, where he joined the caravan to Medina ("*the caravans that travel by the way*"): he suffered terrible privations from thirst in the desert (*they go up into the waste and perish: the caravans of Tema looked: the companies of Sheba waited for them* (Job $6^{18\ 19}$): then he crossed the Red Sea to the mines of Nubia: and later returned to Judæa. In Egypt he had seen the Persians kissing their hands to the sun and moon (Job 31^{27}). He depicted the unhappy state of his own country under foreign masters (Job $15^{19\ 28}$): and spoke of the grave as a place of peace (Job 3^{18}). [2] Job. $20.^{24}$ [3] Shown in Carey, *The Book of Job Explained*, p. 452. [4] Job $21.^{5}$ [5] Job $21.^{32\ 33}$ [6] Job $23.^{3}$ [7] Job $22.^{24\ 25}$ [8] See the arguments marshalled by Ira Price in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 626. [9] See Theodore Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonalan* 1892. [10] Peters, *Das Goldene Ophir Salomos*, 1895.

This intimate acquaintance with Egypt is further proved by the author's famous description of mining as carried on in his day :— [1]

Surely there is a mine for silver
And a place for gold which they refine.
Iron is taken out of the earth
And brass is molten out of the stone.
Man setteth an end to darkness
And searcheth out to the furthest bound
The stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death.
He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn :
They are forgotten by the foot that passeth by :
They hang afar from men, they swing to and fro.
As for the earth, out of it cometh bread :
And underneath it is turned up as it were by fire.
The stones therefore are the place of sapphires
And it hath dust of gold.
That path no bird of prey knoweth,
Neither hath the falcon's eye seen it :
The proud beasts have not trodden it,
Nor hath the fierce lion passed thereby.
He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock :
He overturneth the mountains by the roots.
He cutteth out channels among the rocks :
And his eye seeth every precious thing.
He bindeth the streams that they trickle not ;
And the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.

This description of the art of mining is so complete—embracing tunnelling through the rock with the aid of artificial light ; construction of passages, shafts, and watercourses : utilization of ropes and ladders : and the application of water to separate the metal from the ore [2]—that one instinctively asks, where could the author have witnessed these remarkable operations ? Nowhere in the Hauran (the traditional birthplace and residence of Job) are there such mines. Neither Edom nor Arabia are metalliferous countries. The turquoise and copper mines of Sinai do not at all correspond to the details of working here described. Neither in Palestine nor in Mesopotamia were there mines of this nature at all. But Egypt affords the exact locality of which we are in search.

The minerals mentioned in the chapter are four in number. It is remarkable that the first named is not gold, but *silver*.[3] In this we find another indication of Egyptian influence. In Egyptian inscriptions silver is always mentioned before gold, as being more rare and precious. Silver objects are much more infrequently found in tombs than those of gold. This practice of giving precedence to silver obtained in spite of the fact that the laws of Menes in Egypt fixed the value of gold as two and a half times that of silver.[4] In Upper Egypt silver mines were worked in the mountains bordering the Red Sea.[5] The precious metal was extracted by means of shafts sunk deep in the ground exactly as Job describes.[6]

[1] Job 28.1-11 [2] See on this point Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 264 : Tozer, *Hist. of Anc. Geography*, p. 188, who calls it a lifelike sketch by an eyewitness of the Egyptian mining operations. [3] Job 28.1 [4] Patrick in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 517, art. SILVER. [5] Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, i. 235. [6] So Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxiii. 31, with reference to the silver mines of Spain.

Gold is the second metal referred to. From the earliest times it was obtained by the Egyptians in abundance from Nubia,[1] and from the rocky hills that line the Red Sea. The extraordinarily vivid account given of the mines by Agatharchides[2] of Cnidos (*c.* B.C. 170–100) and preserved by Diodorus[3] (which might well be a replica of Job's description), was doubtless true of ancient days as well as of the times in which these authors lived. The gold mines of the Wady Hammamat were again and again worked by the Pharaohs, and yielded enormous quantities of the precious metal.[4] There were two processes known to the ancients for extracting gold from the matrix: one was by washing, described by Diodorus as being practised in Egypt: the other was by smelting, which was the custom in other lands.[5] It is very significant that it is the former method—the Egyptian one—which is suggested by the Hebrew word used here for "refine."[6] The use of water in refining gold was, indeed, so thoroughly characteristic of Egypt, that when Rameses II had opened shafts at Akita, the mines had afterwards to be abandoned through want of water.[7] In books of the Old Testament written in the Exile, or under the influence of Babylonian civilization, the methods pursued in gold extraction are referred to by a totally different Hebrew word implying the application of fire. But the presence in this chapter of a word suggesting the use of water is another unnoticed indication of the Egyptian colouring of the Book of Job.

Iron is the third metal mentioned in this chapter.[8] It is not found in Palestine except near the south of the Lebanon range[9] and near Beirût. It was scarce in Egypt, yet in the Wady Hammamat a rich deposit of hæmatite was worked by the early Nilotes.[10] In the Sinai Peninsula, which formed part of Egypt, iron was mined at Serabit-el-Khadem.[11] A fragment of unwrought iron has even been discovered in one of the air-shafts of Khufu's Pyramid (*c.* B.C. 4700),[12] and Petrie has found fragments of iron along with bronze tools in a tomb of the VIth Dynasty. Egypt therefore was one of the very first countries in the world to mine and to use this metal.

Brass is the fourth of the metals mentioned.[13] It really means *copper*, and no nation more systematically carried on copper mining than the Egyptians under the rule of the Pharaohs. The copper mines of Sinai as recently explored by Petrie amply testify to this.[14] Slag heaps where the ore was extracted from the matrix still abound, and for many centuries Egyptian miners laboured in Sinai under the protection of a garrison, and under the religious sanction of the holy temple of Serabit-el-Khadem.

Again, in the statement *Man setteth an end to darkness, and searcheth out to the furthest bound the stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death*,[15] we have a reference to the fact that, in the gold mines near the Red Sea, the miners laboured with lights fixed on their foreheads, as Diodorus informs us,[16] so that *an end was set to darkness*. It is remarkable also that,

[1] Petrie in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 225, art. GOLD. [2] Agatharchides was tutor to Ptolemy Lathyrus. [3] Diod., iii. 12. [4] Wilkinson, i. 232: iii. 227. [5] Hull in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 374, art. MINING. [6] זָקַק *zaqaq*, as in 1 Chr. 28[15], 29[4], Isa. 25[6], a word entirely different from קָרַף *tsaraph*, as in Isa. 48[10], Zech. 13[9], Mal. 3.[2 3] [7] Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 287. On the temple built by Rameses II at Luxor there occurs a most interesting inscription giving a list of foreign countries famous for their mines. A catalogue of localities is shown where gold can be obtained not only in Egypt but elsewhere. The list has been exhaustively studied by W. Max Müller, *Egypt. Res.*, ii. 84. It shows the wealth of Egypt in regard to its production of this precious ore. [8] Job 28.[2] [9] Porter in Smith's *D.B.*, ii. 87. [10] The mine was re-discovered by Burton in 1822: see Wilkinson, iii. 246. [11] Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 36. [12] See p. 51. [13] Job 28.[2] [14] Petrie *Researches in Sinai*, p. 51. [15] Job. 28.[3] [16] Diod., iii. 11.

in the expression *He cutteth out channels among the rocks*,[1] the word for "channels"—*Ye'or*—is the technical Egyptian vocable for the "canals" by which surplus water that had accumulated in a mine was drawn off.

The chapter indeed is full of Egyptian references. The mention of *sapphires*[2]—by which in all likelihood *lapis-lazuli* is meant—shows an Egyptian trait, for lapis-lazuli was a highly-prized product of the Nile Valley. The value of wisdom as compared with *the gold of Ophir*[3] suggests another African allusion. The statement that *glass cannot equal it*[4] reminds us that, as far back as the Vth Dynasty, glass-blowers are depicted on the tomb of Ti at Sakkara, and on many other tombs of later centuries, such as those of the XIIth Dynasty at Beni-Hasan. The idea, started by Pliny,[5] that the Phœnicians were the first to discover the manufacture of glass by accident at the sands of the River Belus in Syria, is entirely unhistorical. Thousands of years earlier the Egyptians were acquainted with the art. The red *coral*[6] for which Egypt was so famous, the author also alludes to. It was obtained from the Red Sea, and was much more highly prized than the species found in the Mediterranean, which were of little commercial value. The coral was gathered by being broken off from the rocks on which it grew by long hooked poles, and then drawn out. It is noteworthy that the Hebrew word for *price* (מְשֹׁךְ *meshek*) in the expression *the price of wisdom* literally means "a drawing out," as if the author meant to say "the drawing-out of wisdom is above the drawing-out of coral."[7] The mention of *pearls*[8] in the same verse suggests a similar connection with the Red Sea and Egypt, while *the topaz of Ethiopia*[9] is equally Nilotic in its reference. It is the transparent serpentine of a greenish colour, obtained in Nubia, and highly prized in Egypt. By the Egyptian "watermarks" in this chapter alone, we might therefore easily determine that the author of Job was fully acquainted with the mining and other industries of the Nile Valley and the Red Sea littoral.

When we pass to the 29th chapter we are again in an atmosphere equally Egyptian. Here Job laments his present condition, and contrasts it most unfavourably with his former grandeur and state. Quite a number of Egyptian references throng the page.

To begin with, the patriarch sighs for the days *when my steps were washed with butter*,[10] or better, according to Gesenius, *with milk*. Now on a stele in the Egyptian Museum at Florence the words occur, "May Isis give you milk, so that you may wash your feet on the silver stone and the pavement of turquoise." Wiedemann[11] has pointed out that while this expression—washing the feet in milk—in Job's mouth seems to be merely a symbol of plenty and happiness, in Egypt it had a religious significance. Owing to the soiling of the feet by contact with earth, the skin of the soles was removed after death, and the wound washed in milk, as if the deceased were still living. The "silver stone and the pavement of turquoise" in all likelihood formed the floor of the Hall of Justice.

It has further been thought by some[12] that when Job said *the rock poured*

[1] Job 28.[10] [2] Job 28.[6 16] [3] Job 28.[16] [4] Job 28.[17] [5] Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxvi. 25. [6] Job 28.[18] [7] Houghton in Cassell's *Biblical Educator*, iv. 353. [8] Job 28[18] גָּבִישׁ *gabish*, rendered in A.V. and R.V. "rubies," should be translated "pearls," as in R.Vm. So Driver, *Book of Job*, p. 80: but see Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 733, art. PEARL. [9] Job 28.[19] [10] Job 29.[6] [11] Wiedemann in paper "Une Stêle du Musée Égyptien de Florence" read at *Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes Français* held at St. Etienne, 1875, p. 155. His words are remarkable (p. 145), "Tout le livre Job montre une influence égyptienne et dans sa forme et ses sentences morales, et dans ses métaphores, surtout dans celle de l'hippopotame et du crocodille." [12] *e.g.*, Sharpe, *Hist. of the Heb. Nation and Literature*, p. 283.

me out rivers of oil,[1] he was referring to the petroleum which was obtained from the oil-wells among the mountains of Egypt: but the allusion may possibly be to the ordinary presses for olive-oil which are made in rock-moulds, and which are common throughout the Orient.

Immediately following this, Job outlines the good deeds he had done in the days of his prosperity in language which exactly suggests an Egyptian original. *When the ear heard me, then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me, it gave witness unto me: because I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless also that had none to help him. The blessings of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my justice was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the needy, and the cause of him that I knew not I searched out. I brake the jaws of the unrighteous and plucked the prey out of his teeth.*[2] The ethical standard here bears a remarkable resemblance to another detailed *apologia* found at Beni-Hasan in the tomb of the great governor Ameni, a high official under Senusert of the XIIth Dynasty (*c.* B.C. 3416). Here are his claims: "I never wronged the daughter of a poor man. I never oppressed a widow. I never hindered a herdsman. I never took men from their superintendent. There was not a pauper near me. In my time there was no one hungry. When famine came, I arose and cultivated the fields of my province to the boundary both north and south. I enabled its inhabitants to live by making provision. There was not a hungry man in my province. I gave to each widow the property of her husband. I did not favour the elder more than the younger in what I gave. In great rises of the Nile bringing prosperity, I did not exact arrears of rent."[3] The coincidences are noteworthy:[4] and as this form of self-justification was not unusual in Egypt, it would seem that the author of *Job* had adopted as a literary artifice a suggestion from what was a recognized Egyptian custom dating from remote antiquity.[5]

Job's next expression is couched in phraseology thoroughly Egyptian. *Then I said, I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the phœnix-bird,*[6] for so the word "sand" should be translated, according to a very ancient Jewish tradition, which is rendered likely by the parallelism between "nest" and "bird." The LXX reads the passage "My age shall continue as the stem of a palm tree."[7] (*φοίνικος*). But the simile is really that of the phœnix. This famous mythical bird, the sacred *Bennu*, was revered at Heliopolis and at other spots in Egypt.[8] At Tell-el-Yahudiyah porcelain friezes have been discovered representing rows of figures of the fabled creature.[9] There were variations in the legend, but the popular form was to the effect that every 500 years the phœnix burned itself and its nest in the fire, and that from the ashes a new phœnix arose to exist for another half millennium.[10] It was a conception of extreme longevity

[1] Job 29.[6] [2] Job 29.[11-17] [3] J. Hunt Cooke in *Expos. Times*, v. 119. [4] Hinted at by St. Chad Boscawen in *The Sunday School*, 1893, p. 326. [5] A similar inscription may be read on the sarcophagus of Unnefer, a royal scribe and priest: see Miss Alice Grenfell in *The Monist*, xvi. (1906), p. 175. [6] Job 29.[18] *ἡ ἡλικία μου γηράσει ὥσπερ στέλεχος φοίνικος.* [8] Herodotus (ii. 73) describes he bird minutely. [9] Petrie (*Palace of Apries*, p. 11) says he found in the palace a picture of the Pharaoh going to bathe in the lake at Heliopolis where the Bennu lived, to renew his youth. [10] A variation of the myth was that the Phœnix burned and buried *its father* at Heliopolis. The cycle of years also varied from 250 to 7,000 years! (See Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 96, 371). Lepsius maintained that it was connected with the Sothic period of 1500 years. The Phœnix was believed to have appeared in Egypt four times. See *Notes and Queries*, 1882, p. 481: and for its adoption by the Early Christian Church as a symbol of the resurrection, and its importation into Christian art through the influence of Clement, Tertullian, Epiphanius, etc., see Smith, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, ii. 1633.

that was thoroughly Egyptian, and there is every reason to believe that Job was employing Egyptian terminology in support of his hope for a long life.[1]

When we turn next to the astronomical terms used in the book we find a new cycle of facts testifying to the influence of Egypt. Job refers to God as He *who maketh the Bear* (Heb. *Ash*), *Orion* (Heb. *Kesil*), *and the Pleiades* (Heb. *Kimah*), *and the chambers of the south*:[2] and again, we read God's answer to Job, *Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades* (Heb. *Kimah*), *or loose the bands of Orion* (Heb. *Kesil*)? *Canst thou lead forth the Mazzaroth* (R.Vm. " the signs of the Zodiac ") *in their season? Or canst thou guide the Bear* (Heb. *Ash*) *with her train?*[3] The identification of these stars and constellations has given rise to a prolific controversy, and experts of the front rank are even yet not agreed as to which of the heavenly bodies are intended by the Hebrew words employed.[4] But what is of importance is to note that we must not be carried away with the idea that the only way in which the Hebrews could have become acquainted with the names of these constellations was through their contact with Babylonian astronomy during the Exile. Granted that by the time of the Exile the Chaldæans had attained to a marvellous skill and proficiency in the knowledge of the heavens, and that they were the most learned of all observers of the stars, we have also to remember that in the earliest periods of Egyptian culture the heavens had similarly been mapped out by the natives of the Nile Valley, and that they too had given names to the various celestial bodies.[5] Sayce [6] has pointed out that by the time of the Dynastic Egyptians the worship of the stars themselves was practically past, for the stars had been identified with the official deities who had absorbed their individual attributes. The legends of Orion, the mighty hunter of the sky, take us back to the very dawn of Pharaonic history.[7]

But it is of interest specially to note that the Dynastic Egyptians must have derived their primitive conceptions of stellar mythology from the Babylonians. If the Chaldæans had their twelve signs of the Zodiac, so had the ancient Egyptians,[8] and the names of several of the constellations in both nations were the same. In both we have Gemini, Aquarius, the

[1] The proverb φοίνικος ἔτη βιοῦν=" to live as long as the Phœnix " was current in Egypt. [2] Job 9.[9] [3] Job 38.[31 32] [4] See Schiaparelli, *Astronomy in the Old Test.*, pp. 53–89: Maunder, *Astronomy of the Bible* (1908), p. 251 f.: Hastings' *D.B.*, arts. Bear, Orion, Pleiades, Arcturus, Mazzaroth. Herz (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, xiv. (1913) 575) has analysed the Hebrew names in Job for the constellations, and has shown how strong are their Egyptian connections. He maintains that the author systematically employs Egyptian astronomical terms. *Ash* he identifies with Sirius (rather than with the Bear) whose appearance in the east some minutes before sunrise occasioned great joy and festivity in Egypt, for this appearance coincided with the rise of the Nile, and was accordingly used to mark the beginning of a new year (see p. 17 for this important heliacal rising). Sirius was identified with the goddess Isis, and in Aramaic " Isis " is " *Ash*." Similarly, he maintains that *Kesil* is not the giant Orion, but Ursa Major, and means a " haunch." The seven stars of the Great Bear suggested to the ancient Egyptians the haunch of an ox placed on the northern horizon: a hippopotamus, also representing a group of stars, holds the haunch by a chain fastened to it. *Kesil* he asserts is the translation of the Egyptian word for " haunch," and the " bands " refer to the chain by which Ursa Major is held. The *Mazzaroth* he identifies as " Star of Fortune," *i.e.*, " lucky star," and he paraphrases the verse as " Canst thou check the luxuries of Kimah, or loosen the fetters of the Great Bear? Canst thou bring forth the lucky stars, each one in his season, so that Isis may have compassion on her children?" [5] For an elaborate exposition of this with copious information, see Mure, *The Calendar and Zodiac of Anc. Egypt*, 1832: and Uhlemann, *Handbuch der gesammten ægyptischen Alterthumskunde* (1857) i. 168 f. [6] Sayce, *Gifford Lectures on the Religions of Anc. Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 234 f. [7] The Egyptians recognized in Orion (whom they termed *Sahu*) the soul of Horus. [8] See Uhlemann, *Grundzüge der Astronomie u. Astrologie der Alten besonders der Ægypter* (Leipzig, 1857), pp. 15 f., 49 f.

Pleiades; in both, Orion is a giant and a hunter; while the "Bull of Heaven" with the Babylonians has its counterpart in the "Bull of Heaven" of the Pyramid Texts. Still more striking is the fact that the 36 Egyptian "decans," [1] the stars that watched for ten days each over the 360 days of the ancient Egyptian year, were exactly paralleled by the 36 Chaldæan "councillor" stars, which similarly presided over the early Chaldæan year of 360 days.[2] These coincidences cannot be accidental. The Sumerian culture which underlay the Babylonian was akin to that of the early Egyptians,[3] and in this community of astronomical beliefs, and in the homogeneity of their mapping out of the starry heavens into similar signs of the Zodiac, we trace another proof of the primitive derivation of Egyptian civilization from Babylon.

All this shows how easy it was for a resident in Egypt, such as the author of *Job*, to employ astronomical terms which by long use and wont were truly Nilotic, yet which in their remote origin were derived from the Euphrates Valley.[4] That the Egyptians were experts in astronomy is well known. This observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius formed the basis of their calculations of the solar year. Their temples in many cases were orientated with such admirable precision that exactly at the spring or autumn solstice a particular star shone into the furthest recesses of the dark shrine.[5] They could calculate eclipses; and their observations of planets and other heavenly bodies reveal a remarkable degree of astronomical skill. There was no necessity for the writer of *Job* to go to Babylon for the names of his constellations. Egypt possessed as full a knowledge of the starry skies as Chaldæa could furnish.

Still another Egyptian reference we can trace in the expression, *It is changed as clay under the seal.*[6] It is an allusion to the practice of using scarabs as signets which can be traced to the earliest eras of Nilotic civilization.[7] Scarabs of various materials have been dug up in tens of thousands.[8] The idea intended by the writer to be brought out is that just as a dull uninteresting piece of clay becomes instinct with meaning when the scarab-seal impressed on it shows some person's name or some hieroglyphic device, so when the dayspring comes, the dull drab face of Nature takes on an entirely new look, *and all things stand forth as in a garment.*[9]

When we now proceed to study the natural history referred to in the Book, we are struck with its strong Egyptian colouring. While some of the animals and birds mentioned may not contribute much to the argument inasmuch as they are found in abundance in other lands; yet on the other hand their occurrence in Egypt is worth observing as an element in the line of substantiating the validity of my theory that the author of Job was a dweller in the Nile Valley and knew Egyptian life.

The *asp*,[10] to whose gall and poison reference is made by Zophar,

[1] See Romieu, *Lettres à M. Lepsius sur un Décan du Ciel Égyptien*, 1870 (Leipzig). The latest research discovers the existence of an Egyptian belief in these "decans" as far back as the Xth Dynasty at least, and even that allusion is made to them in the prehistoric formulæ of the Pyramid Texts: see Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 100, art. CALENDAR (EGYPTIAN). [2] Sayce, *ib.* p. 237. [3] So also Hommel in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 218, art. BABYLONIA. [4] See Hommel, "Babylonisch. u. Ægyptisch. Göttergeneal." in *Trans. of Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, p. 234. [5] The rising of the Pleiades was watched for astronomical purposes even in "pyramid times" (Taylor in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 896). [6] Job 38.[14] [7] Or it may refer to the clay seals, which being cylindrical, *rolled* upon the object on which they were impressed, like a miniature garden-roller. [8] See photographs of these scarab-sealings in Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*. [9] Job 38.[14] [10] פֶּתֶן Job 20.[14 16]

from its venomousness has been identified by Tristram with the Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje* L.). It is usual to see a cobra on most Egyptian temples, chiselled over the door, on each side of a winged globe, and in the attitude of striking. No visitor to the Nile Valley could be unfamiliar with its aspect and deadliness. The *lion*[1] is frequently depicted in pre-dynastic figures and in later amulets. Thothmes IV hunted lions in the neighbourhood of Memphis. Leontopolis was the centre of the cult of the lion, though sacred lions were kept in the temples in many other localities in Egypt.[2] The *raven*[3] is a bird that was found in the Nile Valley. The *wild goat of the rock*[4] is undoubtedly the ibex[5] which has for its habitat Mount Sinai, a recognized portion of the Egyptian Kingdom. Its Hebrew equivalent, יְעֵלִים *ye-elim*, occurs also in the 104th Psalm,[6] and, as we have seen,[7] Weigall has pointed out the remarkable affinities between this psalm and the "Hymn to the Sun" composed by Akhnaton. The *wild ass*[8] is a dweller in the deserts that flank Egypt, and when it is stated, *Neither heareth he the shoutings of the driver*, it is to be noted that the word for "driver" is "taskmaster" (נָגַשׂ *nagas*), the same term as is employed in connection with the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt.[9]

The *wild-ox*[10] was an animal famed for its size, and the prodigious length and strength of its horns. Reference is made to it frequently in Scripture as a creature of formidable dimensions, untamable, and of great ferocity.[11] Though hunted by the monarchs of Assyria, and chased by Cæsar in Germany,[12] it was found also in Egypt in large herds. A very fine scarab of Amenhotep III tells how the Pharaoh killed in Goshen in one day 56 of these great and savage oxen that were roaming over the country, and how after four days' rest, by surrounding the herd with another cordon, 85 more of these wild beasts fell before his arrows and spear.[13] Our author shows his acquaintance with the ferocious animal when he asks the questions, *Will the wild-ox be content to serve thee? Canst thou bind the wild-ox with his band in the furrow? Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great?*[14]

The *ostrich*[15] is a bird of Nubia, and the popular facts of natural history[16] narrated about her plumage, her egg-laying, her stupidity, and yet her matchless speed, are what might readily be gained by any observer in Egypt. The *war-horse*,[17] though probably introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos, soon became indispensable to the martial Pharaohs of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties, and numberless inscriptions of these periods depict the war chariots with their steeds, exactly as our author here describes them in this piece of word-painting. The *hawk* and the *eagle*[18] are represented on myriads of inscriptions, and indeed so peculiarly Egyptian were they reckoned to be that they were made emblems of the divinity of the Pharaohs. The hawk was identified

[1] Job 38.[39 40] [2] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 360. [3] Job 38.[41] [4] Job 39.[1] [5] The Egyptians called it *n'eafu*. [6] Ps. 104.[18] [7] See p. 212. [8] Job 39.[5] There are two different words for this creature used in this one verse פֶּרֶא (as in Gen. 16.[12] Job 6.[5] 11.[12] 24.[5] Isa. 32.[14] Jer. 2.[24] Hos 8.[9]) and עָרוֹד (as in Dan. 5 [21]). Post (in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 174) says that the parallelism does not necessarily imply two species, for the Arabs have a large number of names for the lion, the camel, the ass, the horse, etc. [9] See Ex. 3.[7] 5.[6 10 13 14] [10] Job 39.[9] [11] Num. 23.[22] 24.[8] Dt. 33.[17] Ps. 22.[21] 29.[6] 92.[10] Isa. 34.[7] it is the רְאֵם *re-êm*. [12] Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, vi. 28. [13] Willoughby Fraser in *P.S.B.A.*, xxi. (1899) 155. See p. 201. [14] Job 39.[9 10 11] For the identity of this wild-ox see G. Bénédite in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, v. (1918) 6. [15] Job 39.[13] [16] For an explanation of these facts see Post in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 635, art. OSTRICH. [17] Job 39.[19] [18] Job 39.[26 27]

with the worship of Horus, and the mummy hawk was the emblem of Sopdu, god of the East.

Now all these creatures thus far mentioned, while having a habitat in Egypt, had nevertheless a range in other countries, and therefore, as I have stated, little stress perhaps can be laid on their insertion here to prove an Egyptian origin to the book, except that no animal is mentioned which did *not* reside in the Nile Valley. But the book closes with an elaborate description of two animals, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, which are acknowledged by all to be Egyptian, and as to whose African habitat there can be no question.

Behemoth [1] undoubtedly refers to the *hippopotamus*. The very name is seemingly Egyptian—*p-ehe-mau*, "ox of the water." [2] All the description here of its habits suits the Nile. *He lieth under the lotus trees, in the covert of the reed, and the fen : the lotus trees cover him with their shadow : the willows of the brook compass him about.*[3] The allusion to the lotus, the favourite, beloved, and sacrosanct plant of the Egyptians, is peculiarly Nilotic.[4] A reference to the annual inundation of the Delta is seen in *If the river overflow, he trembleth not ; he is confident though a Jordan swell even to his mouth*, that is, even if a stream as impetuous as the Jordan were to overtake him. The hippopotamus is of course unknown in the Jordan Valley itself. In the Chapel of Senbi I,[5] a nomarch of the time of Amenemhat I (XIIth Dynasty), there is shown a fine group of hippopotami, who bellow and display their gleaming white tusks at the intruding sportsman as he skims over the water in his frail canoe. As the hippopotamus is an animal entirely confined to Africa, it is difficult to see how a dweller in Central Arabia, or in Babylonia (localities which have been advocated as the scene of the authorship of the book) could have given such an accurate and full description of its characteristics as we find here. But all is natural if the author was acquainted with the Nile Valley.

By the *leviathan* of the 41st chapter the *crocodile* is unquestionably meant : and in the 34 verses devoted to the description of this vast saurian we have the testimony of an eye-witness who had often observed the habits of the animal in the Nile.[6] It is true that crocodiles are to be found elsewhere, particularly in the so-called Crocodile River in Palestine. Both Strabo and Pliny give this name to the small Zerka River which falls into the Mediterranean a little south of Cæsarea. A 13th century tract states that crocodiles were introduced here from Egypt by a rich man of Cæsarea, in order that his brother might be devoured by them.[7] But it has also been asserted [8] that an Egyptian colony transported crocodiles to the spot about B.C. 400 for purposes of worship.[9] During the succeeding centuries a few survivals have been seen, but only on the rarest occasions.[10] The

[1] Job 40.[15-24] [2] This is denied in *Encycl. Bibl.*, p. 1210. [3] Job 40.[21 22] [4] It is the *Zizyphus lotus* L. common in Egypt, and in other parts of Africa : see Herod., iv. 177 : Homer, *Odyss.*, ix. 82 f. [5] At Meir, 30 miles N. of Assiut (Blackman in *Arch. Rep. Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1911–12, p. 10). [6] For details of the habits of the crocodile and its worship, see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 354. [7] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1888, p. 166. [8] By Pococke, *Besch.*, ii. 75, 76. [9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 260. [10] For example, by Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 497), who states that the millers on the spot had "seen them often" : by Dr. Chaplin (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 183), who saw the skin of one which had been 8–9 feet long : there were also six crocodile's eggs. Tristram (*Fauna and Flora of West. Pal.*, p. 155) saw footprints of a crocodile in the headwaters of the stream not far from Samaria : offering a reward for the capture of a specimen, the head and bones of one 11 feet 6 were brought. Macgregor (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*) saw one in the Kishon in the Plain of Acre. Rev. W. M. Christie of Glasgow, late missionary at Aleppo, informs me that he is almost certain that he saw one at the mouth of the Kishon. Schumacher (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 80) describes a visit to the Crocodile River, and his sight of a solitary specimen.

extreme rarity of the animal in Palestine, imported in all probability from Egypt, could never have allowed its habits to be so well known to residents in Canaan that the author of *Job* could have spoken of them as he did. It is in Egypt, where the crocodile was so thoroughly at home that one of the border lakes (on the line of the present Suez Canal) was actually called Lake Timsah, the "Crocodile Lake," and where the city of Crocodilopolis in the Fayum was wholly given over to the worship of this creature, that we must look for the habitat of this huge saurian.

The whole details of the habits of the crocodile are so brilliantly depicted that we feel instinctively that the author was describing the animal from first-hand knowledge. He was acquainted with the fact that Egyptian conjurers were accustomed to play with the crocodile with immunity from danger by arts which were kept secret from the uninitiated: *Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? Or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?* [1] When he says, *His eyes are like the eyelids of the morning*,[2] he is reminding us that the Egyptians employed the eye of the crocodile to denote the rising sun, inasmuch as it is the streaming red eyes of the amphibian which first become visible when the creature rises out of the water.[3]

But the most recent theory about the hippopotamus and the crocodile in these chapters is one which at least is deserving of very careful discussion. Briefly it is, that the description of these vast creatures refers not to actual animals, but to mythological animals which they embody. Professor Cobern says,[4] "Modern archæology has proved that, in the time of Job, the crocodile and hippopotamus were, in contemporary religious literature, constantly associated with the thought of a future world. These animals are mentioned hundreds of times in the religious texts of Egypt, and in no single instance, I think, are they mentioned because of their zoological importance, but always because of their demonic character. At least six chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are given up to magic texts which shall protect the deceased from the dreaded crocodile, as he fights his way through the underworld. In many other chapters, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus his closest ally, are referred to when incantations are used against the foes of Osiris, and this is equally true in other ancient sacred books of the Egyptians."

This assertion is capable of ample corroboration. Daressy[5] has collected a list of no fewer than 12 hippopotamus goddesses who presided over the months of the year. According to Egyptian beliefs, a dead man after death commenced a long journey. Starting from Abydos, he endured great privations of hunger and thirst, and by the help of magical formulæ he passed through swarms of fierce crocodiles that infested the streams.[6] At last he reached the bar of Osiris in the lower world, and went through the examination to which I have already referred.[7] If he were acquitted, he passed to the plains of Alu, situated in the north-eastern portion of the sky, where the gods dwelt.[8] But if he was condemned, he was

[1] Job 41.[5] [2] Job 41.[18] [3] Horapollo (*Hiero*, i. 65) uses this exact expression, "To describe the dawn (the Egyptians) depict the eyes of the crocodile, inasmuch as the eyes make their appearance out of the deep before the entire body of the beast." [4] For full details (from which I quote) see Camden M. Cobern, "A New Interpretation of the Book of Job" in *The Methodist Review*, May, 1913, p. 429. It is a modification of the views of Gunkel, Zimmern, Cheyne, and Toy. [5] *Rec. de Travaux*, xxxiv. 189. [6] In the tomb of Amen-Khepeshf, son of Rameses III, the words occur "I have washed in the water in which Neith and Isis washed with Nephthys, when they passed the crocodile at the opening of the place of purification" (Colin Campbell, *Two Theban Princes* (1910), p. 79). [7] See p. 206. [8] *Cf.* Job's expression, *He stretcheth out the north over empty space* (Job 26 [7]), which immediately follows verses dealing with Sheol and Abaddon.

handed over to be devoured by Ta-urt, the female hippopotamus deity, who had stood waiting at the feet of Thoth.[1] This fearsome creature was sometimes represented under a composite character. She was shown as "a crocodile in the foreparts, in the midst a lion, and behind a hippopotamus."[2] The crocodilo-hippopotamus god of vengeance on the guilty meets us everywhere in Egyptian inscriptions and literature.[3] Legge has shown how there are scattered through the museums of Europe at least 50 ivory wands, mostly from Thebes, which all show either a female hippopotamus erect on her hind-legs, standing as depicted in the *Book of the Dead*, or the crocodile and hippopotamus combined in one grim mythological figure.[4] The hippopotamus with a crocodile on her back is also to be seen as a constellation figure on the ceiling of the Ramesseum at Thebes.[5] In the recently discovered tomb at Marissa in Palestine, a Ptolemaic sepulchre has paintings showing not only a hippopotamus, but a crocodile with an ibis on its back, the ibis being most intimately connected with the Egyptian myth of the Osirian resurrection, since Osiris escaped from Set on the back of an ibis.[6] In Egyptian mythology, the hippopotamus and crocodile were representatives of Set, the god of the underworld, of evil, and death:[7] they were the most dreaded enemies of order and resurrection life.

Professor Cobern, in summing up the evidence, urges that the whole aim of the Book of Job is a passionate defence of the doctrine of immortality after death. He analyses the book in this light, and shows the gradual rise of the argument until in the 39th chapter the author reaches the vindication of Jehovah's might over all forces of the earth, the sea, and the sky. One thing more requires to be done, to exhibit God's power to rule Sheol and the sinister creatures that dwell there, as easily as He guides the stars, and gives instinct to brute beasts on earth. Thus in chapters 40 and 41 we find behemoth and leviathan, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, introduced as the fearsome representatives of the powers of the lower world, and the Lord is seen, as the book closes, triumphant over them as well.[8] Cobern remarks, "If in this final crisis of the Job argument, these creatures are to be catalogued zoologically, then not only does this ancient poem, so praised by Ruskin and Coleridge and Shakespeare, close with the most trivial and superfluous anticlimax known in literature, but by using these well-known religious symbols with a meaning unknown to that age, the author must have designedly confused his readers."[9] He points out that these two creatures are constantly linked together in the texts and vignettes, and that, with the serpent, they continued to be the ordinary representatives of the powers of evil and death far into Christian times, not only in Egypt, but in Algeria, Italy, Phœnicia, Persia, Greece, and Palestine. The Metternich Stele shows Horus stamping on two crocodiles, and grasping in his hands other emblems of the powers of darkness. In the mysteries

[1] Petrie in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 243. [2] A. H. Gardiner in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, v. 478, art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (EGYPTIAN). [3] *Cf.* Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israélites*, p. 181. [4] Legge in *P.S.B.A.*, xxvii. (1905) 130, and xxviii. (1906), p. 37 in art. "Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire." [5] Maspero, *Les Origines*, p. 92: Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 313. [6] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 395, and Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*. [7] See Wiedemann in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911), p. 197, for references to the many statuettes of the hippopotamus deity: and also von Bissing, *Altægyptische Nilpferd Statuen* in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1909, pp. 127–131. [8] On the other hand, Gunkel (*Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 41–69), dominated by the idea of the Babylonian provenance of *Job*, regards Leviathan as = Tiâmat, and Behemoth as = her consort Kingu. Cheyne (*Encyc. Bibl.*, p. 519 f.) recognizes here a fusion of Babylonian and Egyptian semi-mythical elements. [9] Cobern, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

of Isis the goddess wears at her girdle two crocodile heads. In the Eleusinian Mysteries and in those of Mithra, the devouring monster of the Judgment has crocodilo-hippopotamus features. "The influence of the Egyptian representations of the crocodile as a symbol of evil extended over all the civilized world, and can be seen in Egypt and Palestine to this day. In ancient Alexandria Christ was represented in triumph standing on a crocodile,[1] and in many old Coptic Cathedrals in Cairo very ancient pictures of the Baptism are similarly painted, while above hundreds of Moslem doors the crocodile is hung as a demon charm." The theory that these creatures in *Job*—the hippopotamus and the crocodile—represent mythological conceptions current in Egypt, is full of interest, and ought to receive very careful consideration.

To sum up: when we look at all these Egyptian "watermarks" in *Job*, it surely is exceedingly difficult to believe that the book could have been composed by a Jew who lived during the Exile in the remote valley of the Euphrates. That one who was so intimately acquainted with life as it was lived in the Nile Valley should be able to write this book in Babylon in the midst of an entirely different civilization, in a completely altered environment, and in a region where everything suggested Chaldæan symbols, institutions, and conceptions, seems to me to raise a problem tenfold more difficult to solve. This was a work of art indeed—to employ Egyptian metaphors, illustrations, and similes; to speak of Egyptian vegetation, Egyptian boats, Egyptian mining operations, Egyptian conceptions of the dead, Egyptian pyramids, Egyptian animals and birds, Egyptian mythology; to show acquaintance with Egyptian language and literature, and while composing this great poem in Babylon, in a civilization in almost every particular alien from that of Egypt, never for an instant to betray the secret that his surroundings were in the Euphrates Valley instead of in that of the Nile! How much more natural to believe that the author wrote either in Egypt itself, or from a close personal knowledge of what he had seen in that land!

The same argument applies to the Hauran where there linger many legends as to Job's residence in that region.[2] At Ashtaroth Karnaim the traditional dwelling of Job is shown. "Job's Stone," a monolith of basalt against which the patriarch is said to have leaned in his misery, is pointed out to travellers.[3] "Job's Spring" gushes forth at the foot of the hill where Uz is said to have been built: its waters feed "Job's Bath," which is reckoned to have medicinal properties.[4] A little to the south is "Job's Tomb":[5] and, until recently, a "Job's Monastery" was a spot to which the devout repaired.[6] But granting the prevalence of a Job tradition here, how could a dweller in this trans-Jordanic region evidence such a close acquaintance with the institutions of Egypt?

Lastly, there is Central Arabia, for which Margoliouth puts in a strong plea.[7] He advocates the Central Arabian theory by never mentioning Egypt at all, and by ignoring absolutely every reference to, and suggestion of, its influence! But again, we may ask, is not Central Arabia a place equally difficult to think of as a locality in which this book, so deeply tinged with Egyptian feeling, could have been conceived?

I believe, therefore, that this poem was composed by some gifted

[1] Nerontsos, *L'Ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 48. [2] See Driver in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 166, art. ASHTAROTH: Clermont-Ganneau in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 13. [3] Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 189. [4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1895, p. 180. [5] Wetzstein in App. to Delitzsch *Hiob* (E.T.) ii. 561. [6] Socin in Baedeker, *Palestine*[3] p. 303. [7] Margoliouth in *Expos.* 6th Ser. i. 433 f.: ii. 25 f.

Hebrew who had long dwelt in, and had far travelled through, the Nile Valley. He had gone up the river as far as Thebes, and possibly even to Nubia. He had seen the gold mines of the Wady Hammamat between Coptos and Kosseir: he had read the inscriptions in many of the ancient tombs. He had explored Sinai and knew the turquoise mines there. He was familiar with Edom which formed a part of the Egyptian realm. He was a man versed in mythology, folklore, and the demotic beliefs of the country-people. Yet for all that he was a true Jew, with a Jew's passion for righteousness, and with a lofty conception of the supremacy of Jehovah over all other gods, supernal and infernal.

What then may we gather to be the probable date of *Job*? From one point of view there is no reason why it should not be relegated to a period much earlier than that assigned to it by most modern critics. The main argument for a late date is that the author's outlook on life, his reasoned moralizing on the inequalities and sorrows of mankind, his weighing of the problem of evil, suffering, and pain, all betoken a state of mind so mature that it cannot have existed at an early period. To this it may be replied that the problem of evil, and questionings regarding the seeming injustices in life, have been present to the minds of men at all times, and have never been confined to any one period. We have only to turn to the *Instructions of Kegemni* [1] of date about B.C. 4700, the *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep* [2] about B.C. 4300, and the *Instruction of Amenemhat I* [3] about B.C. 3459, to see specimens of Hochma literature which bear a family resemblance to some of the features of the Book of Job. That the ideas of *Job* are not too lofty to suit an early age is evidenced also by the magnificent *Hymn to the Sun* by Akhnaton, whose date is about B.C. 1390.[4]

But on the other hand, there is such an exquisite finish to the poem of *Job*, the problems are debated with such marvellous incisiveness and literary power, the philosophy of the book is in some respects so akin to that of the rest of the Jewish Hochma literature, and there is to be found in many particulars so close an affinity between *Job* and Isaiah, that the probabilities are the other way. What we need to find is some period wherein a Jew who was resident in Egypt should have reason to write a book full of profound moralizings on the mystery of God's Providence in relation to the tragedies and upheavals in a man's life. That period we discover after the destruction of Jerusalem when a great migration of Jews into Egypt took place: and especially a little later when the XXVIIth Dynasty, which was entirely a Persian one, linked Egypt with the Euphrates Valley, and allowed opportunities of interchange of ideas. In this way we can account for the introduction into the book of the Persian conception of Satan, a conception which had been carried from Susa to Memphis by the ordinary channels of interchange which subsisted in the great Persian Empire that stretched from Nubia to the borders of India. It may well be, therefore, that it is to this period of Persian dominance in Egypt—the period from Cambyses to Ochus—that we must relegate the composition of this great drama. But whether it was written in the lower plains of the Delta, or amongst the colony of Jews at Elephantine, or by the author after he had returned to Palestine at the close of years of travel and residence in the Nile Valley, there is not sufficient evidence to determine.

[1] See p. 45. [2] See p. 60. [3] See p. 76. [4] See p. 212.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Rule of the First Ptolemy

At Alexander's death the vast Empire which had been built up in blood was dissolved in blood. The fiercest dissensions and the grimmest of controversies broke out, and raged for many years, as the various claimants —the *Diadochi*—contested for their share in the plunder. The empire of *the mighty King* who had ruled *with great dominion* was *broken and divided towards the four winds of heaven: but not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion wherewith he ruled: for his kingdom was plucked up, even for others besides these.*[1] The story in the *First Book of Maccabees* that Alexander on his deathbed "divided his Kingdom amongst his servants which were honourable, which had been brought up with him from his youth"[2] is possibly unworthy of credence, but in any case there was no delay, nor undue reluctance, on the part of any of his generals to seize what they could of the sovereign-less Empire.

Egypt was demanded by Ptolemy,[3] one of the generals, and his request was provisionally granted by his comrades.[4] He was the son of one Lagus, otherwise unknown. He had been brought up at the court of Philip of Macedon, and had been a boyish companion of the youthful Alexander.[5] He had shared his sovereign's fortunes, and during the visit to Egypt he had marked the opulence of that country and its security from external invasion. His mind was now made up. Seeing that the empire of Alexander was going to pieces, he seized Egypt as his share of the spoil.

Yet from B.C. 323 to B.C. 305, Ptolemy ruled Egypt merely as a satrap. The nominal sovereigns were the half-witted Philip Arrhidæus, son of Philip II of Macedon by a low-born woman named Philinna,[6] who was regarded as Philip I of Egypt (B.C. 323–316); and with him, as his co-monarch, the infant Alexander IV of Macedon, son of Alexander the Great and Roxana, who reigned as Alexander II of Egypt (B.C. 323–311). Ptolemy, however, settled himself as the actual master in the land of his adoption, and was welcomed with enthusiasm by his subjects. Nevertheless, during the entire period of his satrapy, his possession of Egypt was contested by the rival Diadochi. Yet what is conspicuous throughout these troubled years, with their incessant intrigues and their kaleidoscopic changes of fortune, is the steady way in which Ptolemy improved his position, and strengthened his hold on the Nile Valley.

[1] Dan. 11.[3 4] [2] 1 Mac. 1.[6] [3] For a discussion of the name "Ptolemy," see Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), p. 7: and for the Ptolemaic period as a whole, see Bouché-le-clercq, *Histoire des Lagides* (1903) 4 v. [4] Diod., xviii. 14. Arrian, iii. 6. 5. Justin is probably mistaken in asserting that Ptolemy was a mere upstart adventurer, the son of a man of low origin (xiii. 4). [6] Plutarch *Alexander*, 77.

One of Ptolemy's first acts on taking the reins was to put to death Cleomenes, who had been left in Egypt by Alexander as satrap. The viceroy by his extortionate rapacity had forfeited the esteem of the people,[1] and no one except Perdikkas, the Regent and the enemy of Ptolemy, regretted his execution. Perdikkas, who had arrogated to himself the post of guardian of the royal princes, was determined to oust Ptolemy from Egypt. He was incensed when Ptolemy marched out from Egypt into Canaan with a large army, intercepted the funeral procession of Alexander, and defying the orders of the Regent that the body was to be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, forcibly escorted the coffin to Egypt. He rightly foresaw how greatly the possession of the royal sarcophagus would enhance the glory of Ptolemy, and help to give legitimacy and prestige to the new Kingdom he was founding in Egypt.

Anticipating an invasion by Perdikkas, Ptolemy looked around for help. He formed an alliance with the Cyprus kinglets, and with Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia, who in a united attack on the Regent's fleet secured for Ptolemy the command of the sea. His capture of Cyrene, and his annexation of the whole province of which it was the capital, rid him of any fear of invasion on his western frontier,[2] and left him free to await the attack of Perdikkas from the east. The latter advanced through Palestine towards the Delta with a great display of power, and with the two "legitimate" Kings, Philip Arrhidæus and Alexander II, in his army. Arriving at Pelusium, he drained a canal, and marched his army across its bed. But a sudden rise of the Nile destroyed the embankment, and fear spread among his troops. He treated the faint-hearted with such abominable cruelty that multitudes deserted to the humane and kindly Ptolemy. Pushing across the Delta to an island near Memphis, disaster overtook him. His Indian elephants were a hindrance rather than a help. More than 2,000 of his troops were drowned, 1,000 were eaten by crocodiles,[3] and finally, his own soldiers, resolving to have done with so incompetent a leader, broke into his tent and murdered him.[4] His army to a man went over to Ptolemy and saluted him as their chief.

With the death of the Regent a readjustment of the Empire was necessary. This was effected at Triparadeisus in Cœle-Syria (B.C. 321), where by a mutual agreement Ptolemy was left in unquestioned possession of Egypt, Libya, and all other lands "which he might conquer towards the setting-sun."[5] But Antigonus, the ablest of Alexander's generals, next appeared as the disturber of the peace, claiming a preponderating influence in the councils of the Diadochi. Ptolemy accordingly attacked Cyprus with his fleet, and annexed it to Egypt (B.C. 320). He then demanded from Laomedon, to whom the satrapy of Syria had been allotted, the cession of all the Palestinian lands, in his eagerness to secure for Egypt a buffer State against further molestation from the east. Laomedon was captured, but escaped, and his domains passed to the rule of Egypt.

But not without a severe struggle with the Jews. They refused to transfer their allegiance so easily, and defied Ptolemy. Josephus narrates a tale of the latter's treachery which is now believed to be based on fact, though for long it was treated with incredulity, to the effect that Ptolemy

[1] Aristotle, *Œconom.* ii. p. 1352: Pausanias, i. 63. [2] Fully described in Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium*, 1828. [3] Diod., xviii. 36. [4] Photius, *Epitome of Arrian's Events after Alexander*, 28. [5] Photius, *op. cit.*, 34. At this conference Antipater was confirmed in his possession of Greece: Antigonus in his Kingdom of Phrygia: and Seleucus in his lordship of Babylon.

pretended to be the Jews' friend, and expressed a desire to offer sacrifice on the Sabbath day. The Jews admitted him to Jerusalem, in deference to their conviction that their Law forbade recourse to arms on that sacred day. No sooner was Ptolemy inside than "he ruled over the city in a cruel manner."[1] He seems then to have overrun most of Palestine and to have swept away the inhabitants into Egypt, for Josephus relates that he harried the mountainous parts of Judæa, as well as Jerusalem, Samaria, and Mount Gerizim. This Egyptian attack on Canaan is vouched for also by Appian,[2] who refers to the bitter humiliation which Jerusalem experienced at Ptolemy's hands. Nevertheless, the kindness with which the Jews thus expatriated were treated in Egypt by their conqueror, soon turned the Hebrew race into warm friends of the Ptolemaic Dynasty.[3] Following up Alexander's gracious demeanour towards them, Ptolemy gave the Jews in Alexandria special privileges: and not a few other Jews went of their own accord into Egypt, attracted by the goodness of the soil, and by the liberality of Ptolemy.

Antigonus soon showed that he was determined to secure as much as possible of Alexander's dismembered empire. One after another of the generals to whom provinces had been assigned went down before his might. The whole of the East was filled with plots and counterplots. Seleucus, to whom Babylon had been allotted, felt his throne most insecure. Once the ally of Antigonus against Ptolemy, Seleucus now found himself on the point of being driven from his Kingdom. He took a bold course. With fifty horse he fled from Babylon, and threw himself upon the generosity of Ptolemy in Egypt (B.C. 316). Ptolemy proved himself a good friend to his old companion-in-arms. He appointed Seleucus *one of his princes*,[4] and in that capacity the fugitive general commanded the Egyptian fleet in several engagements with Antigonus.[5]

The war between Ptolemy and Antigonus for the possession of Palestine opened in B.C. 315. The former was superior on sea, the latter on land. Gaza and Joppa soon fell to Antigonus, but the siege of Tyre cost him 15 months' hard fighting ere the city was captured. Up and down the Levant, and across the Mediterranean from Cyprus to Cyrene, the tides of war drifted. Now it was the one side, now the other, that was successful. Cyprus was lost to Egypt and regained. Cyrene revolted and the rebellion was sternly put down. At Gaza, early in B.C. 312, the two powers met in deadly combat. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, ranged his forces against Ptolemy and Seleucus, and lost the battle with 8,000 men.[6] Ptolemy re-annexed Palestine, and by his magnanimity and graciousness towards the conquered, inaugurated the long-continued reign of good will that subsisted between the Jews and their Egyptian rulers.[7] He despatched

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 1: *c. Apion*, i. 22. It is significant that modern opinion, long dubious as to Josephus' veracity on this point, is tending now towards acceptance of his statements. But it is not yet settled at what period in Ptolemy's career this capture of Jerusalem took place, whether after the repulse of Perdikkas (so Cless in Pauly, *Real-Encycl.*, art. PTOLEMY, p. 182) or later, after his victory over Demetrius. I think the early date more probable. Josephus quotes Agatharchides of Cnidos as his authority, alleging that the historian ridiculed the Jews for their Sabbatic scrupulosity. [2] Appian, *Syr.* 50. [3] Josephus, *ib.*, on the authority of Hecatæus of Abdera. The high priest Hezekiah is said to have become Ptolemy's warm friend. Hecatæus says that "not a few myriads were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt, because of an insurrection that arose in Syria." [4] Dan. 11.[5] [5] Diodorus, xix. 58. 5: 60. 4: 68. 3. [6] *ibid.*, xix. 80. [7] These fluctuations in the ownership of Palestine are reflected in the coinage of the troubled period. One coin of Tyre has an owl upon it—a Greek symbol, and also a crook and a flail which are Egyptian, being symbols of Osiris (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 351).

Seleucus to recover Babylon, and—little as either of them imagined—to found the famous Seleucid Empire.[1]

Ptolemy's possession of Palestine lasted only one year. On the approach of Demetrius, followed by a night attack, the cautious Lagid dismantled all the fortresses of Canaan which he held—Accho, Joppa, Samaria, Gaza—and retreated behind his lines at Pelusium.[2] Once more was Palestine wrested from Egypt. Antigonus pressed on, and attacked even the Arab tribes of the Sinai desert that he might have a clear path to invade the Delta south of the strong Pelusiac forts. But news reaching him of Seleucus' success in the East, he had to leave his invasion of Egypt unaccomplished. He patched up a peace with his rival, according to the terms of which Palestine was not restored to Egypt, and then he returned home (B.C. 311).[3]

In a year the truce was broken, and Egyptian galleys were once more sweeping the Levant.[4] Corinth and Sicyon were garrisoned with Egyptian troops, only to be expelled shortly afterwards by Demetrius, who also smashed Ptolemy's fleet at Salamis in Cyprus.[5] These successes prepared the way for the final attack. Antigonus and Demetrius made vast preparations for a combined naval and military expedition against Egypt.[6] Gaza was the rendezvous. Under them were 80,000 infantry, 8,000 cavalry, 83 elephants, 150 ships of war, 100 transports, and from the Arabs a great contingent of corn-carrying camels. But once more Egypt proved to the invaders the strength of her natural position. The season was far advanced. Demetrius found it impossible to effect a landing on the stormy coast: some vessels were shipwrecked near Raphia. The Pelusium forts offered the stoutest resistance: the Egyptians heavily bribed the Syrian troops to desert their standards: the mercenaries of Antigonus were steadily bought over. The losses of the invaders by sea and land were tremendous: storm after storm wrecked the fleet: disaster similar to that which overtook Perdikkas was impending. The only course open to Antigonus was to retreat as speedily as possible. Freed from this formidable attack, Ptolemy assumed the title "King of Egypt" with the addition to his name of "Soter," "Saviour."[7]

Ptolemy's timely help sent to the Rhodians (B.C. 304), by which the island was saved from Demetrius, earned for him divine honours paid by the grateful populace, and the erection in his honour of a temple in Rhodes called the Ptolemaion.[8] With B.C. 301 there came comparative peace. The battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, in which Antigonus was killed,[9] finally disposed of Alexander's Empire into four divisions. Upper Asia with Mesopotamia went to Seleucus. *He* (Seleucus) *shall be strong above him*

[1] Diod., xix. 86, 92. The capture of Babylon by Seleucus and his re-seating of himself on his throne, was ever afterwards regarded as the date of the commencement of the Syrian Empire. The Seleucid Era (B.C. 312) was recognized in all the provinces of the East as the starting-point from which other events might be reckoned. For tables of Olympiad, Seleucid, and Varronian years given in equivalents, see Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People in time of Christ*, i. ii. 393 f. [2] Diod., xix. 93. [3] Diod., xix. 105. [4] This naval supremacy over the Levant and Ægean gave Egypt the rôle of "liberator of Greek cities," and bound many of the islands to the Ptolemaic Dynasty by fast ties of friendship. For proofs, see Delamarre, *Revue de Philologie*, xx. (1896) on a letter of thanks to Ptolemy from Nikourgia near Amorgos. [5] Diod., xx. 47: Plutarch, *Demetrius*. [6] Diod., xx. 73. [7] For a discussion regarding the date when the title "Soter" was assumed, see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 62 and 110. The Elephantine Papyri discovered by Rubensohn seem to prove that Ptolemy I reckoned his regnal years from B.C. 324–323 (Rubensohn, *Ægypt. Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen in Berlin*, 1907). A very useful table, giving the name, official title, official surname, popular name or nickname, title in inscriptions, etc., of each of the Ptolemies, and their wives and daughters, is given by Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), p. 140 f. [8] Diod., xx. 100: Plutarch, *Demetrius*: Athenæus, *Deipnos.*, xv. 52. [9] He had already reached the age of 81.

(Ptolemy) *and have dominion : and his dominion shall be a great dominion.*[1] Macedonia and Greece fell to Cassander : Asia Minor passed to Lysimachus : Ptolemy was confirmed in his possession of Egypt. The only countries regarding whose ownership there still remained dubiety were Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Ptolemy claimed the territory, and Seleucus for decency's sake could not snatch it from the man to whom he owed his magnificent wide-stretching empire. He protested against what he regarded as a piece of injustice, but did no more.

During these long years of bitter, internecine strife, Ptolemy remained loyal to the nominally " legitimate " successors of his dead master. Philip Arrhidæus enjoyed a reign of about 6½ years till he was murdered by order of his nephew Alexander II (B.C. 317).[2] Any architectural works which were executed in places such as Hermopolis or Thebes, Ptolemy ascribed to Philip, and it is the royal cartouche of the latter which appears in these restorations. Alexander II, the other " legitimate " King, from his infancy was surrounded with an atmosphere of intrigue, ambition, treachery, and murder. His nominal sovereignty lasted till B.C. 311, when Cassander, eager for the crown of Macedonia, put him and his mother Roxana to death.[3] The boy was only 12 years old. But with the same loyalty to the family of his old master as he had already shown to Philip, Ptolemy allowed the cartouche of the son of the great Alexander to appear in many quarters in Egypt. From Karnak, Beni-Hasan, even from the island of Elephantine, records of the boy-King have been recovered.[4] The loyalty of Ptolemy to the little son of his old King stands out conspicuously in contrast to the unscrupulous selfishness and disregard of honour of which the age affords so many glaring examples.

Sated with long years of wars, Ptolemy devoted the remainder of his life to the embellishment of the great capital founded by Alexander. The city was laid out in the form of an open fan, or like the outspread cloak of a Macedonian soldier. It had a circumference of 15 miles. Its chief feature was the magnificent street, 100 feet wide, and nearly five miles in length, which ran from one end of the city to the other. It was crossed by another broad corso at right angles, and the great square at their junction was regarded as the heart of the metropolis.[5] Excavations conducted in 1867 revealed that in the centre of these two great avenues there is still in existence a pavement of grey granite blocks, 46 feet wide, which served as the carriage way. In addition there were on both sides promenades for foot passengers. It was discovered that in the parallel streets the carriage way pavement was only half the width.[6] For three miles along this splendid street the roadway was adorned with colonnades that served as a foil to show off the magnificence of the city's public buildings.

Alexandria's five quarters—named after the first five letters of the alphabet[7]—vied with each other in their distinctive styles of architecture.[8] In the district named Brucheion[9] on the east, Soter and his successors

[1] Dan. 11.[5] [2] It is quite likely that Philip never set foot in Egypt. [3] Diod., xix. 105. [4] A black granite tablet, discovered in 1870 in a Cairo mosque, is dated the 7th year of Alexander II, and shows in glowing language how the young King worshipped the gods of Egypt (Birch, *P.S.B.A.* (1872) i. 20 : *Zeitsch. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, 1871, p. 1 : Drach in *R.P.*, x. 69 : Wiedemann, *Gesch. Ægyptens*, p. 246 : Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 180–192). [5] Julius Valerius (*De rebus gestis Alexandri*, i. 27) states that the centre of the city was called *Mesonpondio* and changed to *Mesomphalion*. There were similar squares in Antioch, Constantinople, Nicæa, Delphi, etc. [6] Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, p. 341. [7] Philo, *In Flaccum*, 8. [8] For the topography of Alexandria see Kiepert, *Zur Topographie des alten Alexand.* (1872). [9] Under Aurelian this district was turned into a howling wilderness (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16, 15.

grouped the Royal Palace,[1] the Museum, the Library, the Tomb of Alexander, the Mausoleum of the Ptolemies, the Temple of Neptune (the Poseideion[2]), the Timonium, the Emporium, the Apostases (or Magazines), and the docks, extending as far as the Heptastadion or Great Mole. Inland, beside the Poseideion, lay the Theatre joined to the palace nearest it.[3] To the south stood the Gymnasium[4] with its pillared porches, said by Strabo to be the finest building in the city, while the Canopic quarter contained a number of beautiful little temples dedicated to Greek divinities. In the west stood the great Serapeum, and beyond this the vast Necropolis stretched out.[5] Mahmud Bey's excavations, in 1867, very imperfect though they were, have verified the correctness of the description of the city given by Strabo.[6] Strangely enough, when Botti in 1892 dredged the Great Harbour, he brought up some large, inscribed granite blocks, some with cartouches of Rameses II. They may have been imported from Tanis, as building stone was scarce in the region of Alexandria.

The city being built on what was practically virgin soil, it was possible to lay it out with a rectangular regularity which was a novelty in the ancient world.[7] Its private residences, of both the rich and the poor, were neither so closely packed together, nor so lofty and many-storeyed, as those in Rome. Immense subterranean aqueducts introduced a plentiful water supply.[8] The metropolis was so brilliantly lighted at night that, according to the hyperbole of Achilles Tatius, the setting of the sun made scarcely any difference to the inhabitants! A gleaming city of rich palaces and exquisitely adorned temples, with a superb climate, and a perpetual blue sky overhead, the vast white-pillared capital of Egypt, glittering between Lake Mareotis on the one hand and the azure Mediterranean on the other, must have seemed to all a dazzling vision of beauty.[9]

[1] The Royal Palace stood on the Lochias, a promontory to the extreme east of the Great Harbour, now represented mostly by a few half-submerged rocks. A single foundation course of fine masonry let into the rock is all that remains of the home of the Ptolemies. "When the sea is calm and clear, columns, capitals, mouldings and squared blocks may be seen lying pell-mell on the bottom for some distance out below low water mark" (D. G. Hogarth in *Arch. Rep. E.E.F.*, 1894–95, p. 5). [2] The Poseideion in later ages was seemingly used as a tribunal. The *Acts and Eulogy of S. Macrobius* tells how the saint appeared before the governor, as the latter sat at a spot called "Poseidon on the sea-shore." The Poseideion, the Timonium, and the Emporium have probably all disappeared beneath the waves, owing to the subsidence of the land. [3] Cæsar, *Comment.* iii. 112. [4] The Gymnasium, early in the first century, was rifled by the mob (Philo, *De Virt.*, p. 565). [5] The excavation of the Necropolis by Benson in 1895 proved most disappointing. Practically nothing of value was discovered, and signs were everywhere manifest of former systematic rifling and robbing of the tombs (Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–33). The results of the Sieglin Expedition in the Necropolis have been published in a sumptuous monograph, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*, by Th. Schreiber, with the assistance of Bissing and others (1908). Breccia has issued a catalogue of the finds from the Necropolis of Shatbi (*La necropoli di Sciatbi*, 2 v. 1913). The interments here are all of Ptolemaic age and purely Greek in character; no traces of mummification being found. [6] Strabo, xvii. 1. 9. [7] Diodorus (xvii. 52) states that the streets were all at right angles. [8] Pseudo-Callisthenes (i. 31) gives much information relative to their useful, but not so conspicuous, architectural features: they are also referred to by Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.* 5. [9] The fullest details of the topography of ancient Alexandria (later than Kiepert) are given in Nerontzos, *L'Ancienne Alexandrie*, and more amply still, in Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei greci e dei romani*. It is noteworthy that Ptolemy I did not attempt to change the name of the city from Alexandria to Ptolemais. It was only when he founded an entirely new city that he permitted his own name to be associated with it. The city of Ptolemais (now Menshiah) near Thebes owed its erection to him. He made it a πόλις after the model of the Greek cities, and it had a βουλή or Council of Citizens, while Alexandria was kept as a royal city, with no independent civic council. Menelaos, near Alexandria, was another of Ptolemy's foundations: it was named after his brother.

Ptolemy I is rightly credited with the founding of the celebrated *Museum*. By this word, the Greco-Egyptians meant, not an institution where collections of rarity and interest were laid out for scientific instruction, or for amusement, but a place where the fine arts, the sciences, and literature were studied. The Museum of Alexandria speedily became the intellectual centre of the world, displacing Athens to a large extent.[1] In a considerable measure it answered to the idea of a great modern University. Demetrius of Phaleron, expelled from Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus (B.C. 307), was doubtless the philosopher who inspired Ptolemy with the notion of making Alexandria as pre-eminent in letters as it was in the fair way of becoming in political influence and in commerce. From the first, the Museum was a government institution, part of the scheme evolved by Soter to confer lustre on the new capital. At its head was a priest of Serapis (but not an Egyptian) appointed by the King. It had its staff of professors paid by the State. In the great banqueting-hall the professors dined together at the royal expense.[2] Its shaded corridors were thronged with eager students who flocked to Alexandria from all parts of the world to listen to the lectures of the learned dons as they walked to and fro, discoursing on grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and geography.[3] Scholars all over the Greek world were selected with care, and invited to take up residence in Alexandria, at first mainly for private literary and scientific research, and latterly to teach. With this Museum, therefore, we find associated in a commonwealth of glory, the famous names of Euclid, the geometrician, Eratosthenes, the founder of modern chronology, Herophilos, the inaugurator of anatomy,[4] and Hipparchus, the true father of astronomy.[5]

One of the most celebrated treasures of the Museum was the *Library*. Founded by the first Ptolemy, it quickly increased under royal patronage to 490,000 volumes, or if we include duplicates, to upwards of 700,000 volumes.[6] The Library was stocked with the literary treasures of antiquity —the intellectual masterpieces, and compositions of second and third-rate excellence—of Egypt, Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Palestine, Persia, and India. The value of this unrivalled collection was immense. The Library was in two portions, one part being contained within the Museum,[7] the other being housed in the buildings attached to the Serapeum.

The *Serapeum* was a temple which commemorated the fusion of two

[1] For details see Weniger, *Das Alex. Museum* (Berlin, 1875). [2] Strabo, xvii. i. 8. [3] Gibb in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 62, art. ALEXANDRIA. [4] The Egyptian practice of embalming afforded special opportunities for the study of the anatomy of the human form. See Ebers, *Uarda*, for a wonderful sketch of the medical discoveries attained in Egypt in this way; and Pliny, *H.N.*, xix. 27. [5] Hecatæus of Abdera, to whom Josephus so often expresses his indebtedness, was another of these learned men who were in this way attracted to Alexandria (see Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 302). It was he who furnished Diodorus with the fantastic account of Egypt contained in the latter's first Book. [6] By the time of Julius Cæsar it was reckoned to contain 900,000 volumes. For facts regarding the Alexandrian Library see Putnam, *Authors and their public in Ancient Times*, New York, 1896, p. 128 f. [7] In the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar it was the portion that was stored in the Museum that was destroyed by fire. But did the fire ever take place? Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 454) regards the story of the burning of the Library as a fabrication, for neither Cicero nor Strabo mentions it. The conflagration is referred to only by Seneca (*De tranquill. an.* 9). It is said that the loss (if it took place) was largely made good by Mark Antony's gift to Cleopatra of the Royal Library of Pergamum, amounting to no fewer than 200,000 volumes (Plutarch, *Antony* 58). The fullest accounts of the Library are to be found in Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* iii. 380 f.: and Süsemihl, *Gesch. d. Griech. Litter. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2 v. 1892.

distinct deities—Osiris and Apis (Hapi)—into one god, Serapis.[1] Soter was bent on inducing his Egyptian subjects to accept the identification of their Nilotic gods with corresponding Greek divinities. His unification of Pluto (Dis), the god of the lower (Greek) world, with Osiris, the ruler of the Egyptian underworld, was a great stroke of political genius, for it conciliated the fanatical Egyptian priesthood and reconciled them to the rule of the foreign kings.[2] The old Egyptian Serapeum at Memphis, where the Apis Bulls had long been buried, was shorn of its ancient glory: and the new Serapeum at Alexandria celebrated the union of cults which in reality were fundamentally divergent. The Serapeum at Alexandria was the most important religious edifice in the city. "The Temple of Serapis," says Gibbon, "which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mound, raised 100 steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city, and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches and distributed into vaults and subterranean apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded with a quadrangular portico, and the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumphs of the arts."[3] In 1895 it was ascertained that the site of the Serapeum is that now marked by the lofty column misnamed "Pompey's Pillar." The "Pillar" stood in the middle of a great central court, lined on one side with porticoes opening into the shrine of Serapis. On the eastern side there was a doorway into a hall with a cupola, and this again led into a propylæum. It was from this there was the descent of 100 steps of which Gibbon speaks. This was the only access to the building which, like other temples in Egypt, was used as a fortress as well as a sanctuary. Aphthonius, a Greek orator, who visited it about A.D. 315, called it therefore "the Acropolis of Alexandria." Botti has discovered remains of the gilding and the sculptures with which (according to Aphthonius) the great court was adorned, as well as inscriptions dedicated to Serapis, and the basin of a sacred fountain from the central court. But most interesting of all are the long subterranean catacombs, once faced with masonry, and still furnished with niches for lamps, where the mysteries of Serapis were celebrated. At the entrance ancient visitors have scratched their vows on the walls of rock.[4]

[1] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 28: Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv. 84: Athenodorus of Tarsus in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, iii. 487. For a study of Plutarch's work, as that of an Alexandrian cult and belief seen through Greek spectacles, but described by Plutarch as if it were native Egyptian, see P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xxix. 79, and *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (1913) p. 18 f. For the derivation of the name Serapis see Uhlemann, *Philologus Ægyptiacus* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 26: and for the latest discussion on the whole problem of Serapis, see Sethe in *Göttingen Abhandlungen*, xiv. No. 5, *Serapis und die sogenannten κάτοχοι des Sarapis*; and Wilcken, *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung*, vi. 184: Legge, *P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911) 139 and xxxvi. (1914) 79, and J. G. Milne in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, vi. 376 (1913), art. GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION. [2] Ptolemy transferred a statue of Pluto from Sinope on the Black Sea to Alexandria, and set up a temple for it in the Rhacotis quarter. A full description of the worship of Osiris as a sun-god, a moon-god, a god of vegetation, a god of the Nile, as judge and god of the dead, is given by Miss Margaret A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, 1904, p. 25 f. [3] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury) iii. 199. Of course the description refers to an age centuries later than that of Ptolemy I. [4] Sayce, *The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus*, p. xi.: Botti, *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et de Sérapeum*, 1895. Some of the relics of this site go back to the time of Rameses II (Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Theodosienne*, 1897), proving the permanence of religious sites amid the changes of Dynasties. It may here be stated that great disputes have arisen as to the ultimate fate of the Serapeum Library. Confusion has been caused by the fact being overlooked that there were in reality *two* Libraries in Alexandria. One account given by Gibbon (iii. 200 f.) tells us that in A.D. 391 "the archiepiscopal throne at Alexandria was filled by Theophilus, the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue: a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood." He it was who "demolished

It is evident that a University city like this, lying so near to Canaan, must have exerted a profound influence on current thought in Palestine. Even the most hermit and exclusive nation could not evade the subtle pervasiveness of the new spirit of enquiry and criticism that reigned in Alexandria. The discussions on science and art, the disputes on the nature of the soul, the dialogues on the essence of things, the descantings on cosmogony, philosophy, and theology, while producing a profound effect upon the beliefs of mankind at large, inevitably affected also those who lived within a few days' journey from the Nile Valley, and who were in constant touch and daily correspondence with the Delta. It was a period of destructive criticism rather than one of high faith and religious fervour, and while fanatical idolatry flourished amongst the priests of Egypt and amongst the more illiterate of the populace, there is reason to believe that, in the case of many others, Alexandria was the home of religious agnosticism, and of deep cynical contempt for religion. And the prevailing tone of the city began to affect some of the Jews resident on the spot.

Amid the polyglot population of Alexandria, the Jews formed no inconsiderable portion.[1] Their increase was the result of voluntary, sporadic immigration, or of forcible transportation, from Palestine. We have found them already in the army of Psammetichus I, in that monarch's war against Nubia:[2] we saw them coming in a body from the burned Jerusalem, bringing with them the prophet Jeremiah:[3] we have read their correspondence in the Elephantine papyri.[4] During the Persian period there was another migration of Hebrews from Canaan[5] to Egypt, until Jews were to be found all over the land.[6] At the founding of Alexandria, Jewish settlers were among the first to be enrolled as citizens, and they were given equal rights with the Macedonians.[7] The storming of Jerusalem by Ptolemy was followed by the forcible settlement of thousands of Jews in the Delta,[8] where they were so well treated that they soon came to be among the warmest supporters of the Greco-Egyptian *régime*.[9] In

the temple of Serapis, and pillaged or destroyed the valuable Library, so that the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not wholly darkened by religious prejudice." The other story ascribes the destruction of the Library, not to the bigotry of fanatical Christians, but to the ignorance of the Moslems. In A.D. 641 Alexandria was captured by the Arabs under Amrou. The librarian begged the conqueror to spare the Library, and the matter was referred to the decision of the Caliph Omar. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Book of God (the Koran) they are useless, and need not be preserved: if they disagree they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed" was his reply. The famous sentence was executed with blind obedience. "The volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the 4000 baths of the city: and such was their incredible multitude that six months was barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel" (Gibbon, v. 453). For a discussion on the probability of this story, see A. J. Butler in *Times*, 27th June, 1911, and by Isya Joseph in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, xxvii. (1911), p. 335: and for an estimate of the effects of the destruction of the Library on Arabic science and literature, see Cheikho, *El Mashriq*, xiii. 957: xiv. 299, 388.

[1] See Guthe in *E.B.*, art. DISPERSION, p. 1109. [2] See p. 319. [3] See p. 337. [4] See pp. 352, 358. [5] Pseudo-Aristeas, *Epist.* 13. [6] *e.g.* in Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri*, i. § 96, a papyrus speaks of two military settlers at Phebichis, one of whom was a Jew: the document was a "contract of renunciation between Andronicus . . . of the Epigone, and Alexander, son of Andronicus, Jew." This, however, was in B.C. 259, a little later. Of the same year we have a dated papyrus which in describing a certain piece of land states its locality with reference to εἰς Σύρων κώμην (Jouguet, *Papyrus Grecs de Lille*, tom i. fasc. i. p. 18, line 30 (1907). [7] Josephus, *Wars*, ii. 18. 7: *c. Apion*, ii. 4: *Antiq.*, xix. 5. 2. [8] Josephus, *c. Apion* i. 22: *Antiq.*, xii. i. i. [9] Josephus (*c. Apion*, ii. 4) states that Ptolemy I put the fortresses of Egypt into the hands of the Jews, believing that they would hold them faithfully and valiantly for him: and that he also employed Jews to garrison Cyrene and other cities of Libya. This is corroborated by the fact that we frequently hear of a "Jews Camp" in various places in Egypt.

Alexandria they had a special quarter assigned to them " that they might lead a purer life by mingling less with foreigners." [1] This quarter was situated in the north-east portion of the city, not far from the Royal Palace, on the sea shore east of the promontory of Lochias [2] probably with a view to the convenience of their ceremonial ablutions in the Mediterranean.[3] To this day the Jewish burial ground is on the sandy hillocks in the same situation. In later times, two of the five districts of the city were known as Jewish, the predominant population being of Hebrew race.[4] But Jews were also resident in other parts, and indeed their synagogues were to be found over all the town.[5]

While agnostic and materialistic views were gaining ground in Egypt, tendencies of a kindred nature were manifesting themselves in Palestine. In the view of not a few scholars, many of the maxims and sententious warnings against sinful courses contained in the *Book of Proverbs* took origin about this period.[6] Culled from many quarters, collected from the wisdom of past centuries, gathered up from the traditional sayings of Solomon, and subjected to much editing, *Proverbs* reflects the outlook on life of the Jewish community in Palestine during the early period of the rule of the Ptolemies. It was a period when Palestine was entirely subject to Egypt ; and although there are neither Persian nor Greek words in the text of *Proverbs*, the influence of Alexandrian culture is everywhere strong. There is an incidental reference to the commercial nearness of the Delta in the description of the unfaithful wife when she says *I have spread my couch with coverlets, with striped cloths of Egyptian yarn,*[7] and an allusion to the heavy burden of Egyptian taxation in the words *A King by justice gives stability to a land, but he whose exactions are excessive ruins it.*[8]

[1] Josephus, *Wars*, ii. 18. 7. [2] Josephus, *c. Apion*, ii. 4. [3] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 221. [4] Philo, *In Flaccum*, 8. [5] Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, 20. [6] Toy *Proverbs* (Int. Crit. Comm., 1899), p. xxvi., with seeming justice places *Proverbs* in the period between *Job* and *Ben-Sira*. He dates *Job* from about B.C. 350–300, and as *Ben-Sira* is about B.C. 180–176, the compilation of *Proverbs* must be credited to the years intervening. [7] Prov. 7.[16] [8] Prov. 29.[4]

CHAPTER XXX

The Zenith of the Ptolemaic Empire under Ptolemy II Philadelphus

Two years before his death (which took place in B.C. 283) Soter, wearied of his prolonged years of power, at the age of 84 abdicated the supreme rule of Egypt in favour of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247), his son by Berenice, his best-loved wife.[1] His eldest son, Ptolemy Keraunos,[2] of a morose and savage disposition, and a foe to the fusion of Egyptian and Greek culture, fled to Thrace with his mother, Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater. Here he fomented bloody plots in revenge for being deprived of his Nilotic throne. He intrigued against Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, who had married his sister Lysandra, and secured his death. He induced Seleucus to go to war with Lysimachus, and the Thracian King perished in battle at Korupedion (B.C. 281).[3] When Seleucus subsequently declined to fulfil his promise to restore him to the throne of Egypt, he murdered him and proclaimed himself King of Antioch and the East in his stead. He held on to Thrace and Macedonia against Antiochus I, the son of the assassinated Seleucus, and against other rivals. He forced Arsinoë, his half-sister, the widow of Lysimachus, to marry him ; straightway murdered her children, and banished her to Samothrace.[4] He reigned as a furious madman for two years, but finally perished in the wild invasion of Macedonia by the Gauls (B.C. 278).[5]

In spite of his having to wage the " First Syrian War " with his rival Antiochus I Soter, and the " Second Syrian War " against his successor Antiochus II Theos, Philadelphus busied himself in securing his hold on the Kingdom committed to him by his aged father. Some possible rivals he removed by death. His stepbrother Argæus was executed on a trumped-up charge. Egypt, through her navy, controlled all the Ægean with its coast towns and islands. Wealth from tribute poured into Alexandria in a ceaseless stream, and the prestige and power of Ptolemy II were ever steadily in the ascendant.

In B.C. 280, Philadelphus celebrated, on a scale of magnificence hitherto

[1] It would seem from a newly discovered papyrus that not only Ptolemy I, but his third wife Berenice, were deified during their lifetime (Rubensohn, " Neue Inschriften aus Ægypten " in *Archiv. f. Papyrusforschung*, v. 156). [2] The " Thunderbolt " : his claims to the throne were urged by Demetrius of Phaleron, on the ground of primogeniture. In consequence, the head of the Museum was banished to Upper Egypt (Cicero, *Pro Rab. Post.* 9, 23). [3] Memnon viii. in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, iii. 532 : Justin, xvii. 2. [4] An interesting relic of the residence on this island of the unhappy princess is afforded by the *Arsinoëum*, a circular building dedicated to the "Great Gods "—the Kabeiri. Deville, who explored the ruins on the island in 1866, identified the Arsinoë, after whom the building is named, with this outraged lady (*Archives des Missions*, 1867). [5] Justin, xxiv. 3, 4.

undreamed of, the foundation of a Five-Years-Feast,[1] inaugurated in honour of his deceased and now deified father. Athenæus[2] has given us an imposing account of the festivities. He speaks of the 80,000 splendidly uniformed troops, the procession of wild animals—24 huge lions, 26 snow-white Indian oxen, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes, Polar bears, a camelopard, a rhinoceros, 24 chariots drawn by elephants, 14 by antelopes, 60 by goats, 8 by wild asses. Droves of camels went past laden with Arabian spices; Nubians bore 600 ivory tusks, and 2,000 staves of ebony, with countless gold and silver vessels containing gold dust. Shrubs in which were perched the most gorgeously plumaged birds were carried by 150 men: while 2,400 dogs of foreign breeds showed the variety of canine species from India to Greece. Mythological and allegorical tableaux passed in bewildering profusion, and the feast that ensued was held in a specially built banqueting hall decorated with lavish magnificence by pictures, hangings, and statuary executed by the first artists of the age. The cost of the whole pageant was over half-a-million pounds sterling, and its splendour was an advertisement to the world that on the throne of Egypt there sat the wealthiest and most magnificent of Kings.

The riches of Philadelphus so lavishly displayed were derived from many sources. Besides the taxes from the numerous provinces of the Empire (including Canaan), and the careful ingathering of revenue from the Egyptian fellahin, he worked the gold mines of Nubia where "Berenice the Golden,"[3] as Pliny[4] calls the spot, reminds us of the treasures hid in the sands of the desert. He established commerce with India *via* the Red Sea:[5] built roads from Berenice[6] (Suakim) on the Red Sea to Koptos on the Nile:[7] re-opened the silted-up canal of Pharaoh-Necho uniting the Mediterranean with the Heroöpolitan Gulf: despatched caravans of merchants to Palestine, Arabia, Ethiopia, and even to Mesopotamia, where there seems to have been an Egyptian garrison,[8] and conducted an enormous trade in corn with the Ægean Islands, Greece, Asia Minor, the Black Sea, and even with Italy. We are specially interested in reference to the trade with Palestine. The newly discovered Zeno papyri give us a long "bill of lading" for the dispatch of a cargo of flour from Palestine to Egypt, a trade which we know, from other sources, was very flourishing at this era. They show how this Carian Greek Zeno, a subordinate official of Philadelphus, travelled several times through Palestine, did business with one Tobias an Ammonite, stayed at a castle "Birta" in Ammon, and bought a slave girl for 20 drachmæ. Tobias, evidently a man of means, made a present to Philadelphus of a number of selected animals, especially some freaks obtained by cross-breeding. This would interest the King, whose zeal for natural history was well known. "Syrian cloths" are mentioned several times in papyri of the period. Thus we have a declaration on oath made by the captain of a government transport which had been shipwrecked: "I sailed down as far as the channel by the harbour of Aphroditopolis, but a wind having arisen, and the Syrian cloths being above the cabin, it came

[1] πεντετηρίς. [2] Athenæus, *Deipnosoph.* v. 196 f., who is indebted to Callixenes for his information. The scene is described and criticized by Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 201 f. It is usually maintained that this pageant took place at Philadelphus' coronation, but the discovery of an inscription at Nikourgia has shown that this is erroneous. [3] The town was named after his mother. [4] Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 34. [5] Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 17, 21. [6] See Floyer, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1887, p. 665. [7] Strabo, xvii. i. 42. [8] Epping and Strassmeier, *Zeitsch. f. Assyri.* vii. 200.

about that the right side of the ship listed, and the ship thereby sank." [1] It must have been a heavy deck load of the products of Palestinian looms. Similarly, another papyrus says "Any Syrian cloths that may be deposited with you, accept if satisfactory, and buy at the prices written below" (in a letter to a police-official).[2] Again, the *Petrie Revenue Papyrus* tells us of special regulations prohibiting the importation of Syrian oil by way of Pelusium beyond what was requisite for three days' use.[3] This shows how extensive the trade with Canaan must have been, if the Delta was in danger of being "flooded" with Palestinian oil.[4] With all these sources of revenue, and with an extraordinarily elaborate bureaucracy in charge of the ingathering of taxes and customs, it is not surprising that Philadelphus became the richest monarch in the world.[5] His wealth (according to Appian [6]) reached the fabulous sum of 740,000 talents. If he meant gold talents, this would imply £4,440,000,000: if silver, £296,000,000. Jerome puts his yearly income at £5,920,000.[7] Even allowing for Oriental exaggeration, the riches of the second Ptolemy must have been enormous.[8]

His character seems to have been a strange mixture of effeminacy and vigour, of sly diplomacy and statesmanlike policy, of great self-indulgence and luxury combined with devotion to what was noble and praiseworthy. He could execute a brother with calmness lest the unhappy youth should make an attempt on his throne: he could drown 4,000 Gaulish mercenaries on an island in the Nile, leaving them to perish by the rising of the waters: but he could also impart efficiency and justice to the domestic government of Egypt, and act with consistent prudence to make it the most powerful of monarchies.

His building operations were continued on an extensive scale. The Pithom Stele discovered in 1884 by Naville [9] tells how the King three times visited Heroöpolis (Pithom) to found a temple and to settle the endowments of the priests. At Sebennytus are the remains of one of the most sumptuous temples in Egypt, built by Philadelphus to the worship of Isis of Hebt, and constructed of granite brought from Assuan, 700 miles up the Nile. At Naukratis the Helleneion testified to the fact that while the Macedonian King did his utmost elsewhere to propitiate the native Egyptian priesthood, he still paid homage to the gods of his ancestral Greece.[10] The same thing is observable at Tanis, where Petrie found a shrine or chapel of Philadelphus and Arsinoë II, with a stele of limestone representing the King and Queen in long Greek dresses adoring the Zoan triad of Egyptian deities.[11] At Philæ the large temple of Isis and of her son Harpocrates still shows an inscription giving 14 different titles to the deified royal founder of the shrine.[12]

Most of his architectural work is associated with his sister Arsinoë, who was also his second wife. His first wife, also called Arsinoë,[13] was

[1] Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri*, i. § 38 (1906). [2] *Ibid.*, i. § 51. [3] Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 146. [4] Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1919, p. 186. [5] So Theocritus, *Encomium*, xiv. 60: Herondas, i. 30. [6] Appian, *Proem.* 10. [7] 14,800 silver talents, Jerome, *ad Dan.* xi. [8] Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. (1909) 239) puts his annual income at 14,800 Egyptian silver talents, which he reckons at £2,850,000, besides 1½ million *artabæ* = 501,000 hectolitres of wheat: see also Prof. Smyly, "The Revenue Years of Philadelphus, etc." in *Hermathena*, xiv. No. xxxii. (1906) p. 106 f. [9] Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*. [10] Petrie, *Naukratis*, i. 26. [11] Petrie, *Tanis*, i. 21. [12] Mahaffy (*Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 151) believes that Diodorus is quite mistaken in saying that Philadelphus explored Nubia (i. 37). The most that the pleasure-loving and wealthy sovereign did may have been to ascend the Nile in a state dahabiyeh as far as Philæ. [13] She was the daughter of Lysimachus of Thrace, who had married the second Arsinoë.

accused of a plot against her husband's life, and was banished to Coptos. His twice-widowed sister, who had returned from her refuge in Samothrace, in accordance with ancient Egyptian practice, but to the abhorrence of Greek sentiment, married her brother,[1] and henceforth the coinage of Egypt bears the double effigies of Philadelphus[2] and Arsinoë.[3] The new queen must have been a woman of most remarkable strength of character and of gifts. Her husband-brother founded and named in her honour no fewer than 18 cities. She herself built shrines and temples over all the Levant, and the Arsinoëum and the Ptolemæum[4] on Samothrace, excavated by the Austrian Government in 1873–75, testify to her gratitude to the Kabeiri who, as she believed, had been instrumental in lifting her out of the misery of her early career into the proud position of being the wealthiest queen in the world. She and her consort carried out considerable engineering works in the Fayum; the land reclaimed for cultivation and renamed the "Arsinoite Nome,"[5] brought her in an enormous revenue. After her death she was deified.[6]

In Alexandria the originality of Philadelphus' handiwork has rendered his name immortal, for his was the brain that conceived the idea of erecting the famous *Lighthouse*. His father had joined the little island of Pharos[7] to the mainland by a wide mole (the Heptastadion), in length about three-quarters of a mile, which was pierced by two bridged channels uniting the eastern and the western harbours. On what had been the islet, Philadelphus built an illuminated beacon which came to be reckoned one of the "Seven Wonders of the World." It is said that, wishing to surpass any of his predecessors on the throne of the Pharaohs, Ptolemy built his Lighthouse higher than the Great Pyramid, till it attained the height of 400 cubits.[8] Certainly it was justly regarded as a triumph of engineering skill.[9] It was erected in storeys of decreasing dimensions. The ground floor, and the two above it, were square: the fourth was an octagon with a round tower at each angle: the fifth, which was circular, had a winding staircase which led to the top of the building.[10] Arabic historians aver

[1] On these strange (and to the Greek mind revolting) adelphic marriages, which by the Egyptians were considered the purest and most excellent of all unions, see Maspero, *Annuaire de l'école des hautes études*, 1896, p. 19. [2] Hence the name Philadelphus = 'loving her brother," which was subsequently transferred to Ptolemy himself. [3] In 1904, Geo. W. Fraser discovered a stele at Kom el-Ahmar, 5 miles S. of Minia, which was erected in B.C. 277 by a garrison of Greek soldiers stationed there, in honour of the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II (Sayce in *P.S.B.A.*, xxvi. (1904) p. 90). [4] See Prof. Conze, *Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*. [5] Ἀρσινόης χῶμα. The early name of Crocodilopolis given to the chief city in this Nome was later changed to Arsinoë (Mahaffy, *Hist. of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 89). It is in this region that the vast majority of the modern finds of papyri have been made, which have cast such a flood of new light on Egyptian life, and on early Christian customs. For a discussion of what may be called the "Lake Mœris problem," see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 172 f. Grenfell and Hunt (*Fayum Towns and their Papyri*) give a full account of the ancient geography of the region. For an exhaustive survey of Arsinoë, tabulating its buildings, streets, inhabitants, commerce, etc., as revealed in papyri recently discovered, see Wessely, "*Die Stadt Arsinoë* (*Krokodilopolis*) *in griechischen Zeit* in *Sitzb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, phil.-hist. Class. cxlv. Pt. 4 (1902), and *Topographie des Faijum in Griechischer Zeit* in *Denkschrift. d. k. Akad. in Wien*, bd. i. 1904. [6] In 1885, Naville discovered at Saft-el-Henneh a stele erected by Philadelphus after he had instituted the worship of his sister-wife Arsinoë (Naville, *Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh*, 1888, p. 13). [7] Since then, the island has mostly sunk beneath the waves as have also the island of Antirrhodus and the old coast strip round the east of the Great Harbour (Hogarth in *E.E.F.A.R.*, 1895, p. 3). [8] About 583 feet, or nearly 200 feet higher than the cross on the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is doubtful how much reliance can be placed on these figures. [9] Julius Cæsar, usually so sparing of enthusiastic praise, speaks of it in the most laudatory terms—"Pharus est in insula turris magna altitudine mirificis operibus exstructa quæ nomen ab insula accepit" (*De Bello Civile*). [10] A highly imaginative reproduction of the supposed appearance of the Pharos on these lines will be found in Ebers, *Ægypten in Bild und Wort*, 1879, p. 1.

that in the upper galleries telescopic mirrors of metal were so arranged that vessels a prodigious distance out at sea could be plainly descried.[1] On the top a fire was kept constantly burning which gave light to sailors at a distance of 300 furlongs[2] from the flat shore-line, and enabled them to anchor at sea in the night time until the morning light availed to guide them by the intricate channel into the safe and capacious Inner Harbour.[3] The whole of this masterpiece of architecture was exquisitely wrought in white marble, and adorned with columns, balustrades, and other ornaments, while a surrounding sea wall protected it from the violence of storms. The structure is said to have cost 800 talents.[4]

The architect, Sostratus, who had had all the toil, determined to reap the glory also, and to perpetuate his name at the expense of his royal patron. On the solid marble he carved the words :—*Sostratus of Cnidus the son of Dexiphanes, to the Saviour Gods,*[5] *for those who travel by sea,* in letters of lead sunk into the stone. Over this he placed a coating of stucco,[6] and on it had the same inscription imprinted, except that Ptolemy's name was substituted for his own. In process of time the stucco fell away, and only the name of the architect survived.

Of this magnificent Lighthouse not a vestige remains to-day.[7] It was destroyed by an earthquake on 8th August, 1303, but remains of the tower are said to have been visible as late as A.D. 1350. Though the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria is still lighted by a beacon on the very site of the ancient Pharos, the modern structure is of very moderate dimensions. Yet Ptolemy's scheme bore magnificent fruit. He was the first to inaugurate this plan for saving the lives of sailors, and the whole world has copied his example. The Romans caught up the idea later, and built lighthouses at Ostia, Ravenna, Puteoli, Forum Julii (Fréjus) and other ports.[8] Caligula erected one at Boulogne.[9] Trajan restored another at Coruña. Every lighthouse throughout the globe which preserves the lives of voyagers to-day can be traced to the erection of the first Pharos by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Philadelphus showed his devotion to the Library founded by his father by joining it to the Museum with marble colonnades, and by re-organizing the staff of professors. He invited to his court the *literati* and the *savants* of the world, and maintained them there with royal grants. Zenodotus of Ephesus, his ex-tutor, was Principal Librarian, and was assisted by Alexander of Aetolia, who catalogued the tragedies, and by Lycophron,[10] who classified the comedies. Callimachus, his successor in the post, labelled the vast collection of papyri under his charge, and has thus placed the world in his debt.[11] The literary efforts of this Alexandrian College

[1] One Arab historian actually states that by means of these mirrors the Alexandrians could burn the ships of their enemies by focussing on them the concentrated rays of the sun ! [2] About 33 miles. [3] Josephus, *Wars,* iv. 10. 5 ; Suetonius, *Caligula,* 46. [4] If calculated in Attic talents this would mean about £169,000 : if in Alexandrian talents, about £338,000. [5] The " Saviour Gods " were not the Dioscuri, but the deified Ptolemy Soter and his wife. [6] Such at least is Lucian's story. Pliny and Strabo, however, state that Ptolemy graciously permitted Sostratus to have his own name inscribed, and in this view they are upheld by Lumbroso (*Egitto,* p. 118) and by Mahaffy (*Hist. of the Ptolemaic Dynasty,* p. 101). [7] El Makrizi, the Arab historian, relates that part of the Pharos was thrown down by an earthquake in A.H. 177 = A.D. 793, and that thereafter it was surmounted with a dome of wood. [8] See Lenthéric, *The Riviera, Ancient and Modern,* p. 293 for details. [9] Suetonius, *Caligula* 46. [10] Lycophron composed the *Alexandra,* in about 1400 iambic verses dealing with Homeric times. [11] Callimachus is said to have been the author of 800 books on various subjects, but only 6 hymns and 64 epigrams survive. Of these, a hymn (*To Zeus* 8) preserves the original of the saying usually attributed to Epimenides (περὶ χρησμῶν) which Paul quotes in Tit. 1[12] : *One of themselves, a prophet of their own, said, " Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons "* (κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηριά, γαστέρες ἀργαί).

are by no means of the first rank, yet their notes and criticisms, their idylls and anthologies, their panegyrics and poems, all contribute to let us see the brilliance and glitter, if not the solid worth, of this coterie of elegant *dilettanti*. To this circle of scholars belonged Apollonius Rhodius, who wrote a grammar, and gave to the world his famous epic, the *Argonautica*: Aratus, the author of the *Diosemeia* and of the *Phænomena*, from the latter of which Paul quoted on Mars' Hill *For we also are His offspring*;[1] and Theocritus, whose inimitable and ever fresh *Idylls* have influenced almost every poet from Virgil to Tennyson. Philadelphus further commissioned Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus, to extract from native documents a history of Egypt. The *Ægyptiaka* was composed in Greek, and must have been exhaustively done. Unfortunately only the famous "King-List" survives, and that in the exceedingly mutilated and imperfect copies of Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the Syncellus.[2] Nevertheless, his division of Egyptian history into Dynasties, and his general outline of events, have been of incalculable service to Egyptology. These philosophers had their summer retreat on the island of Cos, the birthplace of Philadelphus,[3] and this Ægean islet became noted as a rival on a small scale to the splendour of the Museum at Alexandria. Its medical school, traditionally founded by Æsculapius, was long famous.[4]

Basking thus in the royal sunshine of the wealthiest and most splendid Court on earth, and with a golden stream pouring into it from every quarter of the world, Alexandria grew to be an enormous and magnificent city, with a population of between 800,000 and 1,000,000.[5] Citizens were drawn to it by trade, by the glamour of its fame and beauty, by its amusements and the gaiety of its civic life, and by its unrivalled facilities for study. There was therefore "a strange mixture of elements among the people, combining the quickness and versatility of the Greek, with the gravity, the conservatism, the dream-grandeur, and the luxury of the Eastern.[6] Three worlds met in Alexandria—Europe, Asia, and Africa—and brought to it, or fetched from it, their treasures."[7]

The reciprocal influence of Egypt on Canaan and of Canaan upon Egypt now entered on a new phase. While on the one hand the Jews were no longer assailed by the hostile arms of the Egyptians, as was the case under the first Ptolemy, none the less was the Hebrew commonwealth in Palestine exposed to dangers even more alarming. Judæa was in jeopardy of becoming thoroughly Hellenized through Philadelphus' eagerness to

[1] Acts 17[28], *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*. [2] See p. 16. [3] Theocritus, xvii. 58. [4] See Ross, *Reisen nach Kos* and *Reisen auf den Griechisch. Inseln*, ii. 86–92: iii. 126–139: Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*. [5] This was at the period of its greatest prosperity, perhaps not during Philadelphus' reign. Beloch (*Archiv* ii.) after careful study of the Tebtunis Papyri, arrived at the conclusion that the total population of Egypt was about 10 millions. [6] Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, i. 298) speaking of King Asoka's ardent attempt to propagate Buddhism in all the earth, says "In the Greek cities of the West, as far as Epirus and Cyrene, one might have had glimpses of dark men, with the monkish tonsure and the long yellow robe, who were come to roll onward even here the Wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness. Perhaps the Kings themselves—the wine-sodden Antiochus II, the literary and scientific dilettante Ptolemy Philadelphus, the grave Stoic Antigonus —were summoned by the envoys of Asoka to walk in the Eightfold Path." It is interesting to note that a rock tablet at Girnar in Gujerat, containing the edicts of Asoka, who was a grandson of Chandragupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greeks), has the following remarkable words: "And the Greek King (Yoni-Raja) besides, by whom the Chapta (Egyptian) Kings Ptolemaios and Gonkakenos (Antigonus Gonates) have been induced to allow that both here and in foreign countries everywhere the people may follow the doctrine of the religion of Devanipya wheresoever it reacheth" (Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, ii. 20: quoted in Scott Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, 1913). [7] Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 59.

develop his Canaanite territory. Palestine being now an integral part of the Egyptian dominions, Ptolemy II set himself to build cities, to erect temples, and to introduce Græco-Egyptian culture throughout the length and breadth of the land. The Jewish high priest was left undisturbed in his religious and political supremacy, and his council of elders ruled their several districts without interference from Alexandria, so long as the taxes were regularly paid, and supplies sent in for the support of the Egyptian garrisons scattered in the various forts along the frontier. But many of the towns in the Shephelah were practically heathen. Ashkelon and Ashdod witnessed the pagan rites of Hathor and Isis. The streets of Gaza and of Joppa rang to the tread of Egyptian troops. The ancient Accho [1] on the bay of Acre was rebuilt, and renamed Ptolemais,[2] to be associated in New Testament times with St. Paul's long voyage.[3] Samaria and Bethshan (Scythopolis) in the heart of the land, were predominantly Greek in their population. Rabbath-Ammon, the famous city of the Ammonites across the Jordan, was restored under the name of Philadelphia [4] in honour of the King. Later on, it enjoyed the preaching of Jesus [5] as one of the ten heathen cities of the Decapolis.[6] The towns of Philoteria, named after his unmarried sister; Philadelphia, built near the Lake of Galilee: [7] an Arsinoë near Damascus, and another further south, testify to the passion for architecture entertained by the most brilliant of the Ptolemies.

This Egyptianizing of Palestine is testified to also by the coinage. Joppa had been made one of the mints of the tetradrachms of Alexander's types, and both Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III also struck money there, distinguished by the letters IO Π, with a symbol often of the harp of Perseus.[8] Ashkelon, the ancient seaport, was another place of mintage of gold staters and tetradrachms of Alexander.[9] Regal coins of Gaza were struck there with he frequent monogram $\overline{\Gamma A}$ under the second and third Ptolemies.[10] The earliest coins of Damascus are Alexandrian tetradrachms the forepart of a ram, about B.C. 300.[11] At Gezer, Macalister also dug up Ptolemaic coins, thus attesting the continued dominance of Egypt over the Palestinian Shephelah.[12] It is likely that it is to this period that we must also assign the Egyptian obelisk, part of which Schick found at Cæsarea in 1889. If so, it must have been erected in what was then known as the town of Straton's Tower.[13] Lees also was shown at Cæsarea a piece of lead cut from a larger piece with a sphinx on it in high relief.[14] At Gaza, Clermont-Ganneau saw a small figurine of massive gold in Egyptian style, representing a deified king on a throne with the Egyptian helmet on his head. He was shown, further, a small lion of massive gold in the Egyptian style, with a ring in the back for hanging up, and a legend "Ammon-Ra, the Enneadian," *i.e.*, "the chief of the group of the nine gods," a title which was frequent in the Ptolemaic period.[15] It is possible, also, that to this same period

[1] Judg. 1.[31] [2] Droysen, *Hellenismus*, iii. 2. 305. [3] Acts 21.[7] [4] Jerome *in Ezek.* 25. The surrounding district was named "Philadelphina" or "Arabia Philadelphensis" (Ritter, *Die Erkunde*, xv. Pt. ii. p. 1154 f.). [5] Matt. 4.[25] Mk. 5.[20] 7.[31] [6] Pliny, *H.N.*, v. 16, 18. Gadara and Hippos had similarly a large Græco-Egyptian population. [7] Polybius, v. 70. 3. [8] Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 803. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 804. [10] Svoronos, *Τα Νομίσματα του Κρατους των Πτολεμαιων* (1904–08) ii. pp. 123 f., 165: Dowling, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1912, p. 98. [11] Head, *op. cit.*, p. 784. [12] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 124. [13] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, pp. 2, 22. [14] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, p. 138. [15] Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res. in Palest.*, ii. 431. For the coins of the Ptolemaic period see Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, iv. 4–25 (Vienna, 1794): R. S. Poole, *The Ptolemies* (Brit. Mus. Catal.), 1883: Svoronos, *op. cit.*, 4 v. Athens: Head, *op. cit.*, 1911, pp. 846 f. For the peculiarities of the coinage of Ptolemais, see Dowling, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, p. 158: Head, *op. cit.*, p. 793: Six in *Numism. Chronicle*, 1877, p. 221. For the coinage of Alexander, see Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre le grand*, 1855, Copenhagen.

we must relegate a Phœnician inscription, said to come from Jaffa, in which we find Egyptian traces. The inscription claims to be by one "Ben Abdas, a servant of Eshmun," who as a sinner beseeches mercy from Baal. Conder[1] points out that "Abdas," the "servant of As" (עבדאס) seems to suggest some connection with one of the Egyptian gods adored in Phœnicia at this time, such as Osiris (אסר) and Horus (חר). The claim also of Abdas that he is "a son of a worshipper of Abset" seems to link him with the Egyptian Bast. "As" therefore may be either Osiris or Isis (Uasi).

Not far off, along the coast at Arsûf—in which we recognize a reminiscence of the ancient Canaanite god Resheph[2]—a colossal hawk was dug up with a medallion, upon which was inscribed a Greek monogram, suspended from its neck.[3] The hawk was the symbol of Horus, who in the Egyptian pantheon corresponded to the Greek Apollo, as Apollo did to the Phœnician Resheph. Still another instance of Græco-Egyptian life has been discovered at Mejdel, two miles from Ashkelon.[4] A white marble stone built into a wall shows in its first panel a rude hunter with a head-dress characteristically Egyptian. The second panel is occupied with a huge human-headed lion, or sphinx, with Egyptian headdress. It is transfixed by a spear which has been thrown by a figure in the third panel, who also has an Egyptian headdress, and who is a typical dweller on the Nile. The whole sculpture is Græco-Egyptian, showing a departure from the normally recumbent Egyptian sphinxes, and introducing elements of Hellenic realism.

Further north at Umm el-Awâmid, among ruins which were partially excavated by Renan,[5] there has been discovered a remarkable Phœnician stele. The monument, now in the Copenhagen Museum, bears the evident stamp of Græco-Egyptian art. It gives a very striking portrait of a man of the Ptolemaic period, who occupied some high post in Phœnicia while obeying the rule of his Egyptian overlord.[6] Similarly, in the Wady Ashur, near Kana, there is a *cella*, or niche, cut square in the rock, below a great cavern, and the tablet which forms the end of the niche is entirely occupied by a sculpture of Egyptian appearance. The headdress of the principal personage sitting is perfectly Egyptian, and very like the *pschent*; it has also a winged globe.[7] Once more, at Deir Kanum, a sculpture seen by Guérin has a figure whose hand holds a curved stick, and whose head is surmounted by the royal Egyptian *pschent*.[8] Other relics, obtained from Sidon, exhibit similar Egyptian connections. They include a fragment of terra-cotta showing the god Bes,[9] a seal in the form of a scarabæus, with a figure of Bes,[10] and an inscription testifying to the adoration of Isis and Bast.[11]

It is probably also to this era that we must assign most of the splendid stone sarcophagi recently discovered at Sidon. In 1855, in the Necropolis situated in the calcareous mountain chain to the east, a magnificent

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, p. 171. [2] For this god see p. 199. "Arsuf" and "Resheph" are letter for letter the same word. [3] Clermont-Ganneau, *Rapports sur une mission en Palestine et en Phénicie enterprise en* 1881, Pl. ii. H.; cf. p. 134, No. 121 A and B. [4] Discovered and described by Hanauer, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1897, p. 33. [5] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 1864. Some of the fine plates in this work show Græco-Egyptian gateways, sphinxes, etc., which were excavated. For texts see *C.I.S.*, i. (1881) i. 7. [6] Clermont-Ganneau in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, v. Pt. 1–5 (1902). [7] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 640. [8] *Survey of West. Palestine*, i. 115. [9] Clermont-Ganneau, *Journ. Asiat.* (1892) i. 119: [10] Von Landau, *Mitt. d. vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1905, p. 12. [11] F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon, a study in Oriental History* (New York, 1907), p. 130.

sarcophagus of black amphibolite, bearing an inscription of 990 words, was brought to light.[1] The Phœnician characters, when deciphered, revealed the fact that the tomb was that of a certain Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, who detailed the deeds of his life, and conjured the impious to leave him to his rest in the grave. Unfortunately there was no clue in the inscription as to the date when Eshmunazar lived. It was long held[2] that the sarcophagus belonged to the latter part of the 5th, or the beginning of the 4th century B.C.,[3] but later study of the text has induced experts to assign it to the Ptolemaic period.[4] Eshmunazar seemingly was not an independent monarch, but a tributary of Egypt. The sarcophagus has Egyptian figures on the lid.

Following on this discovery, Renan[5] in 1860–61 further explored the same Necropolis, and unearthed many other exquisite sarcophagi. He found that their structure, and that of the cemetery itself, bore the stamp of Egypt. It was a reproduction on Phœnician soil of the typical Egyptian catacombs of the dead. In 1887, Hamdy Bey excavated yet more wonderful and beautiful monuments of a funeral character.[6] At the foot of a shaft 50 feet deep he discovered a series of chambers, nearly all of which were occupied with sarcophagi of the most perfect workmanship and of surpassing magnificence of technique. Nothing like them had ever before been seen in all Greek art for splendour of design and skill in execution. While some of the sarcophagi follow the purest canons of Hellenic sculpture, others are strongly Egyptian. One of Tabnith, the father of Eshmunazar, is anthropoid in shape, and bears on it an inscription in hieroglyphics showing that originally it was the coffin of an Egyptian general Penptah[7] which had been appropriated for another occupant.[8] The mummy of Tabnith was inside. Another of the finest finish, a masterpiece of loveliness, and adorned with exquisite carvings illustrating probably the battle of the Granicus, has been supposed to be actually the tomb of Alexander, but it is much more likely that it is the resting-place of one of his aged generals.[9] Vases of Egyptian alabaster, statuettes of the Egyptian god Bes, Egyptian amulets, Egyptian trinkets shaped like an eye found in the tombs, as well as the whole plan of the subterranean chambers, irresistibly remind us of the strong Nilotic influences that were at work in Palestine at this time. The dwellers in Canaan sought to reproduce Egyptian customs by disposing of their dead in orthodox Egyptian fashion, excavating underground halls, chiselling beautiful stone sarcophagi shaped after the human form, and attempting, though with imperfect success, to mummify the bodies of their friends.

[1] See Meier, *Die Grabschrift des Sidonischen Königs- Eschmun-ezer* (1866), p. 2: Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars* (1868), *C.I.S.*, i. (1881) pp. 9–26: *J.A.O.S.*, v. 228: Reinach, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon* (Paris) 1892. [2] *e.g.*, by Taylor, *Hist. of the Alphabet*, i. 224. [3] Père Lagrange and Berger placed the Eshmunazar Dynasty in the Persian period before Alexander: so also Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 794. [4] So Conder in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1890, p. 38: Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 38: Clermont-Ganneau (*Rec. Archéol. Orient.* v. § 41): the Temple of Eshmun, built near Sidon by Bodashtart, grandson of Eshmunazar, and King of Sidon, was explored by Macridy Bey (*Revue Biblique*, xi. Pt. 4, and in *Rev. Bibl.*, xii. Pt. i). The latter discusses the influence of Egyptian art on the pottery he had dug up on the temple site. [5] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 1864, with finely executed plates. [6] See *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, pp. 69, 201: 1888, pp. 5, 9 (Hamdy Bey): *ibid.*, 1894, p. 120 (Curtis), where photographs of some of the sarcophagi are shown. [7] Babelon, *Manual of Oriental Antiquities*, p. 258. [8] Full details of the inscription in Cooke, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Perhaps, as Berger (*Rev. Archéol.* ii. (1887) 5) suggests it was stolen from Egypt by Ochus. [9] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 618. Canon Curtis (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1894, p. 121) asserts that it is now "agreed" by Egyptologists that it is in reality the tomb of Nectanebus I (B.C. 378–361). I am afraid that the "agreement" is not very marked!

The sarcophagi, some of which were of enormous size, were of the purest white marble and of dazzling brilliancy ;[1] they have now all been removed to the Museum in Constantinople.

But next to the Sidon necropolis in magnificence must be placed the wonderful series of painted rock tombs discovered by Peters and Thiersch in 1902[2] at Marissa, the ancient Mareshah,[3] now known as Tell Sandahannah. A small hole in the face of the rocky hillside leads down into chamber after chamber, highly decorated with frescoes, sometimes painted on the native rock, sometimes on plaster laid on the walls. Over 30 inscriptions in Greek give information as to the occupants of the various *kôkim*. They have revealed the name of the town in the immediate neighbourhood to have been Mariseh (Μαρισῃ) : they show that a Sidonian colony must have been settled in Marissa while the Ptolemies enjoyed full sway in Palestine, and while Sidon itself must have been subject to Egypt. One of the tombs is that of Apollophanes who was for 33 years chief of this Sidonian colony. There are many names of the Ptolemaic period, while a large frieze round the walls of the main chamber represents in colours, as fresh to-day as when first painted, well-known Egyptian animals such as the elephant, the crocodile, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the giraffe, the leopard, the lynx, the panther, the boar, the porcupine, the ibex, the ibis, the wild-ass, and various fishes, besides fabulous Græco-Egyptian conceptions, such as the griffin, the man-headed lion, the chthonic cock, and the Cerberus. Above each animal is written its name. A further evidence of Egyptian influence is a statue, cut out of the rock, having a Hermes-like lower part, on which is a head with Egyptian headdress and crown.[4] These remarkable subterranean cemeteries, hollowed out after Egyptian models, and decorated with distinctively Nilotic ornamentation, are among the most striking proofs of the predominance of Deltaic culture in Canaan during the early Ptolemaic period.[5] The tombs range in dates from about the second half of the third century B.C. till possibly B.C. 198, when Palestine passed into the hands of the Seleucids of Antioch.[6]

Though their date is still uncertain, it is possible that to this same era we must also assign the Necropolis of Siloam with its network of tombs hollowed out in the face of the hill after the fashion of an Egyptian cemetery.[7] Whatever the era of their construction may be, they are in any case of extreme antiquity, and they show distinct traces of Egyptian conceptions in their architecture. Further, the monument known to visitors to Jerusalem as " The Tomb of Pharaoh's Wife," is a remarkable little *naos*, entirely hewn out of the solid rock in the typical Egyptian style. It has a

[1] The " Alexander " tomb measures 11 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 12 feet high. It weighs 13,000 kilos : the lid nearly 5,000 kilos. For full particulars, see Hamdy Bey and Reinach's monograph, *Une Nécropole royale à Sidon*. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1902, p. 393. The whole of the discoveries have been published in a sumptuous volume by Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, 1905. [3] Jos. 15.[44] 1 Chr. 2.[42] 2 Chr. 11.[8] 14.[9 10] 20.[37] Mic. 1.[15] [4] H. H. Brindley (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1919, p. 76) has an article on a graffito of a ship discovered in the tomb by Macalister. [5] For a discussion of the Egyptian symbolism on these and similar monuments, especially regarding the royal funerary eagle, see Cumont, *Etudes Syriennes* (Paris), 1917, p. 112 f. [6] An erotic inscription in four long lines on the wall has been the subject of a long controversy. Who wrote it ? Why was it written ? Did it refer to the dead or the living ? Is it the composition of one person ? Or are the lines the work of a man and woman alternately ? These and similar questions have been much debated. See Lagrange, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1902, 501 : Thiersch, *Painted Tombs at Marissa*, p. 57 : Peters, *ibid.*, p. 75 : Macalister, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, pp. 54, 158 : Conder, *ib.*, pp. 147, 238. [7] Clermont-Ganneau (*Archæol. Researches*, i. 313 f.) says " In order to find anything which can compare with them on a large scale, we must go to the cemeteries of Egypt, and some of those in Asia Minor."

coned roof, rarely seen in the hypogees of Palestine, but of frequent occurrence in Egypt. In regard to another monolith near Jerusalem to which De Saulcy [1] calls attention there is nothing Greek about it at all: the general type of its construction and architecture suggests the Nile Valley and a remote period.[2]

All this meant for the Jews a temptation to relax the stringency of the Mosaic Law none the less dangerous because the heathen influences were so subtle. While the Ptolemaic Kings did not attempt to interfere with the Jewish faith, nevertheless the spread of Egyptian culture, the introduction of Egyptian customs, the building of Græco-Egyptian heathen cities with all the accessories of pagan ritual and idolatrous worship, made a powerful impression on the Hebrew populace, and the fruits of this intercourse were seen in later years. There was a "mixed multitude" resident in Jerusalem very amenable to heathen influences, just as there had been in the old days of the Exodus, and not all the polyglot inhabitants of the now crowded capital of Palestine were by any means zealots for the Law. As the higher lands of Canaan were ringed about by a circle of Græco-Egyptian cities in the Lowlands, the problem of how to preserve the Jewish faith and Jewish morality from heathen contamination became more and more acute. The seductiveness of pagan life had, however, the effect of rendering the strict party (the proto-Pharisees) more strict still, and the discipline of resisting temptation braced the nobler element in the nation for further moral and spiritual victories.

Nevertheless, among the lower orders in Palestine we observe at this period a great influx of notions of a debased character associated with the arts of magic which have always acknowledged Egypt as their homeland. Erman has stated,[3] as a result of his investigations into Nilotic magic, that "the belief that there were words and actions by which they could produce an effect on the powers of Nature, upon every living being, upon animals, and even upon gods, was indissolubly connected with all the actions of the Egyptians"; and he proves his statement by many a corroborating instance. The practice dates from the earliest times, fostered by the priests, cultivated in the schools of learning, elaborated in the *Book of the Dead*, followed by the physicians in their prescriptions, and recommended in their prophylactics against disease.[4] Magic was ingrained in the Egyptian religion,[5] and it governed the rules of conduct of practically every one in the land.

It is not surprising then that now that Egypt and Canaan were again united under one sceptre, and Egyptian troops were quartered on Palestinian soil, the belief in magic should become prevalent throughout Judæa as never before. Later Jewish literature affords many examples of this.[6] It is a Jewish tractate [7] which asserts that out of the ten measures of sorcery which descended into the world, Egypt claimed for herself as many as nine. In another Hebrew composition,[8] mention is made of Jannes and Jambres, the leaders of the Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses. The "Egyptian potion" [9] referred to in a third tractate [10] was likely a magical healing concoction.[11] Egyptian magical papyri, of which the store seems to be endless, spread throughout Palestine, and influenced

[1] De Saulcy and Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, ii. 227. [2] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Canaan*, etc., i. 278. [3] Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 352. [4] *e.g.*, In the *Great Papyrus Ebers*. [5] See Wiedemann, *Religion d. alten Ægypter*, p. 146 f. [6] *e.g.*, in the *Book of Tobit*. [7] *Kiddushin* 49 b. [8] *Menachoth* 85 a. [9] זיתום המערי. [10] *Pesachim*, iii. 1. [11] So Blau, *Das alt-Jüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 38 f.

the inhabitants to adopt their debasing superstition. The magical use of the divine Name (already abundantly employed in Egyptian magical works [1]), and of the names of Solomon,[2] Moses,[3] etc., crept into common use, and gradually expanded until by the time of the Christian era Canaan was flooded with magical literature.[4]

Though the question is very obscure, it may well be that to this period of transition we owe the composition known as *The First Book of Esdras*, albeit the form in which we now possess it may not be earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[5] The book is a recension of the canonical *Ezra*, with many interpolations of a kind that were intended to arrest the attention of the Greek-speaking readers for whom the work was designed. There are strong grounds for believing that it was the literary effort of some Alexandrian Jew in the period when the Persian *régime* had faded from men's minds, and when both Egypt and Palestine had become accustomed to Hellenic influences. The section in which occurs the famous " Praise of Truth " [6] is artificially linked to the times of Darius Codomannus and his concubine Apame,[7] and the scene is laid ostensibly in Susa, but, as most scholars admit, probably in Egypt.[8] The encomium on Truth has been variously interpreted as to its origin. The influence of Alexandrian thought and philosophy [9] has been discerned by critics such as Lupton,[10] André,[11] Thackeray,[12] and Volz.[13] Egypt certainly is suggested by the free irony in chapters iii and iv : by the unveiled women,[14] the references to navigation [15] and piracy,[16] and elsewhere by the use of " Coele-Syria " [17] and " Friends of the King." [18] In spite of its distinctive features, however, the book was never very favourably received. Though the passage on the supremacy of Truth has passed into the literature of all nations, *I Esdras* never obtained recognition as " Scripture " from either Jews or Christians. While the book casts an interesting light on the mental and theological characteristics of the era in which it was composed, every reader nevertheless feels that it is lacking in that indefinable yet well understood " inspiration," whose presence is the hall-mark of the canonical writings of the Old Testament.

But while Egypt thus was influencing Canaan, Canaan exerted on Egypt an influence much more profound, pure, and lasting. There took place during this era one of the most epoch-making events in the religious history of mankind. The Hebrew Old Testament was translated into Greek by a syndicate of scholars working in Alexandria. The number of Jews in Egypt was steadily increasing. Josephus states that Philadelphus set free 120,000 natives of Jerusalem who were in slavery in the Nile Valley.[19] The legend grew till it was said that of these Hebrew slaves, 30,000 able-bodied men were employed in garrison duty in the fortresses of Egypt.[20] Whatever credence may be put in these legends, it is certainly the case that a monarch capable of endowing and advancing literature and science in his Museum and Library, would have been very short-sighted if he had not evinced some interest in the religion and in the sacred books of a race so

[1] Blau, *ibid.*, pp. 117–144. [2] Kohut, *Jüdische Angelol.*, p. 81 f. [3] Gaster, *The Sword of Moses.* [4] See Whitehouse in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 211 : Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 154. [5] Cook in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, i. 19. [6] 1 Esd. 3–4.[46] [7] 1 Esd. 4.[29] [8] Cook, *ibid.*, i. 29. [9] *Ib.*, i. 5. [10] 1 Esdras in *The Apocrypha*, ed. Wace (1888). [11] *Les Apocryphes de l'A.T.* (1903). [12] Art. I Esdras in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 758. [13] The Greek Ezra in *E.B.*, iv. 1488–1494. [14] 1 Esd. 4.[18] [15] 1 Esd. 4.[15 23] [16] 1 Esd. 4.[27] [17] 1 Esd. 2.[17] [18] 1 Esd. 8.[26] [19] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 2. 1. Pseudo-Aristeas states that Philadelphus redeemed them at a cost of 20 drachmæ per slave, or above 460 talents in all. [20] Pseudo-Aristeas 13 : Jos., *c. Apion*, ii. 4.

numerous within his dominions, and so unique in their monotheistic abstention from idolatry. It was therefore inherently probable that Philadelphus would desire to have a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures in the tongue which was understood by all educated Egyptians, which was the Court language, and that in which the discussions in the Museum were carried on.

We may, in a word, pass by the elaborate story told by Josephus which he borrowed from Pseudo-Aristeas.[1] The latter floated the legend that Ptolemy II, from the desire to obtain for his Library a copy of the Jewish sacred writings, purchased the freedom of 100,000 Jewish captives, sent them along with costly presents[2] to the High Priest Eleazar at Jerusalem, and begged in return a Hebrew Bible.[3] The High Priest graciously responded by despatching a copy of the Law with seventy-two interpreters, six to represent each tribe. Philadelphus gave them a splendid reception.[4] They were guided to the Pharos isle, away from the turmoil of the city, where they gave themselves up to the work of translation.[5] Each translator had a separate cell.[6] The work was completed in 72 days, and then it was found that each independent translator had miraculously produced a copy of the Scriptures identically alike, word for word! To each of them Ptolemy gave £3,100,[7] and thus he spent on the translation £223,200![8]

From this mass of legend we may extract a few grains of truth. It is certain that a Greek Version of the Old Testament did appear in Egypt in the time of the early Ptolemies, which came to be known as *The Seventy* or *The Septuagint*. The number may embody some reminiscence of the scribes employed in the work, or it may be an invention to link the translation with the twelve tribes of Israel. Possibly future discovery may reveal that there is more of substantial truth about Ptolemy's gift to Eleazar than has hitherto been believed. It is worth noting that a word used in the *Letter of Aristeas* for a Græco-Egyptian official (τάγματος or

[1] The real date of the *Letter of Aristeas*, as Andrews says (Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, ii. 85) "constitutes an almost insoluble problem." Schürer places its composition about B.C. 200: Wendland between B.C. 96–93: Grætz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than A.D. 33). There can be no doubt that its origin is due to the desire of a patriotic Jew to commend Judaism to the Gentile world in which he moved. The author was undoubtedly an Alexandrian, and the whole aim of the *Letter* is to advertise the glory and distinctiveness of the Jewish people, the Jewish Law, the Jewish philosophy, and the Jewish Scriptures. He adopts allegory to explain away and tone down some of the most outstanding Jewish practices, whose exclusiveness offended Gentile susceptibilities. Andrews (*op. cit.*, ii. 87) sums up that probably the Epistle was issued in its present form at the commencement of the Christian era, but a large part was in existence previously, and belongs to the period B.C. 130-70. [2] They comprised 50 talents of gold for the making of large basons, vials, and cups, an immense quantity of precious stones: 100 talents for the Temple sacrifices, etc.; an elaborate table for the shewbread entirely of gold and exquisitely carved, Josephus (*Antiq.*, xii. 2, 8, 9) lingers lovingly over a description of it. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 2, 5, 6. [4] *Ib.*, xii. 2, 11. Philadelphus is said to have admired the thinness of the membranes of the parchments on which the Jews had their laws written in golden letters. [5] *Ibid.*, xii. 2. 13. [6] Another legend says that there were 36 cells with two scribes in each. Justin (*Cohort. ad Græcos*, 34) says he saw the 70 cells. Epiphanes (*De Pond. et Mens*, c. vii. viii.) says 36. [7] He further sent to Eleazar 10 beds with feet of silver, the furniture belonging to them, and a cup valued at 30 talents: 10 garments and a purple robe, a very beautiful crown, 100 pieces of the finest woven linen, vials, dishes, ewers, and two golden bowls to be dedicated to God (Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 2, 15). [8] Full details of the legendary history of the LXX will be found in Nestle's art. SEPTUAGINT in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 437 f.: Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees* (1898) p. 235 f.: Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 3, 159 f. Another legend (see Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 225) maintains that Philadelphus entrusted the translation to three Samaritans, one Jew, and one assessor. The Samaritans did the Pentateuch, the Jew the later books.

ταγματικός) occurs several times in the Greek papyri of Theodor Reinach, and thus the word must have been current at the date alleged for the production of Aristeas' work.[1] Similar facts may emerge from archæological research among papyri, revealing that some of the statements of Josephus at present most disputed may have substantial grounds for acceptance. It is highly probable that Philadelphus would eagerly welcome such a volume as a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures within his cosmopolitan Library, all the more that the Jews were so numerous, so wealthy, so influential, and so loyal to his dynasty. The translation moreover is markedly of Alexandrian workmanship,[2] not of Palestinian origin. But the notion that the transcribers were miraculously preserved from error is absurd on the face of it. The Pentateuch is well translated, but the calibre of the transcription of many of the later books is execrable.[3] The likelihood is that the labour was spread over a long series of years, and carried through by different hands from about B.C. 250 to B.C. 132.

The translation of their Holy Scriptures was regarded with very mingled feelings by different sections of the Jews. Some looked on it as a great calamity, and the day of the arrival of the interpreters at Alexandria was held to be a "fast of darkness," like the day on which the golden Calf was made.[4] A preternatural gloom of three days enshrouded the world when the sacrilegious translators commenced their labours.[5] By others, however, this Greek Version was welcomed with enthusiasm. With true liberality of spirit they rejoiced that now their beautiful and holy Scriptures would become known throughout the world. And such in reality was the event. It was the Septuagint Bible, full of errors though it was, grotesque in many of its translations, abounding in interpolations and digressions, and wilful perversions of the Hebrew original, which nevertheless introduced to the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans those noble views of God and His righteousness which it had been the privilege of the Jew to conserve, for the ultimate benefit of all mankind. This Alexandrian Version became the Bible of the Early Church,[6] and in the Eastern Church it is still the only authorized text. In the providence of God the translation has been of incalculable service, not only as a commentary giving light on obscure portions of the Hebrew Bible, but as a means of spreading into many lands the news of the Kingdom of God.[7]

Towards the close of his magnificent reign, Philadelphus, through his

[1] Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1909, p. 4. [2] Some curious illustrations of this fact are given by Farrar, *Expos.*, 2nd Ser. iii. 290. It has often been pointed out how the LXX explains and modifies expressions, to suit Alexandrian circumstances: *e.g.*, *arnebeth*, "the unclean animal," the "hare," is translated by δασυπους or "rough-foot," not by the usual λαγος, for fear of offending the Lagid Dynasty. [3] See Deane, "The LXX Additions to the Hebrew Text" in *Expos.*, 2nd Ser. viii. 139, 223, 293: Kirkpatrick, "The LXX Version, its bearing on the Text and Interpretation of the O.T." in *Expos.*, 5th Ser. iii. 263: W. Robertson Smith, *O.T.J.C.*[2] p. 73 f.: Swete in *Exp. Times*, ii. 209, 277, and *Introd. to the O.T. in Greek*, 1900: Schürer, *l.c.* [4] Margoliouth, *Expos.*, 1900, p. 348 f. [5] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 227. [6] Thus *e.g.*, the author of Hebrews 1 [6] quotes from the LXX as a proof of doctrine a verse which is not in the Hebrew Version of the O.T. at all, *And let all the angels of God worship Him*, και προσκυνησατωσαν αυτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ: but only in the LXX of Deut. 32.[43] [7] Swete says "It created a language of religion which lent itself readily to the service of Christianity, and became one of the most important allies of the Gospel." Kirkpatrick declares "It is very easy to pour ridicule upon it, and to say that it is neither Greek nor Hebrew. It was the work of pioneers and necessarily had the defects of such work. But it formed an indispensable link of connection between the Old Testament and the New Testament. It wedded the Greek language to Hebrew thought, and enlisted the noblest and most exact instrument of human utterance to the service of divine truth."

fondness for intrigue, brought on himself a great domestic tragedy. He proposed to Antiochus II Theos, his rival at Antioch, that the latter should divorce his wife Laodice and disinherit her children. In her place he offered his own daughter Berenice, along with an enormous dowry, in hope that a child by the new marriage might unite the thrones of both empires. It was an unholy compact, and it ended in shame. Berenice left Egypt [1] with so vast a fortune that she was termed "the dowry-bringer." [2] The marriage took place, and for a while all went well. But after the birth of a son, Antiochus paid a visit to his discarded first wife. Laodice promptly poisoned him,[3] and gave orders for the assassination of her rival with her infant. After a strenuous resistance, the hapless new queen was chased to the sanctuary of Daphnæ outside Antioch,[4] and soon was done to death. *At the end of years they shall join themselves together: and the daughter of the King of the South shall come to the King of the North to make equitable conditions: but she shall not retain the strength of her arm: neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in those times.*[5] With this dark shadow resting on his schemes, the prematurely aged Philadelphus, exhausted with a superabundance of earthly pomp and glory, sank into the grave (B.C. 247).

[1] She carried with her also a supply of Nile water which had the reputation of promoting fruitfulness (Athenæus, *Deipnos*, ii. 45). [2] *φερνόφορος*, Jerome, *Comm. in Dan. xi.* [3] Athenæus (x. 438) and Ælian (*Var. Hist.*, ii. 41) agree that he was a drunkard. [4] Justin, xxvii. 1: Polyænus, viii. 50: Appian, *Syr.* 65: Valerius Maximus ix. 141. For full details, see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 182 f. [5] Dan. 11.[6] The latter part of the verse is so corrupt in the text that it is impossible to follow the historical references. It may refer merely to the death of Philadelphus, which took place seemingly about the same time as his daughter's murder.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Reigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (B.C. 247–222) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (B.C. 222–205)

History is singularly silent regarding Philadelphus' son Ptolemy III Euergetes I (B.C. 247–222). We wait eagerly for some rubbish heap to yield us papyri that will cast light on the reign of this great and wealthy King. Ptolemy III married Berenice,[1] the daughter of Magas, King of Cyrene, and thus he was able to assert more than a merely nominal suzerainty over the latter province. Though latterly regent along with his father, he seems to have spent the earlier years of his life in absence from the Egyptian Court, either in Cyrene, or in Ethiopia.[2]

But the first act of his reign was to avenge the insult done to his sister Berenice, queen of Antioch.[3] Laodice had installed her own son, Seleucus II Kallinicus, in the room of her murdered husband, and Euergetes now proceeded to attack the new Syrian King. While an Egyptian fleet sailed to Seleucia,[4] and obtained possession of this seaport, Ptolemy himself marched through Palestine by the old road that had echoed with the tramp of so many conquerors down the centuries. He reached Antioch and entered the capital of his rival, seemingly without a struggle. This campaign constituted what is known as the "Third Syrian War." No force seemed able to withstand the victorious advance of the Egyptian. *Out of a shoot from her* (*i.e.*, the murdered Berenice's) *roots shall one* (Ptolemy III, her brother) *stand up in his place, who shall come against the army, and shall enter into the fortress* (Seleucia) *of the King of the North* (Seleucus Callinicus) *and shall deal against them and shall prevail.*[5]

[1] It is remarkable that the name of this queen of Cyrene should still be associated with the astronomy of the nations. Berenice dedicated a lock of her hair in the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite that her bridegroom might return safe from the wars. The lock went a-missing: but Conon, the Court Astronomer, discovered it amongst the constellations, and the *Coma Berenices*, celebrated by Callimachus and Catullus, records and perpetuates the discovery! (*cf.* Aratus, *Phænomena*, 370). [2] Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 195. [3] There is a discrepancy amongst the authorities as to whether Berenice was murdered before or after the arrival of her brother, Ptolemy III. The older authorities seem to imply that her death took place previous to the invasion: but Mahaffy suggests that possibly they were borrowing from the history of Phylarchus (Droysen, *Hellenismus*, iii. 378), an author who (according to Polybius, ii. 56) deliberately and wilfully sacrificed historic truth to dramatic effect. A papyrus recently discovered by Petrie is believed by Mahaffy to have been a personal despatch written by Ptolemy III. In it he reports that he sailed along the Cilician coast, that at Soli he captured 1,500 talents of silver which had been stored there for Laodice, and carried off the loot to Seleucia. Here he had a great reception from the inhabitants, and then went on to Antioch when he met his sister Berenice. Mahaffy believes therefore that it was not till after this that she was murdered. See "*Flinders Petrie Papyri*," Part iii. in *Roy. Irish Acad. Cunningham Mem.*, xi. (1905), p. 334 f. [4] Polybius, v. 58. [5] Dan. 11.[7]

But instead of following up this success by a raid through Asia Minor, Ptolemy next turned eastwards and passed over the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. Even this did not satisfy him. He outdid the exploits of Thothmes III, whose conquests had extended merely to the borders of Mitanni. The Egyptian King pressed on to Babylon,[1] from that to Susa in Persia, and from Persia he penetrated as far as Bactria.[2] This expedition, so remote, extraordinary, and unexpected, is curiously vouched for by a Greek inscription that was cut on a marble throne at Adule [3] on the African coast of the Red Sea. About A.D. 520 the throne was seen by the Egyptian monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, who copied the Greek inscription, and recorded it in his book of travels.[4] The inscription states that Ptolemy III advanced to the East as far as Babylonia, Susiana, Persia, Media, and Bactria, and brought back to Egypt the sacred things which the Persians had long before rifled from that land. Further, Jerome narrates [5] that Euergetes captured Syria and Cilicia, the upper regions across the Euphrates, and nearly all Asia. He adds that, hearing that a sedition had broken out in Egypt [6] through his long absence, he returned home, bringing with him 40,000 talents of silver, and 2,500 images of the gods, among which were those which Cambyses had carried off centuries before. *Also their gods, with their molten images, and with their goodly vessels of silver and of gold, shall he carry captive into Egypt.*[7]

On his way home Ptolemy paid a State visit to Jerusalem, offered sacrifices in the Temple to Jehovah, and added gifts worthy of his victory.[8] His success had been so remarkable that he could afford to be generous, and he mightily pleased the Jews by his courtesy to their metropolis, and his friendliness to their religion. On entering the Delta, his recovery of the long-lost sacred treasure and the *éclat* of a victorious expedition worthy almost to be ranked with that of Alexander the Great, wiped away all the feelings of estrangement and bitterness engendered in the Nile Valley through his protracted absence in the far East. He was hailed by the priests as " Euergetes," " Benefactor," and the name has clung to him ever since. His virtues were enumerated on the celebrated *Stele of Canopus*,[9] which records the thanks of the people, not only for his restoration of these images, but for his measures to avert the effects of a low

[1] On the other hand, Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, i. 187) flatly disbelieves the whole story, and says " The Ptolemaic land-forces never crossed the Taurus." [2] The amount of Greek civilization and culture in Bactria and even in Turkestan is only now at all adequately coming to light through modern exploration. See Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* : Stein, *Desert Cities of Cathay* and *The Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*. [3] Adule ('Αδούλη) was in the region known as Troglodytica. Here a trading settlement was founded by him with a military fort, for the advancement of trade with the Eastern Sudan. [4] Cosmas' story is told in Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum* (Paris, 1706) ii. 113 f., and discussed by Littmann, *Die deutsche Aksum-Expedition* (1914) i. 42 f. The inscription is in Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 1897, p. 232 : Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 5127. Champollion (*Monuments de l'Égypte*, i. 185) also copied a list of names of countries invaded by Ptolemy III, including Persia, Susiana, and Mesopotamia, from the walls of a small temple at Esneh, since destroyed. [5] *Comment. in Dan. xi.* [6] Justin, xxvii. 1. 9. [7] Dan. 11.[8] [8] Josephus, *c. Apion*, ii. 5. [9] It was discovered at Tanis in 1866, and is now in the Cairo Museum. It is written in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek, and is of date B.C. 238, the ninth year of his reign. From internal evidence Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptol.*, p. 227) holds that the original draft was in demotic, and that this was handed over to Court officials on the one hand to turn into Greek, and to members of the priestly body that understood hieroglyphics on the other hand for transliteration into a language which by this time was " dead," and not understood save by antiquarians. See further Reinisch and Roesler, *Die Zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, 1866 (Vienna) : Sharpe, *The Decree of Canopus*, 1870 ; Budge, *Tablet of Canopus*, 1903 : and Steindorff, *Urkunden des Ægyptischen Alterums*, ii.

Nile with its consequent famine.[1] The stele decrees that divine honours shall henceforth be paid to Ptolemy III and to his wife Berenice II ; and in instituting a reform of the calendar,[2] whereby every fourth year an extra day is added, it announces that this additional day shall be reckoned as a royal festival in honour of the King and Queen and their lately deceased daughter, Berenice.

That Euergetes was one of the greatest of Ptolemaic temple builders is testified to by the fact that, besides a small shrine at Esneh, he began at Edfu a most remarkable fane which was not completed till 180 years had expired. It was of enormous proportions—450 feet long and 120 feet wide : the front of the propylon 252 feet from side to side, with towers 112 feet in height.[3] Many other smaller temples and restorations witness to the fact that this descendant of Greece was becoming a thorough Egyptian.[4] The Orient was conquering the Occident. The spell of the East was asserting its sway over the plastic mind of the European, and Euergetes submitted to its influence, and obeyed its call for devotion.

Yet while he thus flattered the ancient religion and its priesthood, Ptolemy could not altogether forget that he was a son of Hellas. He endowed the Alexandrian Library with valuable gifts, and he is said to have procured for it the original manuscripts of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[5] The education of the Crown Prince he entrusted to Eratosthenes,[6] the famous scientist and mathematician whom he made Principal Librarian. Even the celebrated Archimedes travelled from Syracuse to study at Alexandria ; and many other scholars, such as Apollonius, who made profound researches into the theory of conic sections, and Aristophanes of Byzantium, who founded a school of Homeric criticism, maintained the reputation of the University. In the lifetime of the third Ptolemy the Museum reached perhaps its acme of glory.

The interferences of Ptolemy III with foreign politics, after his first great campaign against Seleucus, were not numerous. He abstained from further attacks on Antioch. *He shall refrain some years from the King of the North.*[7] He acted for a time as financial backer to whatever upstart in Greece would maintain Egyptian influence against Macedonia, and in this way at one time he had Aratus of Sicyon, and later Cleomenes of Sparta, in his pay. He headed the subscription list of help for Rhodes when the great earthquake of B.C. 224 well-nigh destroyed that city, and threw down the famous Colossus. Rhodes was the " Bank of England "

[1] Amongst other things it mentions that the King imported corn for his starving subjects from Syria, Phœnicia, and Cyprus. What a strange reversal from the days when Abraham and Jacob and the patriarchs had to quit Palestine for Egypt, when *all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn* (Gen. 41 [57]). [2] This reform in the Calendar was afterwards carried by Julius Cæsar into the western world, and is permanently associated with his name. But it was from Egypt that Cæsar got the idea. See Foucart in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, iii. 94, art. CALENDAR (EGYPTIAN), 1910. [3] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, vii. 226. The temple is in almost perfect preservation to this day. See De Rougé, *Textes geographiques du Temple d'Edfou*, 1865 (Paris). [4] A Fayum papyrus (Mitteis u. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, i. 134, No. 101) shows that at this period Oriental cults were entering Egypt and being zealously adopted—*τοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Μαχάτου σταθμοδο[τη]θέντος ἐν κώμῃ Πηλουσίῳ, καὶ διελομένου αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ποῶριν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσαντος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ τόπῳ, ἱερον Συρίας θεοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης βερενίκης*—this Berenice being the wife of Euergetes I. [5] Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, vii. 227. [6] Eratosthenes by his investigations into the shadows cast by the sun at the summer solstice at Assuan and Alexandria respectively, discovered that the earth was round, and estimated the distance between these two cities as one-fiftieth of the circumference of the globe. [7] Dan. 11.[8]

of the ancient world, and its fall would have meant a widespread financial collapse.[1]

Ptolemy's relations with Canaan remained friendly, although on one occasion a crisis was very nearly precipitated. During the eighty years wherein Canaan belonged to Egypt, and was reckoned an integral part of the Ptolemaic Empire, matters as a rule continued smooth and uneventful in the Judæan State. The Jews were increasing in material wealth and prosperity. They were unmolested in the exercise of their religion, and though there were always in process those Hellenizing influences to which reference has been made, the nation as a whole remained loyal to the Law of Jehovah. Within reach of all the culture and learning of Alexandria, so long as the taxes were regularly paid the mountain principality enjoyed a freedom and a peace which were like halcyon days compared to the anguish of the times that were coming. The high priest Eleazar, who was concerned with the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, was succeeded by his uncle Manasseh, whose administration was unmarked by any incident of note.

Then came Onias II, son of Simon I the Just, who is pithily described as "having a little soul," and being "a great lover of money."[2] He grudged the annual tribute of 20 talents of silver which his forefathers had paid to the Egyptian Government, and he began to coquet with the rival Kingdom of Antioch, in the hope of obtaining easier terms. Euergetes despatched an envoy, Athenion, to Jerusalem with a threat that, if the tribute was withheld, he would parcel out the Jews' territory among his soldiers and quarter his troops upon the land. The avarice and stubbornness of the high priest were such that neither the threats of the King nor the alarmed entreaties of the people could make him amenable to reason.

Judæa was saved from another invasion on the part of an Egyptian army by the adroit but unscrupulous diplomacy of the high priest's nephew Joseph.[3] This young man obtained permission from Onias to go to Egypt as ambassador for the Jews He told the populace of Jerusalem to have no fear: he would be their deliverer. He then feasted and flattered the Egyptian envoy who carried to Ptolemy an excellent account of the young Jew. Joseph then borrowed clothes, beasts of burden, and money in abundance from friends at Samaria, and set out for Alexandria. Arriving there and hearing that Ptolemy was at Memphis he immediately followed the King to the old Capital. There he chanced to meet the King, the Queen, and his friend Athenion the envoy driving in a chariot. He was recognized, invited to come up into the carriage, and made to sit beside the King. When Ptolemy complained of the action of Onias, Joseph excused him on the ground that he was a silly old man. He charmed Ptolemy with his suavity, brilliance, and aplomb, and was given a room in the Royal Palace and a seat at the royal table. The day came when the taxes of Cœle-Syria,[4]

[1] Polybius, v. 88. For full information regarding this Colossus, and regarding the other antiquities of Rhodes, see Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*. The cult of Egyptian divinities in Rhodes seems to have been considerable. Spiegelberg (*Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, l. 24) has published a demotic inscription on a limestone statue of Egyptian workmanship found at Rhodes (now in the Louvre) showing that it was dedicated to Serapis and Isis by a certain Dionysus of Iasos. [2] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 1. [3] Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 217) is disposed to doubt the truth of the whole story: in any case he thinks it is misplaced and should refer mainly to Ptolemy IV. [4] For an account of the elasticity of this term, which grew from denoting merely the district between the Lebanons till it embraced all the land from the frontier of Egypt to the Euphrates, see Moss in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 453.

Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria had to be farmed out to the highest bidder. Joseph accused the former holders of office of conspiring together to keep the tribute low, and he offered personally to give the King not only double the former taxes (which had amounted to 8,000 talents), but the confiscated property of all who had refused to pay. The offer was accepted, and Joseph returned to Palestine as Comptroller-General of the whole province.[1]

Joseph knew the difficulties ahead of him. He had therefore asked for 2,000 Egyptian infantry, and with these he proceeded to enforce the taxes. It was a strange and novel sight—a Jew, the nephew of the high priest, at the head of an Egyptian army, marching through the Holy Land, demanding payment of tribute to Egypt on pain of death! His treatment of Ascalon was an object lesson for all. On the citizens refusing to pay anything, Joseph slew twenty of their leading men, and sent all their substance—about 1,000 talents—to his sovereign, telling him what he had done. All the other cities of Palestine, except Scythopolis, in terror opened their gates to him, and the vengeance on the latter city was similar to that inflicted on Ascalon. In this way Joseph acquired enormous wealth; and as he retained his post for twenty-two years, he was the most powerful dignitary in Palestine. By lavish presents to Ptolemy he kept in with the Egyptian Court, and as all his authority depended on the good will of the King, he was all his life a zealous upholder of the Egyptian supremacy over Judæa. The story gives us insight into the lightness of the Egyptian rule, for 8,000 talents from the whole of Cœle-Syria and Palestine was not excessive, and even when this was doubled, the land easily bore the burden. No wonder that the Jews were comfortable under a *régime* so lenient, and that in later days they looked back on the rule of the early Ptolemies with admiration and regret.

The trend of modern criticism is towards assigning to this period the *Book of Tobit*. It seems most likely that it was composed among orthodox Jewish circles in Egypt in the latter half of the third century B.C. Originally written in Aramaic, it was soon translated into Greek and into Hebrew, and it exercised an extraordinary influence, and enjoyed widespread popularity in Jewish and Early Christian circles. That the book was composed by some Jew of the Diaspora not resident in Palestine has long been agreed, but many scholars have contended that the homeland of its origin was Assyria, or Babylonia, or Persia, or some other far Eastern land. Opinion, however, has veered round once more. "The hypothesis that Egypt was the place of composition alone serves to explain all the phenomena."[2] For, as Simpson states,[3] "*Tobit* is a reply to the tractate of the priests of Khons, and it was designed to dissuade the author's co-religionists from apostasy, and to convert, if possible, any pagan who might read it. It is still more pointed in its warning against marriages with non-Jews, and incidentally condemns imitation of the immorality and apostasy of Joseph, the son of another Tobias (or Tobit), an allusion not without point in Egypt, where the scandal had occurred."[4] The *Book of Tobit* was indebted to four sources for its composition: (1) the *Tractate of Khons*, an Egyptian story telling how a princess in Bekhten (Ecbatana ?), possessed by a demon, was cured by the personal exorcism of

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 1–5. [2] Simpson in Charles' *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, i. 85. [3] *Ib.*, i. 186. [4] Josephus had formed a liaison with an Egyptian dancing girl, and his brother Solymius, to save him from his infatuation, substituted his own daughter. By this niece of his Josephus became the father of Hyrcanus (Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 6).

the Egyptian god Khons:[1] (2) *The Fable of the Grateful Dead*, a cycle of stories to which parallels are found in many nations: (3) *The Story and Wisdom of Ahikar*,[2] a legend which goes back to the sixth century B.C., and is still to be read in *Æsop's Fables* and the *Arabian Nights*: (4) the Old Testament and Apocrypha. Some pious Jew in Egypt, apprehensive of the heathen influences that were so seductive and dangerous to the faith of his fellow-countrymen, blended together elements from these four sources, and wove this naïve and delightful tale, with all its simple belief in magic and demons, so as to show the supremacy of the God of the Jews, and the true blessedness of obeying his Torah. Opinions will always vary as to how far the influence of the book penetrated, and may be traced in, the New Testament writings;[3] but there is no question that *Tobit* was venerated as "Scripture" by many of the Fathers of the Early Christian Church.[4]

Another Aramaic papyrus recently discovered has shed fresh light upon the religious condition of the Jews of Upper Egypt at this period. The papyrus speaks of a congregation of Jews at Abydos in which three individuals went to law, the bone of contention being their respective rights to certain property including a house at Tba. But what mainly agitated the litigants was the question of the ownership of a certain copy of the Hebrew Torah. In the end the judge decreed that the manuscript being so valuable should not be given entire to any one of the claimants, but that it should be divided, three parts going to a woman named Palta, the sister of one of the litigants.[5] It shows how highly esteemed a copy of the Law was.

Whether Euergetes died a natural death,[6] or perished by poison at the instigation of his son,[7] is uncertain, but his reign marked the climax of the prosperity of the Ptolemies. His son and successor, PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR (B.C. 222–205), through his folly and wickedness, brought the Dynasty of the Lagids into shame and contempt, and his accession was the signal for the commencement of the "Decline and Fall" of the Greek Kingdom of Alexandria.

Philopator began his reign (if not with the murder of his father) by the assassination of his brother Magas and his friends, his uncle Lysimachus, and even his mother Berenice. Then, reckoning that the youth of the new Syrian King, Antiochus III son of Seleucus Callinicus, rendered him a foe to be despised, and imagining his own throne to be absolutely secure, he gave himself up to unbridled licentiousness and swinish drunkenness.[8] He refused even to discharge the affairs of State: he was utterly contemptuous of the welfare of his empire: and he showed the vices of a Caligula and a Nero, till loathing of his rule set in and rebellion broke out.

[1] See De Rougé, *Etude sur une Stèle Egyptienne*, Paris, 1858: Budge, *An Egyptian Reading Book*, 1896, p. xxviii. [2] For full details of the *Story of Ahikar*, see Harris, Lewis, and Conybeare in Charles, *op. cit.*, ii. 715 f. Eleven papyri from Elephantine contain portions of the didactic teachings of the wise Ahikar: the scene is laid in the court of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon B.C. 704–665. See S. A. Cook in *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, xix. (1915) 349, 367: and Lidzbarski in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 231. [3] Simpson (*op. cit.*, i. 199) suggests references to *Tobit* in the Parables of the Wicked Servant and the Barren Fig-tree, and also in Tob. 11^9=Lu. 15^{20}, Tob. 12^8=Mt. 6^{1-18}, Tob. 4^9=Mt. 6^{20}, Tob. 4^{15}=Mt. 7^{12}, Lu. 6^{31}, Tob. 4^7=Lu. 11^{41}, Tob. 4^{16}=Mt. 25^{35}, Tob. 4^{12a}=1 Thess. 4^8, Tob. 12^{10}=Rom. 6^{23}, Tob. 4^8=1 Cor. 16^2, 2 Cor. 8^{13}, Tob. $4^{7\,15}$=2 Cor. 9^{7a}, Tob. 4^{10}=Gal. 6^{10}, Tob. 4^{15}=Eph. 5^{18}, Tob. 13^6=1 Tim. 1^{17}, Tob. 4^9=1 Tim. 6^{19}, Tob. 4^{21}=1 Tim. 6^6, Tob. 1^3=Ac. 9^{36}, Tob. 2^1=Ac. 2^1, Tob. 3^{16}=Ac. 9^{18}, $11^{12\,13}$, Tob. 12^{13}=Ac. 10^4, Tob. 13^{16}=Rev. 21^{10-21}, Tob. 13^{18}=Rev. $19.^{1\,7}$ [4] *e.g.*, Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, ii. 23, § 139. [5] Cowley in *P.S.B.A.*, xxxvii. (1915) p. 217. [6] So Polybius, ii. 71. [7] Justin, xxix. 1. [8] Polybius, v. 34.

The first revolt, however, was trifling. It was merely that of Cleomenes, the exiled King of Sparta, whose abortive attempt to gain his liberty ended in his suicide and that of all his companions.[1] But the second outbreak was more serious. Theodotus the Ætolian, as governor of Cœle-Syria, had gallantly defended his province against the young Antiochus in an attack which the latter made shortly after his accession. Antiochus had even commenced a march on Egypt, but had retired on learning that Pelusium was being fortified. Yet when summoned to Alexandria, Theodotus was treated by Philopator with such studied insolence and haughty ingratitude, that on his return to Syria, the high-spirited Greek scorned to remain any longer in the service of the royal buffoon, transferred his allegiance to the rising fortunes of Antioch, and entered into an arrangement with Antiochus to hand over to him all the cities of Cœle-Syria.[2] It was the opportunity for which Antiochus was waiting. In B.C. 219 he swooped down on Seleucia, the great fortress-seaport at the mouth of the Orontes which had been held by an Egyptian garrison since Euergetes' campaign in B.C. 246, and partly by treachery, partly by direct attack, the city fell into his hands.[3] One by one other cities and towns of Palestine were seized. The Egyptian troops were expelled from Tyre and Ptolemais through the connivance of Theodotus, and from north to south Canaan seethed with the tidings of the massacre of garrisons, the surrender of towns, and the occupation of citadels by the soldiers of Antiochus. The calm halcyon days of Egyptian rule were past. Judæa was now in the throes of transference from the domination of the Nile to that of the Orontes. There was seemingly no barrier preventing Antiochus from sweeping on to the conquest of the Delta. *His sons*[4] (*i.e.*, the sons of Seleucus Callinicus) *shall war, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces, which shall come on, and overflow, and pass through, and they shall return and war, even to his* (Philopator's) *fortress* (*i.e.*, Pelusium).[5]

At last Philopator roused himself from his debaucheries. He committed all measures of defence to his two favourites, Agathocles and Sosibius, men guilty of every crime. While they kept Antiochus from actual invasion of Egypt by fictitious proposals and false parleying about terms of evacuation of the disputed territory of Cœle-Syria, all the while with frantic haste they were preparing at Memphis stores and armies. When all was ready, the Egyptian forces (B.C. 218) advanced against Antiochus, the land-army being led by Nicolaus the Ætolian, while a large fleet of 30 warships and 4,000 transports was under the command of Perigenes.[6] But Nicolaus was overwhelmed at the pass of Porphyrion with a loss of 2,000 killed and 2,000 made captive. Perigenes, learning what had happened, took refuge in Sidon with his fleet.[7]

Flushed with this success, Antiochus advanced further, and town after town in Canaan was forced to open its gates to him. Scythopolis, Atabyrium,[8] Pella, Abila, Gadara, and Rabba Tamana fell into his hands, and the cities specially associated with Egyptian foundations—Philoteria and Ptolemais—were compelled to submit to Syrian garrisons. After wintering in the latter fortress, Antiochus in B.C. 217 renewed the war. Ptolemy set out from Alexandria with 70,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry,

[1] See the tragic story told with brilliance by Plutarch, *Life of Cleomenes*. [2] Polybius, v. 40. [3] *Ib.*, v. 59. [4] The elder of the two sons of Seleucus II was Seleucus III Soter, the younger was Antiochus III the Great. The former reigned from B.C. 226–223. [5] Dan. 11.[10] [6] Polybius, v. 68. [7] The geographical details of these battles are discussed by Clermont-Ganneau in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1904, p. 42 f. [8] *i.e.*, Mount Tabor.

and 73 elephants.[1] His opponent marched through Palestine to meet him, with 62,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 102 elephants. Not for centuries had two such enormous armies met in bloody combat on Canaanite soil, the matter in dispute being that "land flowing with milk and honey" which each antagonist claimed. Once again at Raphia[2] a momentous issue was decided. For five days both armies faced each other, each reluctant to begin what both felt would be a tremendous conflict.[3] The battle at last opened with a mutual charge of the elephants. The African pachyderms of Ptolemy[4] would not face the smell or the trumpeting of the Indian elephants of Antiochus. There was a stampede, and for a time it looked as if the forces of Egypt were doomed. But the tide turned. Philopator ultimately gained the day, and Antiochus sullenly retreated with a loss of 10,000 infantry and 300 cavalry killed, and 4,000 made prisoner.[5] Ptolemy's losses were small in comparison.[6] Not yet was Canaan to pass from the rule of Alexandria to that of Antioch. *The King of the South* (Philopator) *shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the King of the North* (Antiochus III): *and he shall set forth a great multitude, and the multitude shall be given into his hand And the multitude shall be lifted up, and his heart shall be exalted: and he shall cast down tens of thousands, but he shall not prevail.*[7] Philopator showed no intention of following up the advantage he had gained. His "habitual effeminacy" and "the corruption of his manner of life"[8] disinclined him from making any further warlike exertion, and he was content to agree to a year's truce with his defeated antagonist. He spent three months in a grand tour through Syria and Phœnicia, enjoying the adulation and the boundless flattery with which the Palestinians greeted him after his victory. They honoured the triumphant voluptuary with crowns, sacrifices, and every possible compliment.

A curious confirmation of this victory has recently been obtained through Bliss's excavations at Tell Sandahannah.[9] A fragment of a column with a Greek inscription has been certified by Clermont-Ganneau[10] as the pedestal of a statue erected to the honour of Arsinoë, the sister-wife of Philopator, to whose bravery at the battle of Raphia the Egyptian forces were indebted for their victory. The inscription speaks of her as "The Queen Arsinoë, great goddess Philopator, daughter of the King Ptolemy, and of the queen Berenice."[11] A second fragment bears part of the name Berenice, while a third, on part of the base of a colossal stone eagle, the emblem of the Ptolemies, has been ingeniously interpreted by the French archæologist as "Skopas, son of Kraton, to Apollo addresses his prayer."[12]

In this connection there is a legend recorded with extravagant

[1] Polybius, v. 79. Lesquier has published a valuable monograph, *Les Institutions Militaires de l'Egypte sous les Lagides*, Paris, 1911, in which full details are given as to the methods and rules governing the armies of the Ptolemies. [2] Kirbeth bir Refah: for an outline of its history see Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 1. 67, and for a description of it to-day see Schumacher in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1886, p. 184. It was the first city of Cœle-Syria towards Egypt (Polybius). [3] In 3 Macc. i. 4, it is stated that the queen Arsinoë went along the Egyptian lines "with lamentation and tears, and her hair loosed," to stir the enthusiasm of her troops. [4] These elephants had been collected by Ptolemy III in Central Africa. There are several references in papyri to expeditions up the Nile, and mention made of captures of elephants. See Hall, "Greek Inscriptions from Egypt" in *Classical Review*, xii. (1898), p. 274, with reference to late elephant hunts in Nubia carried on by Ptolemy IV. [5] Polybius, v. 84 f. [6] Merely 1,500 infantry, 700 cavalry, 16 elephants killed, and nearly all his other elephants captured. [7] Dan. 11.[11] [12] [8] So Polybius. [9] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 334. [10] *Ib.*, 1901, p. 54. [11] The restoration is somewhat conjectural, but highly probable. [12] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1901, p. 57.

embellishment in the *Third Book of Maccabees*, a romantic "history" composed in Alexandria about 100 years later.[1] It narrates how Philopator came up to Jerusalem after receiving congratulations from that city on his victory. He was greatly impressed with the dignity and splendour of Zerubbabel's Temple, and was allowed to offer sacrifices in its courts. He then expressed a resolve to penetrate into the Holy of Holies, a proposal which was strenuously opposed by the high priest Simon II and by the whole populace. The horror of the intended sacrilege was profound, and the city was deeply agitated. Just as Ptolemy was pushing his way into the innermost sanctuary the prayers of the people were answered. The King was struck with paralysis and was dragged out senseless.[2] He returned to Alexandria full of wrath and spite against the Jewish nation.

In Egypt he commenced a systematic persecution of the Hebrew race. The Jews in Alexandria, numerous as they were,[3] were deprived of their civil rights. They were ordered to worship Dionysus, were heavily taxed, excluded from Court, and many were branded with the ivy leaf of Bacchus.[4] Finally, all of Hebrew extraction, wives and children included, were shut up in the racecourse outside the city. So vast were their numbers that it took the enumerating clerks more than forty days to write down their names, and the list was then left incomplete because papyrus and pens ran short.[5] Five hundred elephants, intoxicated with wine and incense, were then let loose on the immense crowds of Jews in the hippodrome. The victims continued steadfast in prayer. The elephants refused to charge. The King was furious. On the third day the huge beasts turned on the spectators and on the royal troops, and trampled many of them to death.[6] Philopator was convinced that Jehovah was supreme. He liberated the Jews and feasted them for seven days. They held a great festival, and kept it up afterwards as a memorial of their deliverance.

Such is the legend. In its present form it is manifestly unhistorical and full of Oriental hyperbole. Yet its details are so technically accurate and so well informed as to the minutiæ of Egyptian customs that we must believe that there is a considerable substratum of truth in the statement that Philopator's treatment of the Jews was a reversal of the humane policy of his predecessors on the throne.[7] It is not easy otherwise to account for the persistent odium that has attached to his name, and for the complete change after this reign in the sentiments of the Jews towards the Ptolemaic *régime*.

There are indications that a civil war broke out in Egypt after the

[1] Emmet in Charles' *The Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, i. 155, says "The story as it stands is full of impossibilities and bombastic exaggerations, but each one of the incidents taken singly may well rest on some basis of fact, though they certainly did not all take place in the same reign. The general accuracy of the technical and official language is confirmed by comparison with Ptolemaic papyri: it has striking points of contact with 2 *Maccabees* and the *Letter of Aristeas*. Apparently the author used the lost memoirs of the reign of Philopator written by Ptolemy Megalopolitanus, and combined a narrative of Philopator's attempt to enter the temple at Jerusalem with a later story, preserved in another form by Josephus, of a persecution of Egyptian Jews by Physcon." [2] 3 Macc. i–ii. 24. [3] There is a curious detail, illustrative of the extent to which the Jews had set up places of worship for themselves, found in a papyrus of this reign. A certain Jewess or a Greek proselyte lady in the Arsinoite nome, complained of the theft of her mantle in the Jewish synagogue of the town, and stated that she had had a quarrel with the sacristan over its disappearance (Jouguet, *Papyrus Grecs de Lille*, tom. ii. (1912) No. 35, p. 184). [4] For this devotion of the Ptolemies to Dionysus, and this branding, see Peake in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 607, art. Dionysia, and Jevons, *ibid.*, i. 608, art. Dionysus. [5] 3 Macc. ii. 25–iv. [6] *Ib.*, v.–vi. 21. [7] So Fairweather in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 193.

peace with Antiochus, but details are wholly lacking as to how long it lasted.[1] It was probably brought about by the hatred of the populace against the worthless favourites who pandered to the King's vices: and it seems to have been marked with great savagery and brutality. Meanwhile, the wretched monarch, ungrateful for the help given him at Raphia by his sister-wife Arsinoë, shortly after the birth of her son abandoned her for his mistress Agathocleia. The latter and her brother Agathocles soon persuaded the dissolute sovereign to put his wife to death,[2] and after that, Philopator consumed the remainder of his days in continued debauchery and vice.[3]

Nevertheless, as is not infrequently the case, Ptolemy IV combined unbridled licentiousness with attention to science and art, and to superstitious service of the gods. He built an enormous ship with 40 benches for rowers, 280 cubits long, 38 broad, and 48 high to the gunwale, while to the highest part of the stern it was 53 cubits.[4] It was a double vessel with two bows and two sterns. It had 4 rudders, each 30 cubits long, held together by 12 undergirths, each 600 cubits in length. The figureheads at prow and stern were 12 cubits in size. It carried more than 4,000 rowers, and about 4,000 of a crew, besides a vast quantity of provisions. Philopator constructed, besides, a Royal double dahabiyeh for the Nile, spacious and luxurious, with a mast 70 cubits in height, which had suites of sleeping apartments, a temple of Venus with a marble statue of the goddess, a shrine for Bacchus, banqueting rooms splendidly decorated with rows of Corinthian columns, and lavish ornaments in gold, ivory, and precious woods.[5]

In addition to a temple to Homer[6] which he erected, memorials of his architectural labours may be seen at Alexandria, Edfu, Thebes, Syene, Philæ, and even at Dakkeh,[7] 70 miles beyond the First Cataract, where he came in contact with Ergamenes who claimed to be the King of Nubia and a descendant of the old XXVth Dynasty. Philopator was seemingly obliged to treat with Ergamenes on terms of equality, and to recognize that the Ethiopian was a legitimate and independent sovereign. It was a change indeed from the days when the Pharaohs asserted undisputed authority from the Mediterranean to Meroë.[8]

But with all his seeming devotion to religion, Philopator was a thorough sensualist, and although, when he died in B.C. 205, the Empire seemed as strong as ever, the wickedness of his life had undermined the strength of his Kingdom, and he bequeathed to his infant son a heritage of sorrow.

[1] Polybius, v. 107. [2] It may be that Agathocles murdered Arsinoë without the knowledge of the King. Who now can unravel the secrets of that blood-stained palace in Alexandria? Her death was kept secret from the populace till the two favourites announced it after the decease of Ptolemy IV: for when the news was made public a wave of profound sorrow, pity, and indignation swept through the city. [3] Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptol.*, p. 270 f.) takes a much more favourable view of Philopator than most historians. He attributes the bad odour in which he lives to-day to the enmity of Ptolemy of Megalopolis and the hatred of the Jews, who blackened his moral character unnecessarily deep. [4] Athenæus, *Deip.*, v. 37–39. [5] This State Barge is described in its details by F. Caspari in *Jahrb. Arch. Instit.*, xxxi. (1916), pp. 1–74. [6] Ælian, *Variæ Historiæ*, xiii. 22. [7] Called by the Greeks Pselchis, opposite to Kubban. [8] According to Diodorus, Ergamenes was the first Nubian King to break through the custom maintained by priests of that land, whereby each sovereign was compelled to commit suicide when the priests so decreed. Ergamenes gathered a band of resolute men when he had received the dread message, marched to the stronghold of the priests, entered their golden temple, cut the throats of all the priests, and thus put an end to an ancient and abominable custom (Diod. iii. 6).

CHAPTER XXXII

The Reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (B.C. 205–182)

The reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (B.C. 205–182) commenced in a scene of blood. Agathocles and Sosibius seized the reins of power, alleging that they had been nominated by Philopator guardians of the Kingdom. They ruled with every species of tyranny and oppression, and the wrath of the populace steadily grew. Tlepolemus, governor of Pelusium, fomented an insurrection, and gradually the movement for vengeance took shape. At last there came a night when Alexandria went mad with the lust for slaughter. In the crowded streets, Agathocles, his sister Agathocleia, and many others of their guilty partisans, were done to death with the most frightful brutality—being torn limb from limb, "for the savagery of the Egyptians, when their passions are aroused, is indeed terrible." [1] The boy-King, aged five, was handed over to the care of the wise and upright Aristomenes.[2]

The youth of the new sovereign of Egypt prompted Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus III of Syria to attack the feeble Empire simultaneously. While Philip annexed some of the Ægean islands that belonged to Egypt,[3] Antiochus, burning to wipe out the disgrace of the lost battle of Raphia, seized Cœle-Syria and Palestine. By this time, through his striking successes in Asia Minor, he had earned for himself the title of the "Great." *And the King of the North* (Antiochus III) *shall return and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former* (*i.e.*, greater than when he was defeated at Raphia), *and he shall come on at the end of the times, even of years, with a great army, and with much substance.*[4] To recover the Canaanite provinces, Tlepolemus, who acted as Egyptian War Minister, despatched Scopas, an Ætolian, as commander of the Egyptian forces. Great were the miseries of the Jews in Palestine. Josephus [5] states that whether Antiochus was beaten, or was victorious, it was equally unfortunate for the Jews, who "like a ship in a storm were tossed by the waves on both sides." Scopas, though the soul of covetousness,[6] showed at first some military skill. He overran Judæa, and recovered many cities for Ptolemy. Indeed the first Ptolemaic coinage of Tyre began about this period; [7] and of the tetradrachms of the age of

[1] Polybius, xv. 25 f., a most brilliant piece of word-painting. The description of the extraordinary uprising in Alexandria on the night of the massacre is worthy of the best modern novelist. [2] Polybius, xv. 31. 6. [3] Though these islands were afterwards taken from Philip by the Romans, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ (B.C. 197) with orders that they were to be restored to Ptolemy, they were never again a part of the Egyptian Empire, but were permanently lost (Polybius, xviii. 1. 14; Livy, xxxii. 33). [4] Dan. 11.[13] [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 3. 3. [6] *e.g.*, he insisted on receiving £40 a day from the Egyptian Government. [7] Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 800.

Ptolemy V, struck in Palestine at Sycamina (Haifa) and Scythopolis, two are still extant.[1] It looked as if Palestine might still belong to the Egyptian crown.

But the next campaign ended disastrously for Deltaic interests. Scopas was utterly routed by Antiochus at Banias, near the sources of the Jordan.[2] The battle proved to be the crucial blow that wrenched Palestine finally away from Nilotic control, and transferred it to the Seleucid Empire. Antiochus proceeded to annex Batanæa,[3] Samaria,[4] Abila,[5] and Gadara.[6] Soon the fortresses of Ptolemais and Sidon were in his hands.[7] *So the King of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the fenced cities, and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh* (Antiochus III) *against him* (the Egyptian King) *shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land* (Palestine) *and in his hand shall be destruction.*[8] Reaching Jerusalem, the Jews flocked out to meet him, bringing provisions for the Syrian soldiers, and the elephants. They joined in the attack on the Egyptian garrison in the citadel, and succeeded in driving them out, transferring their allegiance heartily to the King of Antioch. *And in those days there shall many stand up against the King of the South*[9] (Ptolemy Epiphanes). Antiochus, in a letter quoted by Josephus[10] as having been sent by the conqueror to Ptolemy, informed the young Egyptian King that, as Jerusalem was now annexed to the crown of Antioch, he had seen fit to grant the Jews of Judæa many privileges and immunities. He referred to the diminished population of the capital, the loss by enforced deportation into slavery, and stated that he was remitting all taxes for three years to its present inhabitants. From these hints we may gather how sorely the Jews had suffered in the constant wars that had raged for many years between Egypt and Syria.

But that the ancient and traditional friendship between Judæa and Egypt should thus be so completely shattered is a proof how wholly estranged the sympathies of the Jews must have been from their Alexandrian sovereign through the follies and cruelties of Philopator. With all their faults the early Ptolemies had been kindly disposed to the Jews, and their rule in Palestine had been popular. Now, however, the Holy Land, with the cordial approval of its population, was transferred to the rule of Antioch. The consequences were momentous. For though Antiochus the Great was himself favourable to the Jewish worship, and supported the temple in Jerusalem with lavish gifts,[11] his successors initiated a policy of ruthless Hellenizing which plunged the country into bitter strife and bloody war.

Yet though the Egyptian overlordship of Sinai and Palestine thus faded away, it is remarkable that in popular legend and folklore the old suzerainty of the Pharaohs over these lands was maintained. Many spots in Canaan and neighbourhood retain to this day names reminiscent of the period when the rule of Egypt was paramount in the land. Thus we have at Petra the *Khazneh Faroun*, or "Treasury of Pharaoh"; [12] the *Serai Farouns* or *Kasr Bint Faroun*, or "Palace of Pharaoh's daughter"; and the *Zob Faroun*, a solitary pillar 30 feet high.[13] Absalom's grave in

[1] They are preserved in the Paris and the Gotha Museums (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, ii. 50). [2] Later known as Cæsarea Philippi (Matt. 16 [13]). [3] On the east of Jordan in Bashan. [4] The district round the city of that name. [5] In Peræa in the Decapolis; *cf.* Luke 3.[1] [6] Um Keis near the Lake of Galilee; *cf.* Matt. 8.[28] [7] Polybius, xxviii. 1: Livy, xxxiii. 19. [8] Dan. 11.[15 16] [9] Dan 11.[14] [10] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 3. 3. [11] *Ibid.* [12] Described sumptuously with plates by H. Kohl, *Kasr Firaun in Petra*, 1910. [13] Ritter, *Comparat. Geog. of Palestine*, i. 439, 443.

the Valley of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem is called by the Arabs to-day *Tantur Faroun*, the "Horn of Pharaoh."[1] We have, again, *Ain el Hubeishiyeh*[2] "the spring of the Abyssinian" (or Nubian), and *Wady el Hubeishiyeh*,[2] "the valley of the Nubian," east of Tyre, a name which Sepp suggests is connected with the Egypto-Ethiopian deity Abus, from whom the Theban temple of Medinet Abu, and that of Abu Simbel, take their names: *Neby Mashûk*,[2] the "beloved" prophet, probably a survival of a title of the Tyrian Melkarth, worshipped under the Egyptian name of "Mi-Amen" or "Memnon," "beloved of Amen," to whose honour, as Lucian testifies, an Egyptian temple existed at Tyre: *Wady el Mashûk*,[3] "the valley of the beloved": *Ras el-Musry*,[3] the "headland of the Egyptian," south of Tyre: *Burj Musr*,[3] "the tower of Egypt," north-east of Accho: *Kanan el Musri*,[4] "the peaks of the Egyptian" hilltops east of Bethlehem: *Khurbet el Musry*,[4] "the ruin of the Egyptian," near El Jib (Gibeah): *Ain Umm Tukh*,[5] a word which has no meaning in Arabic, but which is a very common topographical name in Egypt: *Ferôn*,[6] "Pharaoh," west of Samaria: and places like *Wady er Rakhum*,[7] "the valley of the Egyptian vulture," and *Bir Rakhamah*,[8] "the well of the Egyptian vulture." Place-names in Palestine are, as a rule, very ancient in signification, and these that have survived point to this era wherein Canaan was a province of the Ptolemies in which Deltaic custom and rule were paramount.

It is of singular interest to note that we apparently have in the Canon of the Old Testament a book which accurately reflects the troubles and upheavals of this time of transition, and the consequent despair and pessimism which affected the minds of those whose lot was cast in a period so chequered with sorrow. The historical situation outlined in the *Book of Ecclesiastes* fits in exactly to the opening years of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.[9] The *old and foolish King* is Ptolemy Philopator, who from the Jewish estimate was one *who knoweth not how to receive admonition any more*,[10] rebuked though he had been for his persecution of the Hebrew race. The *poor and wise youth*[11] is Ptolemy V, a boy of five when called to the throne, whose tender years and early engaging disposition begat hopes which unfortunately were later not realized. Though born in a palace his life was so absolutely at the disposal of the vile favourites who held him a captive that it was true that *out of prison he came forth to be King: yea, even in his Kingdom he was born poor.*[12] The misery of Egypt under the tyranny of Agathocles and Sosibius is seen in *Woe to thee, O land, where thy King is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning!*[13] *Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low place.*[14] There was no security even for the most ancient families in the Delta while the two favourites held the reins of power. *I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.*[15] It was a time when it was dangerous even to whisper suggestions of a revolution. *Curse not the King, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.*[16] Everywhere throughout the land was the most reckless injustice and rankling wrong. *I saw in the place of judgment* (the Royal Court of Justice) *that wickedness was there;*

[1] Wolcott in *Biblioth. Sacra.*, 1843, p. 34. [2] *Survey of West. Palestine, Name Lists*, sheet i. [3] *Ibid.*, sheet iii. [4] Sheet xvii. [5] *Ibid.*, sheet xiv. [6] *Ibid.*, sheet xi. [7] *Ibid.*, sheet iii. [8] *Ibid.*, sheet xxi. [9] Details in Barton, *Ecclesiastes* (Intern. Crit. Comm.), pp. 61, 120. [10] Eccles. 4.[13] [11] *Ib.* [12] Eccles. 4.[14] [13] Ec. 10.[16] [14] Ec. 10.[6] [15] Ec. 10.[7] [16] Ec. 10.[20]

and in the place of righteousness (the Great Synagogue of Alexandria) *that wickedness was there.*[1] *I saw all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter*[2] (*i.e.*, no redress). *If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and the violent taking away of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter, for one higher than the high regardeth, and there be higher than they.*[3] Then came the stroke of vengeance. The favourites were massacred, but the mischief was done. So disgusted were the Jews with the rule of the Ptolemies that, as we have seen, they hailed the advent of young Antiochus III as that of a deliverer. *I saw all the living which walk under the sun, that they were with the youth, the second* (Antiochus III) *that stood up in his* (Ptolemy V) *stead. There was no end of all the people, even of all them over whom he was* (the Kingdom of Antiochus the Great was very extensive). *Yet they that come after shall not rejoice in him*[4] (his policy of expansion and conquest merely weakened his own Kingdom, as his successors found). The strong rule of Antiochus III was welcomed. *Happy art thou, O land, when thy King is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness!*[5] And probably in the story of *the little city* which was *besieged by a great King*, and which was *delivered by a poor wise man*,[6] we have a reference to the siege of Dor in Palestine (B.C. 218).[7]

While thus the historical references in the book fit in remarkably into the early days of Ptolemy V's reign, the intellectual and moral atmosphere of the book gives us a vivid insight into the sceptical cosmopolitanism of Alexandria. *Ecclesiastes* would seem to be the autobiography of a Jew who had come down from Palestine into Alexandria, where he had lost faith in Judaism as a satisfying religion. Thereafter he tried all the various schools of philosophy represented in the capital of Egypt:[8] experienced the sweets of love followed by bitter disappointment:[9] lived thereafter a reckless, immoral life: but at last returned with shame and sorrow and deep repentance to the God of his fathers, saying, *This is the end of the matter: all hath been heard: fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.*[10]

These views have been advanced, among others, by Plumptre,[11] Pfleiderer,[12] Momerie,[13] Siegfried,[14] Haupt,[15] McNeile,[16] and Barton,[17] with modifications in each case. Momerie indeed has shown how Koheleth is steeped in Alexandrian thought. The phrase *under the sun* which occurs 29 times,[18] is used in the sense in which the Greeks used it, to signify the totality of human life. The expression has recently been found on the famous Egyptian tomb of Tabnith discovered at Sidon. "He who opens my sepulchre shall have no prosperity *under the sun*, and he shall not find repose in his tomb."[19] In the frequent expression *who knoweth?*[20] *who can tell?* we recognize the ever-recurring formula of Pyrrhonism. We

[1] Ec. 3.[16] [2] Ec. 4.[1] [3] Ec. 5.[8] [4] Ec. 4.[15 16] [5] Ec. 10.[17] [6] Ec. 9.[13-15] [7] Polybius, v. 66. So Hitzig, *Comm. in loco.* [8] Eccles. 1[17 18], 7.[25] [9] Ec. 7.[26 28] [10] Ec. 12.[13] [11] Plumptre, *Eccles.* (1881) (Cambridge Bible). [12] Pfleiderer, *Die Philosophie des Heraclit von Ephesos nebst Koheleth und besonders im Buch der Weisheit*, 1886. [13] Momerie, *Agnosticism and other Sermons* (1884) pp. 173–177. [14] Siegfried, *Prediger und Hoheslied* (1898). [15] Haupt, *Koheleth*, 1905. [16] McNeile, *Introd. to Eccles.* 1904. [17] Barton, *Eccles.* in *Int. Crit. Comm.*, 1908, p. 59. Tyler (*Eccles.*, 1874) fixes the date about B.C. 200, nearly the date assigned by Hitzig on other grounds. Tyler, however, places the writer of the book in Jerusalem, not in Alexandria (p. 63) [18] Eccles. 1[3 9 14], 2[11 17 18 19 20 22], 3[16], 4[1 3 7 15], 5[13 18], 6[1 12], 8[9 15] (*bis*) [17], 9[3 6] 9[9] (*bis*) [11 13], 10.[5] [19] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, p. 209: *C.I.S.*, i. 3 Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 26, 30. [20] Eccles. 2[19], 3[21], 6[12], 8[1 7], 10[14], 11.[5 6]

have the technical καιρός of Chilon, Pittacus, Demetrius, Thales, and Theognis,[1] in the oft repetition of *To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.*[2] We have reminiscences of the Stoic doctrine of recurring cycles of vapour,[3] of dust,[4] of madness,[5] of folly,[5] while Stoic thought is detected also in the refrain *Vanity of vanities: this also is vanity.*[6] We have the μηδὲν ἄγαν of the Seven Sages in *Be not righteous over much: neither make thyself overwise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself? be not overmuch wicked, neither be thou foolish, why shouldest thou die before thy time?*[7] We have echoes of Epicurus, and a foretaste of Lucretius and Horace, in the hedonistic theory of life[8] enunciated in many passages such as: *There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink and make his soul enjoy good in his labour:*[9] *that which I have seen to be good and to be comely is for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy good in all his labour wherein he laboureth under the sun, all the days of his life which God hath given him: for this is his portion:*[10] *I commended mirth, because a man hath no better thing under the sun than to eat and to drink, and to be merry.*[11]

Other traces of Egyptian influence are to be discerned in the saying *Thou knowest not what is the way of the wind, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child,*[12] where there is doubtless a reference to the famous school of anatomy and medicine, and to the scientific discussions carried on in the Museum at Alexandria: and in the poetico-scientific description of what takes place at death—*the silver cord* (the spinal marrow) *is loosed; the golden bowl* (the brain) *is broken; the pitcher is broken at the fountain* (the heart stops), and *the wheel is broken at the cistern*[13] (the blood ceases to circulate[14]). It is remarkable also that Koheleth's proverb *A wise man's heart is at his right hand, but a fool's heart at his left*[15] has an exact Egyptian parallel, "The breath of life passes to the right side, the breath of death to the left."[16] The Library also, with its prolific coterie of authors, Koheleth seems also to have in view when he says *Furthermore, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end: and much study is a weariness of the flesh.*[17] When he says *There is no discharge in that war,*[18] he uses a simile derived from the limited term of service during which foreign mercenaries fought under the Egyptian sovereigns: when he says *Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days,*[19] we have a reference to the Egyptian practice of scattering the seed upon the lands inundated by the Nile, which in due season becomes dry and yields abundant harvest: and when he speaks of *man going to his long home*[20] or the "house of eternity," he is

[1] H. Ranston (*Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, xxxiv. (1918) 99) has shown how remarkable are the interdependencies of thought between Ecclesiastes and Theognis: and how Koheleth must have been intimately acquainted with the Greek elegiac poet who flourished about B.C. 540. [2] Eccles. 3^{1} f. $9.^{11}$ [3] Eccles. $1.^{6}$ [4] Eccles. 3^{20} $12.^{7}$ [5] Ec. $2.^{12}$ [6] Ec. 1^{2} f. [7] Ec. $7.^{16\ 17}$ [8] This theory of existence was abundantly exemplified in the second Ptolemy's experience. Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 162) says "His philosophy was that of the Cyrenaic school, which held that to seize and enjoy the passing pleasure, the brief acme of each delight, the μονόχρονος ἡδονή, was the only thing worth living for, and the only brief though intermittent happiness attainable." [9] Eccles. $2.^{24}$ also $3.^{12\ 13}$ [10] Eccl. $5.^{18}$ [11] Ec. 8^{15}; see also $9.^{7\text{-}10}$ [12] Ec. $11.^{5}$ [13] Ec. $12.^{6}$ [14] It is believed by some that the Egyptians, through their knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the body, gained by their practice of embalming, had arrived in an early period at a discovery of the fact of the circulation of the blood, and that the knowledge was subsequently lost till Harvey rediscovered the truth in 1628. This cannot, however, be proved. Aristotle and the other medical writers of antiquity looked on the heart as a kind of blood-fountain, and had no conception of actual circulation. [15] Eccles. $10.^{2}$ [16] *Papyrus Ebers.* [17] Eccl. $12.^{12}$ [18] Ec. $8.^{8}$ [19] Ec. $11.^{1}$ [20] Ec. $12.^{5}$

employing the recognized Egyptian phraseology for the lower world of shades.[1]

Putting all these " watermarks " together, we surely are not far wrong when we assign this most interesting, if gloomy, book to the period when Palestine was passing out of the hands of Egypt, and being transferred to the rule of Antioch ; and conclude that it was written by one who had mixed in the whirling civic life of Alexandria, who had been swept off his feet for a time by the tinsel fastness and brilliance of the Egyptian capital, but who by bitter experience had learned that *the way of transgressors is hard*.[2]

To return to the story of Egypto-Palestinian relations. When news of these naval and land disasters reached the regent Aristomenes, he deemed it prudent to invoke the protection of Rome. The rising Republic of the West eagerly responded, and sent envoys to Antiochus warning him against attacking any further the possessions of the young Epiphanes. Antiochus in fear desisted, " saving his face " by stating that he was arranging a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and young Ptolemy which would satisfy all parties.

Meanwhile at home Egypt was convulsed with internal insurrection. The Thebaid was in open revolt under princes who styled themselves " Kings." [3] The Delta was constantly being reddened with the blood of massacred insurgents. Scopas, the ex-governor of Palestine, with his boundless avarice, fomented rebellion against the righteous government of Aristomenes, until in united Council the patriot Regent was condemned to die by poison. The guardians of the boy-King deemed it judicious to hasten his coronation.[4] Epiphanes was therefore crowned amid great state in B.C. 196, and the settlements made at the time were recorded on the famous *Rosetta Stone*.[5] This trilingual tablet—in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek—which now stands in the British Museum, was the instrument which, in Champollion's hands, unlocked the hitherto sealed hieroglyphic script, and opened the treasures of the monuments to the learned world. The stele describes the solemn crowning of the King in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and the subsequent internal changes of administration in an attempt to placate the native element in the population who were full of bitterness against the arrogance of the " Macedonian foreigners." It is noteworthy that the coronation took place, not in Alexandria, but in Memphis, the ancient capital where the first King of the Ist Dynasty had commenced his reign. Though the founding of Alexandria had proved

[1] Diodorus (i. 51, 93) says that the Egyptians used the terms ἀΐδιοι οἶκοι and ἡ αἰώνιος οἴκησις of Sheol. [2] I am sorry to have to dissent from the opinion of my old teacher Principal Sir G. A. Smith, who (*Jerusalem*, ii. 410–419) is root and branch opposed to the idea that Ecclesiastes took its origin in Egypt. "Ecclesiastes," he says, " was a son of Jerusalem. The Preacher was not a Jew of the Dispersion, nor does he even appear to have been a traveller like Ben Sira." [3] See W. Otto in Pauly, *Real. Encyc.* on the Theban King Harmachis and his revolt and reign. [4] His ἀνακλητήρια or "proclamation of release from being under a guardian." [5] The stone was first discovered during Napoleon's expedition in 1799, and was on the point of being sent to Paris : but after the battle of the Nile the British carried it to London. See Champollion, *Précis du Système Hieroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens*, 1828 : Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana*, Berlin, 1851 : Uhlemann, *Inscriptionis Rosettanæ Hieroglyphicæ*, Leipzig, 1853. On the question whether it is Young or Champollion to whom the honour is due of being the first to decipher the hieroglyphics of the stone, see Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 127–152, and for a popular history of the decipherment by means of the Greek parallel text, see Budge, *The Dwellers on the Nile*, chap. i. : *Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, 1899, pp. 1–27 : *The Rosetta Stone*, 1903. English renderings of the inscription in full will be found in Sharpe, *The Rosetta Stone*, 1871 : *R.P.*, iv. 71 f., and Mahaffy, *Hist. of Ptol. Dynasty*, p. 152 f. The Greek text is in Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 316 f., and Strack, *Dyn. der Ptolemäer*, p. 240.

a fatal blow to the commercial and political prosperity of Memphis, her religious supremacy remained unchallenged. Great might be the splendour and magnificence of the Royal Court at Alexandria, yet the old city of Menes retained a magical veneration in the eyes of all devout Egyptians which the newness of Alexander's foundation could never share. And as the coronation of Epiphanes was carried out thus early in his reign with the direct purpose of gratifying outraged native Egyptian sentiment, and of snubbing the arrogant pretensions of the rebels who adhered to Amen-Ra at Thebes,[1] it was at Memphis, in the temple of Ptah, where the young monarch was enthroned.

Three years later,[2] Epiphanes espoused Cleopatra the daughter of his enemy Antiochus the Great. The princess was conducted by her father with immense pomp through Palestine to the frontier, and on the ill-omened site of Raphia, where so many thousands had spilled their blood, the marriage took place.[3] The dowry granted by Antiochus with his daughter was to be Cœle-Syria, Samaria, Judæa, and Phœnicia. Epiphanes may have imagined that this meant the cession of these lost provinces : Antiochus probably intended that only certain of the taxes from these lands should be the annual perquisite of the new queen.[4] In any case, the latter hoped that his daughter would work in his interest, and that the outcome of the marriage would be the ultimate absorption of Egypt within the already huge limits of the Seleucid Empire. *He* (Antiochus III) *shall set his face to come with the strength of his whole Kingdom, and shall make equitable conditions with him* (Ptolemy Epiphanes), *and he shall give him the daughter of women* (Cleopatra) *to corrupt her : but she shall not stand, neither be for him* (her father).[5] Cleopatra remained loyal to her husband's interests, and Antiochus' scheme to annex the Nile provinces by craft signally failed.

But from this time onward Epiphanes went from bad to worse. More and more he imitated his father's vices. He murdered Aristomenes, the wise counsellor who had saved his Kingdom from ruin. He lived an idle, vicious, debauched life. His cruelty and bad faith in regard to solemn pledges made his rule odious.[6] He took away from the temples the revenues which had long been theirs, and absorbed them for his royal requirements and pleasures. When he saw that the Romans were bent on crushing Antiochus the Great, he and his wife sent offering help ; but the Romans declined the proffered assistance. He had always his eye on the lost Palestinian provinces, and when Antiochus, defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (B.C. 190), died in B.C. 187, Epiphanes imagined the opportunity favourable for an attempt to regain them. He saw that the new Syrian King, Seleucus IV Philopator, was fully absorbed in raising money to pay to the Romans the enormous war indemnity laid by the victors upon his deceased father, and he suggested to his nobles that another expedition should be got ready with the view of recovering Canaan to the Egyptian crown. When his nobles, however, understood that the finances for this campaign were to be raised by the sale of the title of " Friend of the King," they were so

[1] It would seem that from the 16th year of Ptolemy IV to the 19th year of Ptolemy V, the Thebaid was in revolt under at least four Kings who may have had their headquarters in Nubia (Revillout, *Revue Égyptol.*, ii. 145 : but see Krall, *Studien*, ii. 43 n.) [2] The boy-King was not yet 17 years of age ! [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 1 : Appian, *Syr.* 5 : Livy, xxxvii. 3 : Polybius, xxviii. 17. [4] Stark, *Gaza*, p. 426. [5] Dan. 11.[17] [6] He executed with abominable cruelty the nobles of Lycopolis, who had surrendered on promise of their lives (Polybius, xxii. 6. 7). Polycrates, his new favourite, did the same towards other nobles at Sais.

jealous of their privileges and order that they poisoned their sovereign in the 29th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign (B.C. 182).[1]

It was fortunate for the Jews that, during these anxious and critical times, when their nation was being transferred from the rule of Egypt to that of Syria, they had as high priests men of the noblest character and dignity. About the time of the death of Epiphanes, or a little later,[2] there appeared in Hebrew *The Book of Ecclesiasticus*, which was translated into Greek in Alexandria [3] under the title of *The Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach*.[4] It is one of the grandest specimens of Hebrew Hochma literature.[5] It sets forth in the style of the Book of Proverbs the Jewish ideals of right conduct and true devotion to God. It views the Law as a completed whole, and is free from the pedantic puerilities of later Scribism. It abounds in wise sayings, practical counsel, and judicious advice, and its remarkable purity of thought and nobility of diction mark it out as being the work of one of the most distinguished sons of Abraham.[6] It exercised a great influence on Early Christian thought, and it is generally agreed that while the Epistle of James reveals traces of intimate acquaintance with its Wisdom view-point,[7] the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews also borrowed from it his idea of the long and magnificent roll of Jewish worthies commemorated in the eleventh chapter. He found his model in chapters 44–50 of *Ecclesiasticus*, wherein starting from the exordium "Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us," Ben-Sirach contributes a grand and brilliant characterization of the great personages in the history of the Chosen People, from Enoch down to Simon II, the high priest. This last worthy is most nobly and lovingly depicted: "How glorious was he when the people gathered round him at his coming forth out of the sanctuary! As the morning star in the midst of a cloud, as the moon at the full . . . when he took up the robe of glory . . . he made glorious the precinct of the sanctuary." It was he who defended the Temple against the threatened sacrilegious entrance of Ptolemy IV, and as Ben-Sirach says "It was he who took thought for his people that they should not fall." Fortunate was it for the Hebrew race in these dark days that their titular head, and his equally noble successor Onias III,[8] were men so fearless, so faithful, so pious, and so disinterested.

There was need for a steady head and a clear brain, for the currents running in Judæa were many and furious. There was the Pharisaic or Hasidim party,[9] who hated everything savouring of Hellenism, and who were fanatics for the Law. There was the Sadducee party, composed mainly of rich and aristocratic priests, for whose worldly spirits Greek culture

[1] Jerome, *Comm. in Dan.* xi. [2] See Deane in *Expos.* 2nd Ser. vi. 321: Barton (*Ecclesiastes*, p. 60) fixes the date of the Hebrew original between B.C. 180–176. [3] The author says he came into Egypt in the 38th year of Euergetes, the King, where he found "a copy affording no small instruction," which he forthwith desires now to interpret. This would be Ptolemy IX Euergetes II (B.C. 146–117). But as Euergetes II counted his regnal years from the 12th year of his brother Philometor, the 38th year of his reign would be B.C. 132. The date of the translation into Greek is therefore B.C. 132–116). [4] See Box and Oesterley in Charles' *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, i. 293. [5] For the indebtedness of Ecclesiasticus to Egyptian religious conceptions, see Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity*, p. 77. [6] For full details, see Nestle's article, SIRACH in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 539–551. [7] Jas. 1 ^{5}=Sir. 18 ^{18}, 20 ^{15}, 41^{22}, Jas. 1 $^{6\ 8}$=Sir. 1 ^{28}, 2^{12}, Jas. 1 $^{2\text{-}4}$=Sir. 2^{1} Jas. 1 $^{13\text{-}15}$=Sir. 15$^{11\text{-}20}$, Jas. 1 ^{19}=Sir. 5^{11}, Jas. 1 ^{23}=Sir. 12^{11}, Jas. 5 ^{5}=Sir. 27^{13}, Jas. 5 ^{14}=Sir. 38.$^{9\text{-}15}$ The resemblances are most striking in the Greek of both books, see Box and Oesterley, *op. cit.*, i. 295. [8] He is described in 2 Macc. xv. 12 as "a virtuous and good man, reverend in conversation, gentle in behaviour, zealous for the Law." [9] For a full account of the origin and rise of the Pharisees and Sadducees, see Eaton in Hastings' *D.B.*, *s.v.*: Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 1. 4–43: and Stapfer, *Palestine in the time of Christ*, p. 265 f.

and foreign customs had a great fascination. There were also the Sons of Tobiah, the partisans of that unscrupulous Joseph who had wormed himself into the post of Comptroller-General of the taxes under Ptolemy III. Joseph had maintained his position under Ptolemy IV, and on the birth of Ptolemy V he had sent his son Hyrcanus to Alexandria to convey congratulations and presents to his patron the Egyptian King. The young man had proved himself as full of cunning, smartness, and unscrupulousness, as his father.[1] He had obtained from Philopator the promise of succession to the Judæan Comptrollership: but on reaching Palestine he had to fight for his life against the jealousy of his brother, and the enmity of his father. He had withdrawn across the Jordan, built for himself a castle near Heshbon,[2] and there he now tyrannized as the nominal representative of Egypt, while his brothers were solid in their partisanship for Syria.

With such discordant elements in furious antagonism in Palestine, the position of Onias III was peculiarly difficult and unenviable. Himself the leader of the Hasidim, his bitterest opponent was his brother Jesus or Jason, a devoted Hellenist. We are indebted to another product of Alexandrian literary activity for a historical incident in which the perils of the times are brought out. The so-called *Second Book of Maccabees* is a work[3] dating from the first half of the first pre-Christian century (*c.* B.C. 100–50), and is an abridgment in Greek of a previous work by one Jason, a Jew of Cyrene,[4] composed not earlier than B.C. 130.[5] It was written by an ardent Pharisee of Alexandria to foster reverence for the Temple in Jerusalem amongst the Jews resident in Egypt. To him we are indebted[6] for the legend of how Onias III withstood Heliodorus, when that Syrian functionary was despatched by his royal master, Seleucus Philopator, to rob the Temple of the immense stores of gold hoarded in its vaults by Hyrcanus, the philo-Egyptian, and how *the exactor*, who *passed through the glory of the Kingdom, within few days was broken, neither in anger nor in battle.*[7] The story told how Heliodorus was attacked on the threshold of the temple by an angelic horseman in golden armour, along with two beautiful youths, who flogged the aggressor with such vigour that the attempted sacrilege was prevented. The legend may be an embellishment, but the book itself is an interesting example of how an intense and burning orthodoxy may glow in the bosom of an exile from the land of his fathers, and how even in a heathen city like Alexandria, a Jew might be more zealous for the Law and the worship of Jehovah than those actually resident in the Holy City of Jerusalem.

[1] See the story of his mendacious astuteness told by Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 7–9.
[2] It must have been a wonderful structure with its immense white stones, some 25 feet long, its enormous carved stone animals, its great deep canal of water, its numerous caves, its courts and gardens. Its architecture showed the influence of Egypt in its semi-Egyptian pillars and cornices. Its ruins may be seen to-day at Arak-el-Emir; it is described and illustrated with photographs by G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 425, and Selah Merrill, *Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 373. See Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 4. 11.
[3] The opening verses are as follows:—"The brethren, the Jews that are in Jerusalem, and they that are in the country of Judæa, send greetings to the brethren, the Jews that are throughout Egypt, and wish them good peace." Again v.[10] says "They that are in Jerusalem and they that are in Judæa, and the senate and Judas, unto Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the anointed priests, and unto the Jews that are in Egypt, send greetings and health." This Aristobulus is doubtless the peripatetic philosopher, who lived at the Court of Ptolemy Philometor (Clem. Alex. *Strom.*, v. 14. 97). [4] 2 Mac. 2.[23] [5] Moffatt in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseud. of O.T.*, i. 128. [6] 2 Mac. iii. [7] Dan. 11.[20]

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Reigns of Ptolemy VI Eupator and Ptolemy VII Philometor (B.C. 182–146)

The murder of Ptolemy V was followed by the brief reign of Ptolemy VI Eupator, his eldest son, who was probably associated with his father for a short period, and whose sole reign can only have extended over a few months.[1] He soon made way for his younger brother, Ptolemy VII Philometor (B.C. 182–146), who ascended the throne at the early age of seven.

For the first seven years of his reign, Egypt enjoyed perfect calm under the wise, strong rule of his mother, Cleopatra I. But shortly after her death, the boy-King married his sister Cleopatra II,[2] and then there once more began the old quarrel regarding the ownership of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Seleucus IV had been murdered by his minister Heliodorus, who placed on the Syrian throne Demetrius, the son of his assassinated sovereign (B.C. 175). The sagacious Cleopatra I had drawn for years the revenues of Palestine in accordance with the stipulations of her marriage dowry, and in various ways she had also been quietly seeking to restore Egyptian influence and prestige throughout the lost provinces. Now that she was dead (B.C. 173) her son, the new Ptolemy, desired not only to enjoy the taxes, but to possess again the land.

But a new claimant made his appearance in the person of Antiochus IV Epiphanes,[3] a brother of the murdered Seleucus, who had routed the usurper of the throne of Antioch.[4] While the Egyptian King, prompted by his two favourites, the eunuch Eulæus and a Syrian Lenæus, was merely preparing to invade Palestine, Antiochus actually did it. He marched through Canaan with the intention of attacking Egypt. Near Pelusium the two

[1] It was Lepsius who first established the existence of this shadowy sixth Ptolemy, basing his views on the records of nine hieroglyphic inscriptions, and several demotic texts (*Trans. Berl. Akad.*, 1852, p. 456). In 1895, Grenfell discovered a Greek papyrus corroborating Lepsius' views, and giving a list of the first ten Ptolemies. Pareti, however, has started a new hypothesis which may yet turn out to be the correct one. It is that Ptolemy Eupator was really the son of Ptolemy Philometor, and was associated on the throne with his father till he predeceased him. When this happened, Neos Philopator, another son of Philometor, was next taken into partnership, outlived his father, but was soon murdered by Ptolemy Euergetes II (" Ricerche sin Tolemei Eupatore e Neo Filopatore " in *Atte del R. Accademie delle Scienze di Torino*, xliii. (1908). [2] *The Rest of Esther*, 11.[1] [3] G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, ii. 430) says that the name Epiphanes, "the God who manifests himself," seems Egyptian in origin, and the first Greek monarch who assumed it was Ptolemy V. [4] Antiochus IV, along with all other States, sent an ambassador to the *Anacleteria* of the young Philometor. The envoy—Apollonius, the son of Menestheus—acted also as a spy to discover the plans of the new Egyptian sovereign relative to Palestine (2 Mac. 4 [21]).

armies met, and Ptolemy was completely worsted.[1] Antiochus had a great multitude of chariots, elephants, cavalry, and a large navy:[2] the Egyptians, as usual, were unprepared, out-generaled, and undisciplined. There was a great slaughter, and without a pause the conqueror pressed on with a small force to Memphis. Here Ptolemy Philometor fell into his hands, and Antiochus proclaimed himself King of Egypt.[3] It looked as if the long-delayed subjection of the Nile Valley to Syria had at last been accomplished. *He* (Antiochus Epiphanes) *shall stir up his power and his courage against the King of the South* (Ptolemy VII) *with a great army: and the King of the South shall war in battle with an exceeding great and mighty army, but he shall not stand, for they shall devise devices against him.*[4] The humiliation of Egypt was the result of the youth of Philometor, and the poltroonery of the two incompetent courtiers: *They that eat of his table shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow, and many shall fall down slain.*[5]

Meanwhile the populace of Alexandria refused to acknowledge the blustering conqueror as their sovereign. They raised to the throne a younger brother of Philometor, who later reigned as Ptolemy IX Euergetes II. Antiochus accordingly quitted Memphis, marched on Alexandria, and besieged it. But though it suffered agonies from famine, the city would not surrender. Both parties appealed to Rome.[6] The two young Ptolemies pleaded the ancient friendship that had subsisted between the Republic and the Delta, and inveighed against the injustice of having their ancestral patrimony torn from them. Antiochus enlarged on the fact that Canaan was his in virtue of his father's conquest of it, and demanded that his possession of the territory should be confirmed. Though the Senate returned a non-committal answer to both claimants, Antiochus must have recognized that he had gone too far, for he retired sullenly to Memphis, leaving Alexandria uncaptured.[7]

At Memphis, while Philometor in despair was meditating flight to Samothrace,[8] he and his nephew came to terms. Philometor was to rule as Antiochus' deputy; to have no friendly relations with his brother Euergetes; and the fortress of Pelusium was to remain in the possession of a Syrian garrison. Probably neither party intended in the least to keep to the terms of the bargain, but as urgent matters elsewhere called Antiochus away, he felt that the arrangement made was the best that could be arrived at. *And as for both these Kings, their hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table: but it shall not prosper.*[9] For no sooner had the invader departed than the two brothers saw it to be their interest to reign conjointly, and Antiochus' cunning diplomacy was foiled. *He shall do his pleasure, and return to his own land.*[10]

Disappointed in his hopes of a mutually destructive civil war between the two Ptolemies, Antiochus returned next year with a host still more formidable.[11] But he had little success. *At the time appointed he* (Antiochus IV) *shall return, and come into the south: but it shall not be in the latter time as it was in the former.*[12] The two Ptolemies again appealed

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 5. 2. [2] 1 Mac. 1.[17] [3] Antiochus actually issued coins bearing his own name as sovereign of Egypt (Poole, *Coins of the Ptolemies*, p. lxiii.). [4] Dan. 11.[25] [5] Dan. 11.[26] [6] Polybius, xxviii. 1. [7] Livy, xliv. 19: xlv. 11. [8] Polybius, xxviii. 21: Diod. xxx. 17. An alternative theory is to the effect that he had already fled, but was overtaken at sea, and brought back to Memphis as a prisoner. [9] Dan. 11.[27] [10] Dan. 11.[28] [11] 2 Macc. 5.[1] At Rhinocoloura, on the frontier desert between Palestine and Egypt, envoys from Philometor met Epiphanes. They thanked him for his former support, and deprecated his renewed hostile attitude. Antiochus haughtily demanded the cession of Cyprus and of Pelusium by a fixed date. [12] Dan. 11.[29]

to Rome for aid. It arrived in the nick of time. Antiochus was within four miles of Alexandria when a Roman fleet sailed into the port with the Commissioner C. Popilius Lænas on board. In vain Antiochus endeavoured to get the stern Roman to shake hands. "Read that first," said the envoy, handing him the tablets containing the decree of the Senate. The despatch ordered him to quit Egypt without delay. "I will consult my 'Friends' on the subject," said Antiochus. Instantly Popilius with his staff drew a circle on the sand round the King, and thundered "You must decide before you step out of that circle." In terrified amazement, Antiochus acceded to all the demands of the Republic.[1] He retired from Egypt in high dudgeon, for though he feared neither God, man, nor devil, Epiphanes lived in a constant terror of the might and the vengeance of Rome. *For the ships of Kittim*[2] (*i.e.*, Cyprus transports conveying the Roman troops) *shall come against him* (Antiochus IV): *therefore he shall be grieved and shall return.*[3]

It was to Jerusalem that Antiochus now bent his steps with fury and madness in his heart. The godly Jewish high priest Onias III having, some time previously, been murdered at Antioch,[4] his post had been seized by his Hellenist brother Jason,[5] who was now a tool of the Syrian King for the introduction into Judæa of Greek customs and culture.[6] But Jason in turn had an equally vile rival in Menelaus, his own brother (according to Josephus [7]), the brother of Simon the Benjamite (according to 2 *Maccabees*[8]), who outdid Jason in his bribery of Antiochus, and obtained the high priesthood in his stead. The renegade high priest committed many atrocities, and for a time escaped punishment by offering fresh bribes to the King, using as an intermediary a certain courtier named Ptolemy, whose name betrays his Egyptian origin.[9] While Antiochus was in Egypt on his second campaign, a false rumour spread through Palestine that he was dead. The exiled Jason immediately returned from the land of the Ammonites whither he had fled, and with a thousand ruffians captured Jerusalem, where he butchered his fellow-citizens without mercy. Menelaus took refuge in the citadel and could not be dislodged. Jason was unable to hold the city and had again to flee. He was pursued by the vengeance of his countrymen to Ammon, to Nabatæa, to Egypt, and finally to Sparta, where he miserably perished.[10]

A distorted account of these events reached Antiochus in Egypt, and inflamed him with anger. He was further incensed against the Palestinian Jews from a persuasion on his part that but for the interference of their compatriots in Alexandria, who were angry at the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus in Jerusalem, he could have captured the capital of Egypt before the arrival of the Romans.[11] The vengeance he now inflicted on Jerusalem was terrible. His soldiers were ordered to cut down without mercy all they met, to slay those who took refuge on the housetops: and for three days there was an indiscriminate slaughter of "young and old, boys, women, and children, virgins and infants."[12] Forty thousand thus perished, and an equal number were sold into slavery. Menelaus conducted

[1] Polybius, xxix. 27: Livy, xlv. 12: Velleius Paterculus, i. 10: Diod. xxxi. 2: Appian, *Syr.*, 66: Justin, xxxiv. 3. 1: Valerius Maximus, vi. 3. [2] LXX has ἥξουσι Ρωμαῖοι. [3] Dan. 11.[30] [4] 2 Mac. 4.[34] Onias III is *the prince of the covenant* (Dan. 11[22]). Willrich (*Juden und Griechen vor d. makkab. Erhebung* (1895) p. 71) regards the account of Onias' murder as apocryphal: but Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. Oniaden*, p. 106 f. (1899), disposes of his argument. [5] 2 Mac. 4.[7] [6] *Ib.*, 4.[8-20] [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xii. 5. 1. [8] 2 Mac. 4.[23] [9] 2 Mac. 4.[45] [10] 2 Mac. 5.[5-10] [11] Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptolemies*, pp. 341, 495) supposes that the Jews in Egypt may have induced the Jews in Palestine to threaten Antiochus' retreat. [12] 2 Mac. 5.[12-14]

the King over all the Temple precincts, leading him even into the Holy of Holies; and when the last atrocity was accomplished, the "Madman"[1] went home to Antioch with an enormous treasure[2] (B.C. 170). Not a few scholars attribute to this terrible massacre the origin of some of the Psalms.[3] The words of the 79th are very applicable: *O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled: they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of Thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.*[4] In any case, it is to this unholy compact between the renegade Menelaus and the brutal Syrian King[5] that the Book of Daniel refers: *He* (Antiochus) *shall have indignation against the holy covenant, and shall do his pleasure: he shall even return and have regard unto them that forsake the holy covenant* (Menelaus and the Hellenizers), *and arms shall stand on his part, and they shall profane the sanctuary, even the fortress.*[6]

Two years later this atrocity was eclipsed by a still worse outrage. Antiochus despatched Apollonius against Jerusalem with an army of 22,000 men, ordering him to exterminate all of full age, and to sell the rest into slavery.[7] On a Sabbath day when the Jews refused to fight the city was captured. It was soon reddened with the blood of thousands, sacked, and given over to the flames, its houses and walls being demolished.[8] The miserable survivors escaped as best they could. Many fled to Egypt, the time-honoured refuge of the oppressed in Canaan: others betook themselves to *deserts and mountains and caves and the holes of the earth*[9] In order "that all should be one people"[10]—a community thoroughly Hellenized and pagan—the Jews were prohibited on pain of death from observing their ancestral faith. Circumcision was forbidden: the religious services must cease: the Sabbath must be discontinued. The Temple at Jerusalem was dedicated to the worship of Jupiter Olympius.[11] On 25th December, B.C. 168, a sow was offered up on the great altar of burnt offering, and thus *the continual burnt offering* was taken away, and *the abomination that maketh desolate* was set up.[12] The people in every town and village were forced to crown themselves with ivy, and to march in procession in honour of Bacchus.[13] Inquisitors passed through the land, and terrorized the populace into surrendering their copies of the Law,[14] while they massacred all who were found following out the Mosaic regulations. Many in fear of their lives conformed: but many *others were tortured, not accepting their deliverance.*[15] A famous legend of such heroism is preserved in 2 *Maccabees.*[16] The awful persecution could not, however, stamp out the devotion of the Jews to Jehovah. It brought to light the Maccabees[17] —the father Mattathias, and his five heroic sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan—who all contributed their share in the defence and liberation of their country from the Syrian tyranny. *The people that know their God shall be strong and do exploits.*[18]

The troubles of the period gave birth to one of the most celebrated of Jewish non-canonical writings. The *Book of Enoch* is partly to be dated

[1] He called himself Antiochus Epiphanes "the Glorious": his citizens nicknamed him "Epimanes" the "Madman." [2] 1800 talents (2 Mac. 5 [21]) and the sacred vessels of the Temple (1 Mac. 1.[20-24]); *cf.* Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 5. 4. [3] Such as the 44th, 74th, 79th, and 83rd. [4] Psa. 79.[1-3] [5] *A contemptible person* is how he is described in Dan 11.[21] [6] Dan. 11.[30 31] [7] 2 Mac. 5.[24-27] [8] 1 Mac. 1.[31] [9] Heb. 11 [38], a passage which refers to this Great Persecution. [10] 1 Mac. 1.[41] [11] 2 Mac. 6.[2] [12] Dan. 11.[31] [13] 2 Mac. 6.[7] [14] 1 Mac. 1.[56 57] [15] Heb. 11.[35] [16] 2 Mac. 6 [18]–7.[42] [17] On the meaning and derivation of the name "Maccabee" see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 437. [18] Dan. 11.[32]

(section lxxxiii.–xc.) from the time when Egyptian domination of Palestine was being superseded by the rule of Antioch, and when the Hasidim were fanatically accepting death rather than desertion of Jehovah's Law [1] (symbolized by the lambs that were born to the white sheep [2]). By the lambs which grew to be horned we must understand the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabæus.[3] Another section (xci.–civ.) is much later (after B.C. 109 and probably B.C. 95–79). *Enoch* is thus a composite work, with authors ranging over a long period, and the treatise is therefore of very unequal merit. Nevertheless, it gives us a most important insight into the working of the Jewish mind relative to the tragedies that oppressed the Hebrew race, the unhappiness and the convulsions of the world, the rise of new problems, and the upspringing of new hopes and longings in the breasts of the pious in Israel. It is not a single book, but a library of pre-Christian theology and philosophic moralizing on the evolution of the world's ethics, and on what was yet to come. It is the culmination of Hebrew apocalyptic, and its bold excursions into the mysteries to come exercised a profound influence on the thoughts of men as they waited for the long-expected Messiah. Its angelology and demonology are strongly marked, and reveal the fact that Palestine was being swept, during this time of swift change, by waves of thought from every quarter. By the close of the second century B.C., and during the first century B.C., the book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. At the end of the first Christian century the apostle Jude cites it as Scripture.[4] But after the third century *Enoch* fell into discredit, and gradually passed out of circulation.[5]

Another famous literary work which owed its origin to the same political upheaval was the *Sibylline Oracles*.[6] The heroism of the Maccabean struggle and the glorious issue of the contest against the forces of paganism had made the Jews, both in Palestine and in Egypt, more than ever convinced as to the divine mission of the Law. With fiery zeal they now sought for opportunities of pressing on all foreign nations the claims of the Jewish revelation. Combined with this new-born missionary fervour was a deepening eschatological bent of mind, and a turning with ever more ardent longing to the glorious future when God would rectify the awful evils and injustices of this world, and establish a Messianic reign of righteousness. A certain Jew at the Court of Ptolemy Philometor, Aristobulus by name, as an apostle of pan-Judaism, began about B.C. 160 to enforce the proposition that the Hebrew Scriptures were the originals from which the great writers of Greece had derived their inspiration and drawn their main ideas. A little later, another Jew resident in Alexandria conceived the notion that if he could use the literary artifice of concocting mysterious verses after the manner of the famous heathen Sibyls, he might thus extend the knowledge of Judaism to a remarkable degree. The world was already familiar with many a celebrated Sibyl, for many a writer had referred to them. Solinus and Ausonius mention three ; Pausanias and Ælian speak of four : Clement of Alexandria names nine, and Varro's list gives ten.[7] Their *modus operandi* was to utter oracular vaticinations in ambiguous and mysterious language, and their popularity was widespread throughout the ancient world. This pious Egyptian Jew now took heathen

[1] Charles in art. APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE in *Encycl. Bibl.*, and *The Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, ii. 171. [2] *Enoch* 90.[6] [3] *En.* 90.[9] [4] Jude 14, *Enoch also the seventh from Adam, prophesied*, etc. [5] Charles, *op. cit.*, ii. 165. [6] See Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah* (1886), p. 41 f. [7] Lanchester in Charles, *Apoc. and Pseudepi. of the O.T.*, ii. 369.

prophecies, re-edited them, and issued them cleansed from paganism, and adapted to inculcate monotheism to glorify God's Chosen Race.

His example was followed in succeeding centuries. The number of the so-called *Sibylline Oracles* rapidly increased, and it is now a task demanding very considerable literary dexterity to unravel the allusions in them, and to date the various strata of pious pseudepigrapha which range from about B.C. 160 to the 5th century A.D. Some are heathen, some Jewish, some Christian: others are a combination of these three elements in varying proportions. But most of them are Egyptian in origin though dealing with affairs in Palestine, and their systematic appearance century after century reveals again how intimate was the correspondence maintained between these neighbouring territories.[1]

While the terrible persecution in Palestine was in full progress, and while the Maccabees were contending valiantly against their oppressors, the two Ptolemies on the throne of Egypt observed a measure of amity.[2] But while Philometor was putting down an insurrection in the Thebaid,[3] and at the same time repairing and rebuilding temples on an extensive scale in Upper Egypt,[4] his villainous younger brother Euergetes II, who had been nicknamed "Physcon,"[5] seized the reins of government. The elder Ptolemy was compelled to flee to Rome as a solitary fugitive, attended by one eunuch and three slaves.[6] His abject appearance, and his earnest pleadings, led the Senate to restore him to his throne, while Physcon was ordered to confine himself to the sovereignty of Cyrene. The latter, most dissatisfied with this division, also went to Rome and appealed to the same Court to modify the terms, urging that Cyprus should be added to his dominions. To this the Senate assented.[7] When Physcon, however, was setting out to seize Cyprus, he was detained in Cyrene for some time putting down a rebellion among his own subjects; and when he at last landed in Cyprus, he found his brother waiting for him there with an army. The adventurer was defeated, and fell into Philometor's hands (B.C. 154). Contrary to the recognized cruel practice of the age, the latter spared the life of his infamous brother, and sent him back to Cyrene, where chronic revolt on the part of his infuriated subjects kept him fully occupied for the next nine years.

The savagery of Antiochus Epiphanes towards the Jews of Palestine led to a curious issue in Egypt which for a time had great influence. Epiphanes had died in B.C. 164, but his Hellenizing policy was continued by Lysias, the guardian of his young son Antiochus V Eupator.[8] Onias IV, a nephew[9] of the Jewish high priest Onias III, and a fugitive from the turmoil and confusion of the Maccabean struggle in Judæa, now obtained permission from Ptolemy VII to rebuild, at Leontopolis in the Nome of Heliopolis, a dilapidated structure erected to Bubastis Agria, the cat-headed goddess Bast, and after purging it, to consecrate it to the worship

[1] For a full discussion of the problems connected with these oracles, their Egyptian allusions, and the bibliography on the subject, see Lanchester, *op. cit.*, ii. 368–376. [2] It is difficult to know how many campaigns Antiochus waged against Egypt, and whether the attack on Palestine took place in B.C. 170 or B.C. 168. Jerome says that Antiochus made a third attack on Egypt in B.C. 165, but there is no historical account of the expedition. It is remotely possible that Dan. 11^{40} may refer to it. [3] Diodorus in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, x. [4] Mahaffy, *Hist. of Ptolem. Dynasty*, p. 174. [5] *i.e.*, "Big-belly." [6] Valerius Maximus, v. 1. [7] Polybius, xxxi. 18. [8] Philip, the foster-brother of Epiphanes, conveyed the dead body of the impious King home to Antioch after he had expired in a strange land: then, fearing the new King Antiochus V, he fled to Ptolemy Philometor in Egypt (2 Mac. 9^{29}). [9] Or perhaps a son: in any case it would seem that he was the legitimate high priest, and that his post had been filched from him by the Hellenistically inclined Jason and Menelaus.

of Jehovah.[1] Josephus records the (probably) spurious letters of Onias to the Egyptian King, and of the Pharaoh and his wife Cleopatra to the priest.[2] He says that Onias began to work under the conviction that he was the appointed agent to fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah, *In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord.*[3] In any case, once permission was obtained, the temple was begun with enthusiasm by the Egyptian Jews.[4]

The excavations by Petrie[5] have revealed the fact that the site of this new structure was none other than the abandoned Hyksos fort of Avaris.[6] Abundant masonry lay in readiness in the immense stone wall of the old Hyksos camp, and in the remains of temples dating back to the XIIth, XIXth, and XXVth Dynasties. Onias made the founding of the New Jerusalem a brilliant occasion. He summoned to the spot "an immense assembly of the heads of Jewish families in Egypt. On the site of the new town the ovens for the Passover were ranked in rows. As the sun went down, the fires blazed from hundreds or thousands of ovens: the lambs were slain immediately after sunset, and soon they were roasting in the ovens for the solemn feast. When that was over, all the assembled community threw in earth on the fires, and smothered them: thus they began to found the new city in the dying flames of sacrifice. There was a deep meaning in this, though not strictly orthodox. The ancient Canaanites had been accustomed to sacrifice a child to place beneath their buildings:[7] after the Conquest by Joshua it has been discovered that the Hebrew practice in Palestine was to cover a lighted lamp with a bowl, and then to build over it with the foundation, thus killing a flame of fire instead of a life. Here in Leontopolis the fire-killing was done on the largest scale, and the whole mound rests upon the extinguished fires of the sacrifices."[8] Petrie found dozens of these pottery Passover urns laid in lines and groups at the ground level. In each oven was a bed of white wood ashes about three inches thick, and on the ashes lay one or two leg bones of a lamb. It must have been one of the most remarkable nights in the history of the Jews in Egypt when these Passover fires were simultaneously lit and simultaneously extinguished, and the sky overhead was reddened by the glow which told that a new Jerusalem was being founded in the ancient land of their captivity.

Josephus' statement that Onias "built a temple and an altar to God like that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer,"[9] is entirely corroborated by Petrie's excavations. The explorer discovered that there were two courts, and at the end a massive brick foundation where the temple itself must have stood. Its proportions were modelled on those of its prototype in Canaan. The actual size was 70×20 spans, instead of 70×20 cubits,[10] as in Solomon's Temple: but no trace could be found of the division of the temple into Porch, Holy Place, and Holy of Holies. Two blocks of nummulite

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 9. 7: xiii. 3. 1: *Wars*, vii. 10. 2. [2] *Antiq.*, xiii. 3. 1. 2. In the letter of reply, Philometor says that he wonders that Onias should choose a place so unclean as this ruined shrine for the worship of his God, and he questions if Jehovah will relish it! Petrie (*Egypt and Israel*, p. 100) regards the letter as genuine, and thinks it shows "the fine sarcasm of a Gallio or a Gibbon." [3] Isa. 19.[19] [4] On the question which Onias it was who built this temple, see Baethgen, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1886, p. 278 f.: and for details as to the exact site, see Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. 2. 286. It is possible that other Palestinians, besides Onias, fled at this cruel period to Egypt as to a safe asylum, for a papyrus of date B.C. 148 mentions a list of cleruchs in a certain village in Upper Egypt which contained colonists from *Sidon* (Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, § 79 (1902). [5] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906, p. 19 f. [6] See p. 100. [7] *Cf.* Macalister, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 33. [8] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, 1912, p. 106. [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 3. 3. [10] Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

limestone, greatly polished by the tread of feet, had evidently been part of the threshold.[1] The whole hill as far as possible was an exact replica of the topography of Jerusalem. The artificial mound, six acres in extent, and 70 feet high to the platform, was placed at the north-east corner of the old Egyptian town, just as the Temple stood on the north-east of the older city of Jerusalem. There was an imitation Mount Moriah, a Kedron Valley, a Tyropæon Valley running through the city, a staircase running up from the valley to the temple on the model of the steps which formed *the ascent by which the King went up into the house of the Lord*,[2] a castle of Antonia, a Bezetha quarter, and a new town to the north of the old. The hill at Jerusalem is a natural rock formation ; that which resembled it at Leontopolis was an artificial mound with a vast revetment wall to hold it in place, and to simulate the steep precipices of Kedron. It thus resembled a tower, 60 cubits high, rather than a temple : yet it showed remarkable architectural genius on the part of Onias that with such a difficult ground plan before him, he made the whole complex so exact a reproduction of the Palestine site, and combined the purposes of worship and of defence to such a singular degree. The military knowledge displayed in its construction gives verisimilitude to the statement of Josephus that Onias had served Philometor and his wife Cleopatra for some time previously as the general of the troops of the latter.[3] Coins of Onias dug up on the spot give the date of the foundation as B.C. 154.

In some respects the likeness between this Deltaic sanctuary and its Judæan prototype bordered on the fantastic. The finish of the wall above was with a cornice of white limestone, admirable in a moist climate like that of Palestine for shooting off rain, but needless in a rainless atmosphere like that of Egypt. The drafting of the masonry of the wall is after a style unknown in Egypt, or only rarely seen as an exotic copy : it is, however, the regular dressing of the masonry of the Temple revetment wall at Jerusalem. Its semicircular battlements were copied from a Canaanite original, and yet it had Corinthian columns, revealing the divergent influences that were at work. On an ostrakon of the date of Philometor occur the names of Abram and Shabtai, with a foreign determinative, as those of Jews who were employed in building the sanctuary, and as the names are in Egyptian, and deal with accounts for the delivery of bricks to the builders, it is evident that both Egyptians and Jews laboured alongside each other in the construction of this place of worship.

The temple had an altar like the Palestinian one : but instead of a seven-branched candlestick the interior was lit with a pendant gold lamp hung by a chain of gold. The priests and the sacrifices were maintained in plentiful provision by revenues accruing from endowments from the surrounding districts.[4] The Oneion became an important centre of Jewish religious life and activity, though it never received a tithe of the veneration that was always accorded to its original model in Jerusalem.[5] Indeed by the official priesthood in Palestine it was regarded with scorn and treated as an inferior and schismatic corporation.[6] The Jews themselves who worshipped in it still continued the practice (when political conditions allowed) of pilgrimage to Zion,[7] and their priests on the eve of marriage always appealed to the sacred register in Jerusalem for verification of their

[1] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 23. [2] 1 Ki. 10.[5] [3] Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 5. [4] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 10. 3. [5] See Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, 1890, pp. 18–20, who shows that Oneion was on the site of a " House of Ra " dating back to the time of Rameses III, and now represented by Tell-el-Yahudiyah. [6] *Mishna Menachoth*, xiii. 10 : *Gemara*, 109 a and b. [7] Philo, *De Providentia*.

bride's pedigree.[1] Nevertheless, the Leontopolis temple stood forth in the Delta[2] as a symbol of the faith, and courage, and indomitable energy of a remarkable son of Abraham, who might have adapted to his own use the poet Blake's words :—

> " I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In *Egypt's* green and pleasant land."

It is doubtful how much reliance can be placed on other stories narrated by the Jews in their eagerness to bring out how exceedingly friendly Philometor showed himself to their race. They state that the royal tutor was one Aristobulus " of the stock of the anointed priests." [3] Josephus maintains that Ptolemy employed Jews as generals in the army.[4] He says further that the Jews in Alexandria had a quarrel with the Samaritans as to the relative antiquity of the temples at Jerusalem and on Gerizim. They brought the disputed question before the King, and each party agreed to suffer death if the case went against them. The Jewish representatives had no difficulty in proving the great age and dignity and glory of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the contemptible mushroom longevity of the schismatic structure on Gerizim. The Samaritan pleaders were accordingly put to death, and the Jewish apologists were triumphant.[5] It is difficult to dissect truth from fable in this story : but it is likely that there is some historical foundation for it, which has been wrought over and embellished by the exuberance of Josephus' patriotism.

Philometor's death was brought about by his intrigues in Syrian politics. The boy-King of Syria, Antiochus V Eupator, and his guardian Lysias continued the Hellenizing policy of Epiphanes, in the face of protests from some even at the Syrian Court. In particular, one Ptolemy, called " Macron," pled for justice to be done to the Jews. He was accused as a traitor before the " Friends," and as he had previously abandoned Cyprus when entrusted by Philometor with its governorship, he had no recourse but to end his life by poison.[6] But both Eupator and Lysias were murdered in B.C. 162 by Demetrius I Soter, the son of Seleucus IV, the legitimate heir, who landed on the Phœnician coast, and seized the crown.[7] To him there came the successor of Menelaus in the Jewish high priesthood—Alcimus, an unscrupulous Hellenist—who poisoned the mind of Demetrius against Judas Maccabæus and the Jewish national party, insinuating that Judas was aiming at making Judæa an independent Kingdom. Nicanor was despatched by Demetrius with orders " to destroy the people."

[1] Jos., *c. Apion*, 1. 7. [2] That the temple-fortress suffered several sieges is well known. Petrie found amongst its ruins many of the missiles discharged from *balistæ*, probably in the war between Cleopatra II and Ptolemy Physcon (B.C. 146) when Onias may have been Cleopatra's general (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 26). That it was strongly fortified is seen in the remnant of the massive stone walling where six courses have been unearthed. The wall was built of blocks nearly 2 feet high and 5 feet long, dressed like those of the Herodian work at Jerusalem. The thickness was five feet, and the length of the façade between the bastions was 688 feet. The later history of the temple is that Lupus, Prefect of Egypt under Vespasian, in A.D. 71 closed the temple after pillaging it (Jos., *Wars*, vii. 10. 4). Paulinus, his successor, shut up the gates, stripped the place and made it inaccessible (A.D. 73). It was the consequence of an insane attempt on the part of the Jews to continue the struggle against Rome which had ended in the destruction of the Judæan Temple (A.D. 70). Its destruction is referred to in the *Sibylline Oracles*, v. 492–511. [3] 2 Macc. 1[10]; *cf.* Clemens Alexand. *Strom.*, v. 14. 97. [4] Jos., *c. Apion*, ii. 5. [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 3. 4. [6] 2 Macc. 10.[12 13] [7] 1 Macc. 7.[1-4]

The result was "Nicanor's Day" [1] (B.C. 161) when every soul in the Syrian army was annihilated by Judas in the great Battle of Beth-horon.[2] In spite of this overwhelming victory, Judas was apprehensive of further attacks, and deemed it prudent to enter into a treaty of friendship with the Roman Republic.[3] The attack came only too soon. Bacchides [4] was sent to the war against the Jewish State, and the same year in the battle of Eleasa, Judas fell.

The task of continuing the struggle against Syria was taken up by *Jonathan*, a brother of the dead hero;[5] and in the course of a few years he had made Judæa a strong and formidable power. His chance came when (in B.C. 153) there appeared a new claimant for the Syrian throne against Demetrius Soter, who by his cruelty had forfeited the affection of his subjects. The pretender was Alexander I Balas, who gave out that he was the son of Antiochus Epiphanes.[6] He was backed by the Kings of Pergamum [7] and of Cappadocia,[8] by the Roman Senate [9] and by Ptolemy Philometor, who promised that, if he were successful, he would give him his own daughter in marriage. Both the rivals now outbid each other in their eagerness to secure the help of Jonathan and the Hebrew State.[10] Jonathan decided for Balas, to the great advantage of his nation, for (in B.C. 150) Demetrius was slain in battle, and Balas ascended the Syrian throne.[11]

Philometor fulfilled his promise as regards the marriage. He personally came to Ptolemais with his daughter Cleopatra, and there "with great pomp, as the manner of Kings is," [12] the wedding took place. Palestine witnessed a union of Syria and Egypt;[13] and at the marriage banquet table none enjoyed more honour than Jonathan, head of the Maccabæan party, and now by the nomination of Balas, high priest of the emancipated Jewish nation, who, wearing a purple robe and a crown of gold,[14] was specially invited to be present.

Balas soon proved his worthlessness, and his subjects grew sick of him.[15] A new claimant made his appearance—Demetrius II Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter—who landed on the coast of Cilicia with a strong force (B.C. 147). Philometor, hearing of his son-in-law's peril, led an army part by sea and part by land, to his assistance.[16] As he passed through Palestine he had a friendly reception, for Balas had so commanded. Every city received him most courteously. Jonathan came down from Jerusalem to Joppa, met the Egyptian King, and exchanged warm greetings. Philometor passed on, never to return to his Kingdom. At Ptolemais his eyes were opened to the true character of his son-in-law whom he detected in a plot to assassinate him. Ptolemy wrote indignantly to

[1] With the story of the appalling catastrophe to the Syrian cause on "Nicanor's Day," 2 *Maccabees* comes to an end. [2] 1 Macc. 7.[43-47] [3] 1 Macc. 8.[1-32] [4] Macalister has dug up at Gezer interesting traces of Bacchides' capture of that fortress, and of the bastions which he hastily erected to strengthen it against the Maccabees (1 Macc. 9[52]): see *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 31. [5] 1 Macc. 9.[28-31] [6] 1 Macc. 10[1]: Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 2. 1: Livy, *Epit.*, 50: Strabo, xiii. [7] Attalus II. [8] Ariarathes V. [9] Polybius, xxxiii. 14. 16. [10] 1 Macc. 10.[3-45] [11] 1 Macc. 10.[48-50] [12] 1 Macc. 10.[51-58] [13] It is significant of the strong Egyptian influences in Canaan that the silver money minted in Balas' name in the Phœnician cities was assimilated to the standard coinage of Egypt, instead of to the Attic, which was the ordinary standard for Seleucid money, and it bore for emblem the Ptolemaic eagle (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 213). [14] 1 Macc. 10.[20 62] [15] Livy, *Epit.*, 50: Justin, xxxv. 2. [16] We must reject the insinuation of 1 Macc. 11[1 11] that Philometor was guilty of a deep plot to gain all the Syrian territory for himself. A Philadelphus or a Physcon might have done this, but not a noble-minded Philometor; and the latter's resignation of the crown at Antioch shows the disinterestedness of his motives. In this case the evidence of Josephus (*Antiq.*, xiii. 4 7) is much to be preferred.

Balas denouncing his conduct. He took from him his daughter: sent to Demetrius Nikator offering him his friendship and assistance to regain the throne of his father, and promised him Cleopatra in marriage.[1] The pretender clutched at the offer. The perfidious Balas was forced to flee from Antioch. Philometor entered the Syrian capital, and was there "made King by the inhabitants and by its army, so that he was forced to assume two diadems, the one of Asia, the other of Egypt."[2] It was indeed an extraordinary and novel situation. In his early life Philometor had been browbeaten, captured, and ill-treated by the King of Antioch, who drove him from his throne in Egypt: now, in the whirligig of fortune, Philometor was crowned King of that very Empire which had crushed him, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the very city which owed its magnificence as an *Urbs Tetrapolis*[3] to his late conqueror Antiochus Epiphanes! How little the latter could have foreseen the possibility of this tremendous reversal of fate!

But Philometor had no ambition to annex Syria to his Nilotic dominions. He renounced its crown in favour of Demetrius, and persuaded the reluctant citizens to receive him as their King. The two of them—the Egyptian monarch and his new son-in-law—together attacked Balas, who was leading an army from Cilicia to recover his throne. Balas was overcome, and fled to Arabia. But in the battle Philometor had been mortally wounded. Five days later, just before he expired, he was shown the head of Balas, who had been murdered by an Arab prince,[4] and Ptolemy VII breathed his last in peace[5] (B.C. 146). He was one of the most humane and most virtuous of all the Ptolemies. Polybius, who knew him personally, has left this on record concerning him[6]—"If any King before him ever was, he was mild and benevolent: a very strong proof of which is that he never put any of his own 'Friends' to death on any charge whatever: and I believe that not a single man at Alexandria either owed his death to him."

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 4. 6. 7. [2] *Ib.*, xiii. 4. 7. Coins representing him with a Syrian crown are extant (Poole, *Coins of the Ptolemies*, p. lxv. and xxxii. 9). [3] It was Antiochus IV who added the fourth division to the city of Antioch, and by the erection of bridges, monuments, temples, colonnades, public gardens, and statues made it one of the most beautiful and remarkable cities in the world. See Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenæ*, 1830. [4] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. præf. xvi. n. 19. [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 4. 8. [6] Polybius, xxxix. 18.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Reigns of Ptolemy VIII; Ptolemy IX (Physcon) (B.C. 146–117); Ptolemy X (Lathyrus) (B.C. 117–81), and Ptolemy XI (B.C. 107–89)

The death of the last of the Ptolemies who revealed any trace of moral uprightness threw the Empire into the hands of a succession of scoundrels each of whom exceeded his predecessor in wickedness and folly. The decay of the power and prestige of Alexandria was now rapid.

When Philometor's widow, Cleopatra II, heard of her husband's decease, she at once proclaimed her son King of Egypt under the title of Ptolemy VIII neos Philopator II.[1] But the youth did not long survive. Physcon got wind of the death of his brother, marched to Alexandria from Cyrene, where he had exercised his blood-stained rule, forced his way into the capital of Egypt,[2] compelled the widow of the brother who had so magnanimously spared his own life to marry him [3] (Cleopatra II was already his sister and his sister-in-law !), and then, amid the nuptial feast caused the boy-King to be murdered ! Thereafter Physcon reigned as Ptolemy IX Euergetes II (B.C. 146–117).

The early portion of this tyrant's career has been already referred to, revealing a total lack of any nobility of soul, and exhibiting cruelty, falsity, treachery, and ingratitude at every turn. He was one of the worst Kings of Egypt in that he set at defiance every principle of right living, and positively revelled in crime. His attitude towards the Jews it is impossible clearly to make out. Josephus [4] declares that because the Jews in Alexandria had favoured the cause of the widowed queen in the civil war before Physcon mastered the city, the tyrant let loose upon them—men, women, and children—maddened elephants, and that the elephants turned on their persecutors, and trampled them to death instead of the Jews. But the story seems to be merely a confused echo of the legendary narrative in 3 *Maccabees* which relates to the time of Ptolemy IV. It is quite possible that at first Physcon treated the Jews with gross inhumanity, as he did other sections of the population. But on the contrary there is evidence in two texts from Athribis [5] that Physcon at one period favoured the Jews, and was in return not disliked by them.[6] An inscription from near Alexandria on a block of marble actually speaks of the dedication by the

[1] A coin of Cyprus calls him *Eu*pator II, but this was probably the mistake of a hieroglyphic copyist for *Philo*pator. [2] It was now that, according to Josephus (*c. Apion*, ii. 5), Onias, the high priest of Leontopolis, acted as general on behalf of the Queen against the invader. [3] Livy, xlv. 13: *Epit.* 59: Justin, xxxviii. 8. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Cf.* also Grenfell, *Papyri*, i. 74. [6] Mahaffy, *Hist. of the Ptol. Dynasty*, p. 192 f.

Jews of a synagogue to the welfare of the King and his wife. The inscription runs as follows :—" In honour of the King Ptolemy and of the Queen Cleopatra, his sister, and of the Queen Cleopatra, his wife, the Jews of Xenephyris [have consecrated] the portal of the synagogue, the presidents being Theodorus and Achilleion." [1] This gives us a new site in Lower Egypt as that of a Hebrew settlement and synagogue, bringing up the number of known Israelite communities in Ptolemaic Lower Egypt to seven.[2]

But in any case, murders were of most frequent occurrence in Alexandria. A number of Physcon's old subjects from Cyrene were slaughtered,[3] personal enemies were poisoned or executed, periodical massacres made the streets of the capital run with blood.[4] From the Museum there fled in terror to the islands of the Ægean the " grammarians, philosophers, geometers, musicians, painters, trainers, physicians and other artists," [5] till quite a " Revival of Learning " took place in these Greek cities through the scattering abroad of this crowd of *literati*.[6] Physcon himself, strangely enough, was a patron of Greek learning,[7] and loved to discuss variations in the text of Homer far into the night.[8] But his passion was so unreasonable, and his freaks of temper so ungovernable, that the *savants* of the Museum deemed it safer to put the sea between themselves and his capricious tyranny

This periodic slaughter of the Macedonian element in his Kingdom was but part of a general policy to restore the ancient Egyptian class, and to rule as a purely Oriental despot. Notwithstanding his veneer of Hellenic culture, he fostered everything Egyptian, and he is therefore known to history as one of the greatest of temple renovators. Everywhere at Edfu, Karnak, Medinet-Abu, Deir-al-Bahri, Kom Ombo, Philæ, etc., there are tokens of his restorations, and the memorials of his building zeal extend far up the Nile into Nubia. In each case he sought to assimilate Greek divinities to those of ancient Egypt, and in religion to revert to the Oriental rather than to the Occidental type.

But it is scarcely possible to conceive the horrors of his bloodstained career. Besides his sister-wife, Cleopatra II, by whom he had a son Memphitis,[9] he married his niece Cleopatra III, daughter of his wife by her first husband, his own brother. After fifteen years of savage rule in Alexandria, the fury of his subjects reached a climax. His palace was burned in a popular rising ; and in fear of his life Physcon fled to Cyprus (B.C. 130). The Alexandrians again made his discarded sister-wife, Cleopatra II, their queen. In revenge, Physcon chopped to pieces his son Memphitis, packed the fragments in a box, and sent them to Cleopatra,

[1] von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Sitzb. d. Kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1902, p. 1093 : Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1914, p. 45 : Reinach, *Revue des études juives*, lxv. 135 f. [2] The others were Schedia, Athribis, Arsinoë, Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, and another unknown one to which Physcon granted the right of asylum (Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, iii. 170, n. 2). See Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, § 86 (1902) for the Προσευχὴ Ἰουδαίων near Arsinoë. [3] Diodorus, xxvi. [4] Polybius (xxxiv. 14) says he nearly exterminated the Alexandrians by means of his mercenaries. [5] Athenæus, *Deipnos*, iv. 83. [6] It was probably in connection with the exile of these Greek scholars that Scipio Africanus paid his celebrated visit to Physcon at Alexandria (B.C. 143). The deputation from Rome admired the Pharos, and the well-laid out city : they sailed up the Nile to Memphis, inspected the irrigation works, and were greatly impressed with the wealth and the vast population of the Delta (Diodorus, *Legat.* 32). [7] He himself wrote a collection of *Memoirs* in 24 books of which fragments are preserved in Athenæus. [8] Athenæus, ii. 61. Aristarchus of Samothrace, the learned Homeric critic, was his tutor. [9] So named because of his birth at Memphis.

timing the horrible present to arrive on her birthday![1] The fiendish father then crossed from Cyprus to Syria, and led an army down through Palestine to recover his Kingdom. Cleopatra went out to meet him—the army of the wife against the army of the husband! She was defeated, and had to flee to her son-in-law, Demetrius Nikator, at Antioch. Physcon again found himself on the throne of Egypt (B.C. 127).[2]

Meanwhile in Judæa things had gone well with the Jews. Jonathan played off against each other the various parties in the State, and negotiated terms with the successive claimants to the throne of Antioch. Demetrius Nikator, with the perfidy characteristic of the later Seleucids, refused to implement his promises to the Jewish high priest whose troops had rescued him from a dangerous insurrection in his capital.[3] Jonathan accordingly transferred his allegiance to a new pretender—Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas, who was assisted by his general Trypho. Antiochus proclaimed Jonathan high priest and civil governor of Judæa, and Simon, his brother, commander of all the troops from the Ladder of Tyre to the frontier of Egypt.[4] The two brothers routed out the Syrian garrisons that adhered to Demetrius, and made themselves practically supreme from Gaza to Damascus. This, however, roused the jealousy of Trypho, who was aiming at the Syrian throne for himself. He managed to inveigle Jonathan to Ptolemais,[5] when shortly afterwards he put the high priest to death (B.C. 143).[6]

Jonathan's body was carried to Modin, the home of his ancestors, and buried amid great lamentation. *Simon*, the last of the brothers, erected a very large monument of white polished stone to the memory of his father and brothers, and raised it to a great height so as to be seen a long way off. He made porticoes to it, set up great monolithic pillars, and also seven pyramids, wonderful for size and beauty.[7] The monument endured for four and a half centuries as a worthy memorial of the devotion and patriotism of that family whose valour had raised Israel from the blackest depths of despair to a position of virtual independence.[8] The style of architecture reminds us of Egypt, and it is not improbable that once again Judæa looked towards the Delta for inspiration and architectural skill; and for all we know, Egyptian hands may have been employed in this magnificent and pious labour.

Simon took up the task that had fallen from his murdered brother's grasp. It was he who laid the copestone on the work begun by his predecessors. The equal of Jonathan in military genius, he was his superior in statecraft and governing ability. Renouncing his allegiance to Antiochus and Trypho,[9] he re-opened negotiations with Demetrius. The latter responded, and granted complete autonomy to the Jewish State. Simon

[1] Diodorus, *Excerpt.*, p. 602: Livy, *Epit.*, lix.: Justin, xxxviii. 8. But Mahaffy (*Hist. of Ptol. Dyn.*, p. 184) says regarding the whole series of horrors, "These things I refuse to believe." He attributes them to the slanderous inventions of Physcon's enemies, and maintains that all through his reign Egypt was calm and prosperous. Yet may not some of Physcon's diabolical acts have been perpetrated while he was insane with drink? Many a man—even a father—to-day, while intoxicated, does things towards his children of which he would be utterly incapable when sober. The records of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children fully bear this out. [2] Some of these extraordinary reversals of fortune are paralleled by the adventures of the Emperor Justinian II Rhinotmetus (A.D. 685): see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury), v. 179. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 5. 3.: 1 Macc. 11.[48-53] [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 5. 4: 1 Macc. 11.[59] [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 6. 1. 2: 1 Macc. 12.[48] [6] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 6. 6: 1 Macc. 13.[23] [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 6. 6: 1 Mac. 13.[25-30] [8] See R. Waddy Moss, *From Malachi to Matthew*, p. 95. [9] Trypho by this time had assassinated his young sovereign Antiochus that he himself might reign. 1 Macc. 13.[31 32] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 7. 1.

seized the opportunity to renew the league of friendship with Rome. The Senate replied by sending out warnings both to Syria and to Egypt [1] to respect the integrity of Judæa, and not to wage war against Simon. In B.C. 140 a great National Assembly held in Jerusalem made Simon "leader and high priest for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet." [2] Jewish coinage began to be struck during his reign.[3]

Meanwhile, Trypho contended for the throne of Antioch against Demetrius Nikator, who went off to Media to collect forces wherewith to fight against him. The King of the Parthians, however, sent an army against Demetrius, who was defeated, taken prisoner, and retained as a captive for the next nine years.[4] His wife Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VII, despairing of her husband's release, sent to his brother, Antiochus VII Sidetes, offering to marry him and to hold the Kingdom against Trypho.[5] Antiochus agreed: he resumed the war against the adventurer until the latter was chased to Dor [6] on the coast of Palestine, and then to Apamæa, where he was captured and put to death. Simon had assisted Antiochus in recovering the throne, but with the usual faithlessness of the Syrian monarchs, Sidetes repaid his kindness by a wanton invasion of Judæa. His army, however, was routed by the aged high priest, and the land thereafter enjoyed peace till Simon's death in B.C. 135. The greatest of the Maccabee brothers came to his end by a foul murder perpetrated by his own son-in-law, a rich ambitious scoundrel of the name of Ptolemy, who was governor of Jericho. He assassinated his father-in-law at a banquet at Jericho, and then fled to his fortress of Dok.[7]

The rule of Palestine was now assumed by Simon's son, *John Hyrcanus*, who governed the land from B.C. 135–105. His first duty was to defend Jerusalem against an attack by Antiochus Sidetes.[8] By a strange turn

[1] The letter from the Senate to Ptolemy Physcon, brought from Rome by Numenius, is given in 1 Macc. 15.[16-21] See Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. ii. 221. [2] 1 Macc. 14.[41] [3] 1 Macc. 13[43] describes Simon's capture of Gezer. It is an interesting commentary on the narrative that Macalister discovered in the stratum belonging to the Maccabean period a collection of bronze and iron arrowheads, together with a number of stone ballista balls, and iron nails, outside the south gate. It is likely that these relics of war are reminiscences of this struggle when Simon captured the place. He also dug up a block of stone bearing a graffito in cursive Greek characters. The latter has been deciphered as follows:—"Pampras, may he bring down fire on the palace of Simon!" It is likely an imprecation by some pagan Syrian in Gezer, who hoped that his appeal to the gods would bring down a lightning flash from heaven to destroy the hated Maccabean conqueror! See *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, p. 100 f: and for other interpretations of the inscription, *ib.*, p. 184. An Egyptian seal of the same age was also found (*ib.*, p. 192). [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 5. 11: 1 Macc. 14.[1-3] [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 7. 1. [6] 1 Macc. 15.[11] [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 7. 4: 8. 1: 1 Macc. 16.[11-22] The Jews looked back with regret to the peaceful times of Simon. 1 Macc. 14[8-15] says "They tilled their land in peace, and the land gave her increase, and the trees of the plains their fruit. The ancient men sat in the streets: they communed all of them together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victual for the cities, and furnished them with all manner of munitions until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the earth. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: and they sat each man under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to make them afraid, and there ceased in the land any that fought against them, and the Kings were discomfited in those days. He strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the Law he searched out, and any lawless and wicked person he took away. He glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the Temple he multiplied." Oesterley (in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseud. of the O.T.*, i. 60) thinks that the author of 1 *Maccabees* began to collect his material for his great historical work during the peace of Simon's reign, and brought out the book shortly after the murder of the high priest, somewhere between B.C. 100–70. [8] T. Witton Davies (in Charles, *op. cit.*, i. 656) thinks that *Bel and the Dragon* was written in Hebrew in Palestine while Antiochus Sidetes was attempting to annex the land in order to counteract any tendency to apostasy on the part of the Jews.

of events he was successful, and the siege was raised.[1] Sidetes went off to Parthia to secure his captive brother's release. Demetrius Nikator no sooner regained his freedom than he rewarded his brother's kindness by bolting back to Antioch and seizing the crown. Sidetes perished, either by an assault made upon him by the Parthian King, or by being murdered by his own queen Cleopatra. Demetrius once more sat on the throne of Syria (B.C. 129).

It was at this period that there arrived at his Court the exiled and ill-used Cleopatra II, wife of Ptolemy Physcon, driven from Egypt by her inhuman husband's return to power. Nikator espoused the cause of his injured mother-in-law, and prepared for an invasion of the Delta. He marched a Syrian army through Palestine as far as Pelusium, but the expedition turned out a failure. For Physcon retaliated by supporting a new claimant to the Syrian throne in the person of Alexander Zabinas,[2] an alleged son of Alexander Balas.[3] Nikator had to turn and march back to the defence of his own capital. He and the pretender met in battle near Damascus. Nikator was defeated and fled to Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra, who, however, would not receive him. He went on to Tyre, where he was captured, tortured, and put to death in revenge for his many cruelties[4] (B.C. 125).

With customary folly, Zabinas was no sooner established on the Syrian throne, with the help of Ptolemy IX, than he turned against his patron. Physcon accordingly disowned him for his perfidy, and supported the pretensions of still another claimant, Antiochus VIII Grypus,[5] the son of the deceased Nikator.[6] To this pretender he gave in marriage his second daughter Tryphæna,[7] and so aided his son-in-law with military reinforcements that Zabinas was compelled to swallow poison, and Grypus became King of Syria with the Egyptian princess as queen by his side (B.C. 122). At the same time Cleopatra II became reconciled to her husband, returned to Egypt, and reigned again as queen alongside of Physcon till the latter died in the 54th year[8] of his reign (B.C. 117).

What a romance of wickedness, crime, debauchery, and treachery, the life of this Ptolemy and the careers of his two wives afford! Surely never, except under the early Roman Empire, were there women so absolutely unscrupulous, venal, and destitute of moral principle, as those to be found in the Courts of Alexandria and at Antioch! Yet it must be acknowledged that while Justin paints his character in the darkest shade, and while Diodorus and Strabo are equally explicit in their statements as to his vileness, his endless brutalities, and his outrages,

[1] Josephus (*Antiq.*, xiii. 8. 2) tells the curious story how the "piety" of Sidetes at the Feast of Tabernacles made the Jews willing to give in to the Syrian King's conditions of surrender. [2] Zabinas was an Aramaic nickname meaning "The Bought-One" זְבִינָא. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 9. 3: see also Eusebius, *Chron.*, i. 257. Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 249) says that if he was not the son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, he was the son of Protarchus, an Egyptian-Greek of the commercial class. [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 9. 3: Appian, *Syr.* 68. [5] "Grypus"="Hook-nosed." [6] Justin, xxxix. 2. 1. [7] Grypus' mother was Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. She had first been married to Alexander Balas: then taken from him and given to Demetrius Nikator: when the latter was held a prisoner by the Parthians, she gave herself to his brother, Antiochus Sidetes: when Demetrius returned, she poisoned Sidetes and her son Seleucus who attempted to seize the Crown (B.C. 125). She then rejoined Demetrius as his wife, but when the latter was defeated and a fugitive, she refused to own him when he fled for refuge to Ptolemais. At last her second son—this Antiochus VIII Grypus—forced her to drink a cup of poison! A history of horror indeed! (Appian, *Syr.* 69). The history of Grypus' reign has been elucidated by his coinage. See Oman in *Numis. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 190–206. [8] Counting from B.C. 170 when he was first proclaimed King at Alexandria.

Physcon's internal government of Egypt seems to have been vigorous and effective, and the nation remained on the whole prosperous and peaceful.[1]

On the death of Ptolemy IX, his niece-wife, the younger Cleopatra III, assumed the crown.[2] Her desire was to associate on the throne with herself her younger son, Alexander. But as the populace would not have him, she sent him to Cyprus to reign by himself over that island.[3] Then she elevated as her co-ruler her eldest son, PTOLEMY X SOTER II LATHYRUS (B.C. 117–81), on the condition that he should divorce his sister-wife Cleopatra IV,[4] and wed his younger sister Selene.

Mother and son reigned in harmony for a little while until the eternal question of the policy to be adopted towards the disputed territory of Palestine drove them asunder into the fiercest antagonism. Shortly after Antiochus VIII Grypus had been seated on the throne of Antioch, his claims were disputed by his half-brother Antiochus IX Cyzicenus[5] (B.C. 114). The civil war between the brothers lasted for three years, and was concluded only by a division of the Seleucid Empire, Grypus ruling over the northern portion, while Cyzicenus held a nominal sovereignty over Cœle-Syria (B.C. 111). Cyzicenus attempted to attack John Hyrcanus, but the Jewish high priest inflicted such loss on his forces that the dissipated monarch was glad to retire and leave the Jews to themselves.

Hyrcanus now extended still further the authority of the Asmonæan rule. He destroyed Shechem and the schismatical Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. He crushed the Idumæans, and forced them to accept incorporation into Israel by means of circumcision. He attacked and laid siege to Samaria. The city, in great straits, appealed twice to Cyzicenus for help. The first time the Syrians were routed. The second time the troops of Cyzicenus were reinforced by an army of 6,000 which the Syrian King had obtained from Ptolemy Lathyrus.[6] It was here that the fatal divergence ensued between the young Egyptian King and his mother. Cleopatra III had in her service as the trusted generals of her army two Jews—Chelkias and Ananias—the sons of that Onias who had built the temple at Leontopolis. She did nothing without their advice, and naturally she was induced to favour the national aspirations of the rising Jewish State, and to become a partisan of the Asmonæans.[7] Her son, however, was equally determined to send help to the beleaguered Samaritans, and did so, to the grave displeasure of his mother, who nearly turned him off the throne. With these Egyptian troops, Cyzicenus was enabled to overrun

[1] It is interesting to note how at this era the Alexandrian Jews took a new interest in Greek literature. A Greek drama, *The March out of Egypt*, was written in Greek iambics by a Jew named Ezekiel, who told the story of the Exodus in language borrowed from Genesis and Exodus. It is to be dated before B.C. 100. As it contains the expression "The divine Logos shineth upon thee out of the bush," the question is raised whether this Jewish Alexandrian use of the Logos is not earlier than any elsewhere found, say in *The Wisdom of Solomon* (see Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangel.* ix. 28,29, and Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, i. 414). [2] Justin, xxxix. 3: Pausanias, i. 9. [3] Inscriptions in his honour have been discovered in Cyprus (*Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* (1888), p. 231). [4] The life of this Cleopatra IV was on a par for horror with that of her blood-stained house. Ill-treated and discarded by Lathyrus, she made overtures to Antiochus Cyzicenus to marry her, offering him her wealth, and an army which she hired in Cyprus. Cyzicenus was at the time warring against his half-brother Grypus, who was the brother of Cleopatra's own sister, Tryphæna. Cyzicenus married her. Later she fell into the hands of her sister Tryphæna, who immediately put her to death. Cyzicenus then avenged her murder by executing Tryphæna, when that furious queen, by the fortune of war, came within his clutches. Could the world furnish a more faithless crew than the later Ptolemies and Seleucids—men and women alike? [5] Son of Antiochus Sidetes and Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. [6] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 10. 2. [7] *Ibid.*, xiii. 10. 4.

and ravage Judæa like a robber, for he dared not meet Hyrcanus face to face. Acute anguish thus fell upon many of the country districts of Palestine. But the Egyptian soldiers were unaccustomed to the hills and ravines and glens of Canaan. They fell into ambuscades, and great numbers perished. Samaria was stormed by the Jews after a year's siege, and razed to the ground (B.C. 108).[1] Lathyrus' scheme to subjugate Palestine was a complete failure, but he reserved his revenge for a later date.[2]

Steadily the breach between Cleopatra and her son widened. For a period the queen would be in the ascendant, but later Lathyrus (as his coinage testifies) exercised sole authority. At last Cleopatra induced the populace to believe that Lathyrus was plotting against her life, and the latter was forced to quit Egypt and retire to Cyprus (B.C. 107). Cleopatra now recalled from that island her younger son Alexander, and installed him as her co-regent under the name of PTOLEMY XI ALEXANDER I (B.C. 107–89).

Lathyrus, during his enforced exile in Cyprus, saw an opportunity of interfering in Syrian politics, and of wreaking his vengeance on the Jews of Palestine. The vigorous John Hyrcanus, who in his later years had deserted the party of the Pharisees, and had thrown in his lot with the Sadducees,[3] had now passed away. He had been succeeded in the high priesthood by his eldest son *Aristobulus*, a thorough Sadducean Hellenist. His brief reign (B.C. 105–104) (he was the first of the Asmonæans boldly to claim the title of "King"[4]) was stained with horrible crimes. He starved his mother to death in prison, and assassinated his brother Antigonus.[5] Remorse accelerated the progress of a disease, which carried off the high priest after a year's occupancy of the throne of Judæa.

Aristobulus was followed in the seat of power by his brother *Alexander Jannæus* (B.C. 104–78), whose long reign witnessed a succession of horrible tragedies.[6] With his inherited warlike proclivities, Jannæus commenced his rule by an attack on Ptolemais, which, with Gaza, Strato's Tower,[7] and Dor,[8] was held by the tyrant Zoilus. As the two brothers Antiochus were still exhausting themselves in their mutual struggle for possession of the Syrian throne, neither of them could give the people of Ptolemais any assistance against Jannæus. In despair they invited Lathyrus to cross from Cyprus to their rescue, making him lavish promises that he would have Sidon also, and other cities, on his side. Lathyrus agreed, and set about getting his fleet ready.[9]

But in the meantime the people of Ptolemais had changed their minds under the eloquence of a popular demagogue Demænetus. He represented

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 10. 3. [2] It is at this period, when John Hyrcanus had attained his final victory over the Syrians, and before his breach with the Pharisees, that we must place the composition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; in other words, between B.C. 109–106. "Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and King, and in him the Pharisee party had come to recognize the actual Messiah" (Charles, *Apoc. and Pseud. of the O.T.*, ii. 282). Charles' words are remarkable: "The overwhelming value of the book lies not in the light that it throws on the revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the N.T., and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments." [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 10. 5. 6. [4] *Ibid.*, xiii. 11. 1. [5] *Ib.*, xiii. 11. 2. [6] He began his reign by marrying Salome-Alexandra, the widow of Aristobulus, and by the murder of one of his brothers who would not submit to live a private life. The other brother discreetly chose a quiet career and was spared. [7] Later rebuilt by Herod the Great and re-named Cæsarea. [8] Tantûrah. [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 12. 2.

that it was better to risk the fortune of war against the Jews than to incur certain slavery either from Lathyrus, or from his mother, who would assuredly turn her son out of Palestine and inflict punishment on Ptolemais. Lathyrus learned of this altered state of affairs, but nevertheless crossed from Cyprus and landed his forces at Haifa under Mount Carmel.[1] With 30,000 horse and foot he marched to Ptolemais, but was denied speech with the inhabitants. At this juncture he was approached by Zoilus, who invited him to assist in the defence of Gaza. Meanwhile Jannæus retreated into the mountains and opened negotiations with Lathyrus. He invited the latter to make a league of friendship and mutual alliance with him, promised to give him 400 talents of silver, and asked him in return to assassinate Zoilus and to give the territory ruled by him to the Jews. To these conditions Lathyrus responded. The league was made: the money was paid: Zoilus was disposed of.[2]

Then Lathyrus discovered the treachery of the high priest. Jannæus had all the while been privately inviting Cleopatra to march from Egypt, and to sweep Lathyrus from his and her path! Freed from his oath by this duplicity, Lathyrus blazed forth in a terrible vengeance. Leaving his generals to besiege Ptolemais, he dashed on Asochis, a city of Galilee: took it by storm on a Sabbath day, and captured 10,000 persons. He next tried to take Sepphoris not far off, but losing many of his men there, he marched on to meet Jannæus. At a place called Asophon[3] near the Jordan the two armies met. Lathyrus was inferior in numbers,[4] but his 8,000 *Hecatontamachi*[5] were guided by the military tactician Philostephanus, who made them cross the river, and attack the Jews on the other side. There was a tremendous battle and a great slaughter of both armies till the Jordan ran red with blood. Victory eventually lay with Ptolemy, whose soldiers were wearied with killing their fleeing foes, and whose swords were blunted with hewing down the Jews. Estimates of the slain ranged from 30,000 to 50,000, exclusive of those captured.[6] Thus was terribly avenged the treachery of the Jewish high priest! (B.C. 103).

We do not know how much to believe of the succeeding tale of atrocities. According to Josephus,[7] Lathyrus, when night came on, scoured the surrounding country, and found the villages full of women and children. He ordered his soldiers to cut their throats, hack them to pieces, cast them into boiling caldrons, and devour their limbs as sacrifices. This was done to infuse terror, and to spread the report that the Egyptian troops were cannibals. Though Josephus says that both Strabo and Nicolaus vouch for these horrible deeds, most moderns refuse to believe the tales.[8] Yet it has been reserved for the twentieth Christian century to see deeds even worse than these perpetrated by the Turks in 1915 on the hapless population of Armenia, with the full connivance and active assistance of Germany,[9] and by the Austro-Hungarian troops on the towns and villages of Serbia![10]

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 12. 3. [2] *Ib.* xiii. 12. 4. [3] Not identified. [4] Jannæus is stated to have had from 50,000 to 80,000 under his command (Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 12, 4). [5] *i.e.*, Soldiers, each of whom was qualified to fight 100 of the enemy! [6] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 12. 5. [7] *Ib.*, xiii. 12. 6. [8] *e.g.*, Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, viii. 63. [9] Anyone who doubts this statement should read A. J. Toynbee, *Armenian Atrocities: the Murder of a nation*, 1915: and for the account of the proved devilries perpetrated by the German troops on the unarmed civilians—men, women and children—of Belgium and France, read Lord Bryce's *Report*, and Prof. J. H. Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 1916. [10] R. A. Reiss, *Official Report upon the atrocities committed by the Austro-Hungarian army during the first invasion of Serbia*, 1916—a horrible story of the massacre of a nation in which men, women, and children were shot, hanged, disembowelled, burnt alive, chopped in pieces, beheaded, flayed, blinded, clubbed to death by the systematic instructions of the officers of a so-called Christian nation!

The news of her son's doings aroused Cleopatra to a sense of her danger. She feared next an invasion of Egypt on the part of Lathyrus. In haste she sent the greatest part of her treasures, her grandchildren, and her will, for safety to the island of Cos, and then set out for Palestine with a large naval and land force. Ptolemais, which Lathyrus had taken by storm after his ravaging of Judæa, had now to submit to a second siege by Cleopatra, who was aided by the fleet under the command of her second son, Ptolemy XI. While his mother was occupied in this way, Lathyrus made a bold bid for success. Believing that he would find Egypt undefended and the throne vacant, he made a dash with his army for the Egyptian frontier which lay not far from his fortress of Gaza.[1] But Cleopatra had committed her whole land-forces to the command of her two Jewish generals. One of these, Chelkias, at once started in hot pursuit of Lathyrus, but died on the way. Cleopatra, nothing daunted, divided her army, and sent a portion back to Egypt to defend it against her son. Lathyrus' bold attack failed : he was driven back from Egypt and had to spend the winter at Gaza.

Meanwhile Cleopatra went on with the siege of Ptolemais, and when she had captured the fortress and city, she was waited on humbly by Jannæus, who came offering her presents, and paying her tokens of respect as the only one able to save him and his country from the cruelties of Lathyrus.[2] Never was Judæa in greater danger. What with one Egyptian army and a Ptolemy ruling at Gaza, another Ptolemy and his mother, and she a singularly strong-minded and capable queen, exercising authority at Ptolemais, it looked as if Palestine was in danger of being again annexed to the Egyptian crown. Many of the friends of the Egyptian queen, who was *de facto* mistress of Canaan, urged her to depose Jannæus, and to take possession of the whole of the territory which had formerly acknowledged the ownership of the early Lagidæ. But the counsel of her Jewish general Ananias saved Palestine. He represented to his sovereign that such an act would alienate the sympathies of all the Jews in Egypt, and turn every Israelite there into an active enemy of her throne. Cleopatra dared not take the risk, and instead she made a treaty of alliance with Jannæus at Scythopolis.[3] Lathyrus now saw that the game was up as regards his annexing Canaan, and he sullenly retired from Gaza to Cyprus. Cleopatra revenged herself by forcing her younger daughter Selene, whom she had taken away from Lathyrus, to marry Antiochus Grypus, to spite her son who had espoused the cause of the other Syrian claimant, Antiochus Cyzicenus. She then retired to Egypt, leaving the coast clear for Jannæus to carry out bloodstained schemes of vengeance on many a city of Palestine which had dared to oppose his rule.[4]

In a year or two, Ptolemy X Lathyrus was meddling again in the politics of Palestine and Syria. By this time Antiochus VIII Grypus[5] had been assassinated.[6] His son, Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nikator, had succeeded him, had warred against his uncle Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, and had slain him. Then Antiochus X Eusebes,[7] the son of Cyzicenus,

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 13. 1. [2] *Ib.*, xiii. 13. 2. [3] *Ib.* [4] Especially on Gaza, which after a year's siege (B.C. 96) fell to him through treachery. Its sack was marked with a ferocity and horribleness that were unique even in that reckless and bloodstained age. [5] He had married Selene, the rejected sister-wife of Lathyrus, in B.C. 102. [6] By his minister Heracleon (B.C. 96). [7] His full name was Antiochus Eusebes Philopator. He took over Selene, who had been married to his father Cyzicenus, after the murder of Grypus. Her two sons by Eusebes afterwards appeared in Rome as claimants for the crown of Egypt through their mother. The request was denied. Selene afterwards fell into the hands of Tigranes, King of Armenia, who put her to death (Strabo, xvi. 749).

drove Seleucus VI out of Syria into Cilicia, where he was murdered by the people of Mopsuestia. Shortly after, Antiochus X was attacked by Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphus, the brother of Seleucus VI, but he was beaten and slain. His brother Philip took up the quarrel and reigned over a portion of Syria. It was at this stage that Ptolemy Lathyrus interfered. He sent to Cnidus for the fourth brother, Demetrius Eucærus, and made him King at Damascus. Demetrius and Philip unitedly warred against Antiochus X, and soon the latter fell on the battlefield.

During these internecine struggles for the Syrian crown, the Jews had had their own share of turmoil and bloodshed. Alexander Jannæus, though the high priest, was much more of a fighting Maccabee than a religious leader. When his militarism was objected to by the Pharisees, he let loose his mercenaries upon them until the precincts of the Temple were heaped with 6,000 slain. But in one of his wild and savage marauding expeditions on the east of Jordan, his army fell into an ambuscade, and was practically annihilated. When Jannæus reached Jerusalem, almost a solitary fugitive, the city rose against him. It took six years of civil war (B.C. 94–89), during which the high priest slew 50,000 of his Jewish fellow countrymen, before his authority was again recognized.

This came about indirectly through Egypt. The Pharisees invited Demetrius Eucærus, whom Lathyrus had made King of Syria, to come to their aid against Jannæus. The Seleucid sovereign was only too willing. He marched into Palestine with a large army, and at Shechem, Jannæus was utterly routed and fled to the mountains of Ephraim.[1] But immediately after the battle, 6,000 of the Jews who had fought against their high priest repented when they began to consider the consequences of their action, and reflected on what another Syrian domination might entail. They deserted Demetrius, and changed sides. The King in fear desisted from any further prosecution of the war, hastened home to Antioch, where not long after he died, leaving Philip as sole monarch of Syria.[2]

On being thus extricated from his trouble, Jannæus behaved with the utmost ferocity. City after city was captured, and the leaders of the Pharisaic party were collected together and brought to Jerusalem. Here the high priest made a feast for his concubines in the sight of all the city, and as part of the entertainment he had 800 of the Pharisees crucified. While they were still in torture on their crosses, he ordered the throats of their wives and children to be cut before their eyes ![3] It was a horrible outrage, and the enormity of it was increased by the fact that it was the work of God's anointed high priest ! That night terror fell on the rest of the Pharisees who had opposed him : 8,000 of them arose and fled, and as Egypt was always a safe asylum, the most of them found refuge there among their many compatriots in the Delta.[4]

A little later and Jannæus was again in high popularity ! Philip had been driven from the throne of Antioch by his brother Antiochus XII

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 14. 1. [2] *Ib.*, xiii. 14. 3. [3] *Ib.*, xiii. 14. 2. [4] One strange consequence of this protracted controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees was the composing of the apocryphal *Book of Susanna.* It was in all probability written between B.C. 95–80, perhaps during the enforced exile of the Pharisees. Its original language was Hebrew, but it was afterwards translated into Greek. It is a satire of the Sadducees. The story is meant to bring out the need and value of the cross-examination of witnesses, and of the application of the *lex talionis* to perjurers. It was evidently written by some follower of the famous Pharisee, Simon ben Shetach (Kay in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseud. of the O.T.*, i. 638 and 644 : see also Marshall in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 631).

Dionysus.[1] The latter was attacked and killed by Aretas, King of the Nabatæans, who ruled the Seleucid Kingdom from Damascus as his capital. Aretas now invaded Judæa, but was repulsed by Jannæus, and the numerous successes won by the latter in defence of his country obtained such renown for him that when he returned to Jerusalem after a three years' war, he was received by the Jews with an enthusiastic welcome[2] (B.C. 81). A year or two more of fighting, and Jannæus' body, worn out with toil and hard drinking, was laid in the grave. He had reached the age of 49, and had reigned 27 years[3] (B.C. 78).

The co-regency of Cleopatra and her younger son Ptolemy XI, who was married to Berenice III, daughter of his brother Lathyrus, did not last long after the Syrian campaign. The young King lived in daily terror of assassination at the hands of his mother, and at length went into retirement, probably up the Nile. His mother sent for him, dreading lest he might enter into negotiations with Lathyrus, and that the two of them would unite to depose her. He returned to Alexandria, but discovering a plot on Cleopatra's part to put him to death,[4] he was driven to murder his mother instead, keeping her execution a secret.[5] When the news at last leaked out, Alexandria rose in horror against him, and the guilty matricide was obliged to flee. He sailed for Cyprus,[6] attempted unsuccessfully to regain his throne, was defeated in a naval engagement, fled to Lycia, and finally perished in an attack on Cyprus (B.C. 88). He is remembered, not only by the part he took in the campaign against Canaan, but by the magnificent circuit-wall which he built to the temple of Edfu, a structure 410 feet long, 85 feet broad, 31 feet high, and 6 feet thick at the base.

Once more Alexandria sent for Lathyrus. He quitted Cyprus where he had spent a large portion of his life, and reigned again over Egypt till his death in B.C. 81. On the throne he showed much vigour and acuteness. He received with great courtesy Lucullus, the envoy of Sulla, on his way to crush Mithridates of Pontus: yet when the Romans urged him to grant the loan of an Egyptian fleet, Lathyrus refused, and declined to be drawn into the contest.[7]

But his most arduous undertaking was his dealing with a formidable rising in the Thebaid which for many years had been smouldering, and now leaped into flame. It must have been extensive and furious, for it took Lathyrus nearly three years to quell the revolt. The ancient capital had long viewed with anger the state of neglect into which its temples had fallen, for the later Ptolemies seemingly held aloof from repairing or rebuilding its structures, while they lavished their renovations elsewhere. The city objected to being merely a scene of departed glory, visited by gazing tourists. It claimed a larger place in the councils of Egypt, and the Nubian influence doubtless egged on its inhabitants to revolt. The whole province broke into rebellion against Ptolemy X, and held out vigorously against the Greek troops sent to reduce it. At last, in the third year, Lathyrus stormed Thebes. The ancient city, still replete with the magnificence of many

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 15. 1. His full name was Antiochus XII Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus. [2] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 15. 3. [3] *Ib.*, xiii. 15. 5. [4] Mahaffy (*Hist. of Ptolem. Dyn.*, p. 214) remarks: "Such pictures of depravity make any reasonable man pause and ask whether human nature had deserted these women, and the Hyrcanian tiger of the poet taken its place." [5] Pausanias, i. 9. 3. Porphyry, on the other hand, implies that Ptolemy XI was really innocent of his mother's death: it may have been a false charge trumped up to force him into exile a second time. [6] So says Justin: but the Edfu inscription says he fled into Arabia. [7] Plutarch, *Lucullus*, § 2 and 3.

past centuries, was given up to pillage. Its inhabitants were massacred, some of its temples were destroyed, others defaced and savagely mutilated.[1] The idols of Thebes were smashed, its statues overturned, and the vengeance of Lathyrus on the city for refusing to open its gates to him inflicted on the old capital a blow from which it never recovered. Thebes ceased to exist as a city, and the survivors of the butchered population were obliged to find a home in scattered villages (B.C. 85–84).

[1] Pausanias, i. 9.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Reigns of Ptolemy XII Alexander II (B.C. 81): Ptolemy XIII "Auletes" (B.C. 81–51): Ptolemy XIV Dionysus (B.C. 51–47): Cleopatra VII (B.C. 51–30): Ptolemy XV and Ptolemy XVI (Cæsarion)

The last pre-Christian century witnessed a steady decline in power on the part of both Egypt and Palestine, and their common subjection to, and submergence under, the Roman Empire. On the death of Ptolemy Lathyrus, his daughter Berenice III, the widow of Ptolemy XI, reigned alone for six months (B.C. 81). The Alexandrians then insisted that she should have for her colleague and husband a son of her first husband by another wife. This youth was Ptolemy XII Alexander II (B.C. 81). Brought up in Cos, whither he had been sent for safety by his grandmother Cleopatra III, he had been captured by Mithridates of Pontus, but treated kindly. Now on appealing to the Roman Sulla to whom he had fled, he was sent back to Egypt to be co-regent with, and husband of, his step-mother.[1] He lived with her for but nineteen days, and at the end of that time murdered her. The soldiery of Alexandria were so enraged that they dragged him from the throne, and butchered him. With him expired the legitimate line of the Ptolemies.

Although there was a rumour that this worthless adventurer had bequeathed Egypt to the Romans,[2] the Senate did not follow up the matter, but permitted the unauthorized accession of another King, a natural son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, calling himself Ptolemy XIII Philopator Philadelphus Neos Dionysus,[3] but known to history by the nickname given to him by the Alexandrians, "*Auletes*," the "piper" (B.C. 81–52). He had been living in Syria, and by some unknown means his partisans contrived to bring him from there, and to install him on the throne of Egypt, but without recognition from Rome. He married Cleopatra V Tryphæna (probably his sister), and by her had daughters named Berenice IV and Cleopatra VI.[4] Either by this wife, or more probably by another, he was the father also of Ptolemy XIV, Ptolemy XV, Arsinoë IV, and the famous Cleopatra VII.

Auletes' hold on the throne was exceedingly insecure. Two sons of the Egyptian princess Selene (the divorced wife of Ptolemy Lathyrus)

[1] Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, i. 102. [2] *Cf.* Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 392. [3] His full title has been found to be [*βασιλεύον*]*τος Πτολεμ*[*αι*]*ου Θεοῦ Νέου Διονύσου*[*Φιλοπατο*]*ρος Φιλαδ*[*ε*]*λφου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκα*[*του*]: Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ii. 140. [4] This is a shadowy princess, and possibly by some confusion she may be the same as Cleopatra VII.

and of Antiochus Grypus [1] appeared in Rome, and pled that they had a better title to the Egyptian crown than Ptolemy XIII. But the Senate declined to take up their quarrel.[2] Nevertheless, so tremendous was the cost of the wars that were continually being waged by the Republic, notably the great contest with Mithridates of Pontus, that new proposals were continually being broached in Rome as to how the great wealth of Egypt might be appropriated to the treasury of the Republic. Auletes had to resort to lavish bribes to retain his position.[3] When Pompey held his "durbar" at Damascus in B.C. 63, there came from Egypt an embassy, and a crown valued at 4,000 pieces of gold.[4] At last, however, he won recognition of his kingship from Julius Cæsar, but only by promising enormous sums.[5] The money was in the keeping of his brother Ptolemy, the viceroy of Cyprus, who would not yield it up. The Romans immediately descended on the island, annexed it to the grasping Republic, transferred its treasure of 7,000 talents to the Senatorial coffers, and compelled its hapless regent to commit suicide. When the news reached Alexandria that Cyprus was lost, after having been for many centuries an integral part of the Egyptian realm, the city was moved exceedingly. The people were ashamed of Auletes, and indignant with him for sending no help to his brother. They were, besides, weary of his dissoluteness and his extortions. Thus it happened that in B.C. 58 they expelled their sovereign, who fled to Rome, and then installed in his place, first his wife Cleopatra V, and after her death one year later, his daughter Berenice IV as Queen of Egypt.

At Rome Auletes craved that he should be reinstated in his Kingdom by the help of Lentulus Spinther, the proconsul of Cilicia. When 100 delegates arrived from Egypt to oppose his claims, and to impeach him for his misgovernment, he silenced many of them by assassination, others by bribery.[6] He bought the Senate, man by man, with lavish corruption, to give a verdict in his favour ;[7] and yet, although he had the powerful influence of Pompey on his side, the vote was so divided in the long run that no decision was arrived at.[8] Auletes quitted Rome in disgust, and took up residence in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.[9]

Meanwhile in Egypt his daughter Berenice IV made trial of two husbands. The first was a scion of the house of Seleucus in Antioch, whom she sent for to marry her, by name Seleucus Kybiosaktes.[10] In a very short time she loathed her husband and strangled him.[11] The second was Archelaus, an ex-general of Mithridates and high priest of Comana. He reigned with her for a few months, until a new series of events in Cœle-Syria and Palestine paved the way for the return of Auletes to power.

In Palestine the bloody reign of Alexander Jannæus had been followed by the calm and peaceful rule of his widow *Alexandra* (B.C. 78–69), who, reversing her late husband's policy, restored the Pharisaic party to favour,[12]

[1] Or of Antiochus Eusebes ? [2] Cicero, *In Verrem*, ii. 4. 27. [3] Dion Cassius, xxxix. 12. [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 3. 1. [5] 6,000 talents=£3,000,000. [6] Cicero, *Pro Cœlio*, 23. [7] Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.*, i. 1–8. [8] Lightning happened to strike the statue of Jupiter in the Alban Mount. The Sibylline Books, on being appealed to in connection with this prodigy, stated "If a King of Egypt comes seeking aid, do not deny him friendship, but do not assist him with numbers. If otherwise, ye will have sorrow and danger." This utterance induced the Senators to rescind their votes in favour of Auletes (Dion Cassius, xxxix. 15). [9] Plutarch, *Pompey*, 49. [10] The word is a nickname—"the pickled-fish-monger." [11] Strabo (xvii. i. 11) insinuates that he was only a pretended member of the Syrian Royal House. Mahaffy (*Ptol. Dyn.*, p. 229) believes that it was this villain who stole the golden coffin of Alexander the Great, and replaced it by a glass one (see also *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 436). [12] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiii. 16. 2.

and governed with such wisdom and vigour that she left her Kingdom at her death as large as she found it, and bequeathed a memory of graciousness and honour. No sooner was she dead, however, than the country was plunged into civil war between the partisans of *Hyrcanus II*, her eldest son who was already high priest, and the adherents of her younger son *Aristobulus II* (B.C. 69–63). Hyrcanus was defeated and retired into private life. But Antipater the Idumæan now came on the scene, and plotted the restoration of Hyrcanus with the help of Aretas, King of the Nabatæans. To the latter Hyrcanus fled. Aretas took up his cause, and with an army of 50,000 horse and foot attacked and besieged the Temple in Jerusalem wherein Aristobulus had taken refuge. So insufferable were the miseries of the time that the chief men among the Jews, in their utter weariness of war and bloodshed, quitted Palestine in a body and fled into Egypt.[1] There at least they were saved from the horrors that now befell Jerusalem.

There suddenly appeared on the soil of Palestine the dreaded Roman eagles. While the two brothers were fighting over the crown of Judæa, the high-priestly one being assisted by the Arabian King, Pompey, who had been in Armenia subduing Tigranes,[2] sent Scaurus into Syria. When the latter reached Damascus, ambassadors from both brothers came before him, each with bribes and with a request for assistance. Scaurus adopted the cause of the younger brother, and ordered Aretas to raise the siege—a command which the Arab King immediately obeyed. Aristobulus dashed on the retreating foe and killed 6,000 of them.[3] But a little later, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus.[4] He was invited to decide between the rival claimants for the Jewish throne, while at his tribunal there appeared also representative Jews pleading for the abolition altogether of the Kingship, and for the restoration of the ancient theocracy. All three parties were dismissed by Pompey with the promise that he would decide the question at Jerusalem.[5]

As the Roman drew near the capital, he was angered by the equivocal conduct of Aristobulus, and when the latter finally shut the gates in his face, there was nothing for Pompey to do but that he should storm the city.[6] The siege was pressed from the north. For three months it withstood the great battering rams and other missile engines, but eventually, through the abstention of the Jews from fighting on the Sabbath, the city fell. On a Sabbath day the walls were breached; the priests were butchered as they calmly carried on their duties at the altar;[7] the populace were massacred or committed suicide by burning their houses over their heads; 12,000 Jews perished in the dreadful sack; and Pompey completed the horror of the capture by outraging the sanctity of the Holy of Holies, which he entered along with his suite.[8] Thus ended the independence of Judæa: the land was added to the dominion of Rome, and a Roman governor was appointed to administer it as part of the province of Syria. Aristobulus and his children were carried in chains to Rome to grace Pompey's triumph. Hyrcanus was restored to the high priesthood, and continued in office from B.C. 63–40.[9]

The misery of these calamities was so profound that it gave birth

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 2. 1. [2] Pompey was appealed to by Antiochus XIII Asiaticus, the son of Eusebes and Selene, to be restored to his throne. Pompey scornfully refused. Antioch and the Seleucid Empire were merged in a new Roman province under a Roman governor (B.C. 64). [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 2. 3. [4] *Ib.*, xiv. 3. 1. [5] *Ib.*, xiv. 3. 2. [6] *Ib.*, xiv. 4. 2. [7] *Ib.*, xiv. 4. 3. [8] *Ib.*, xiv. 4. 4. [9] *Ib.*, xiv. 4. 5.

to a series of 18 pseudepigraphic works called *The Psalms of Solomon.*[1] In these the Jews voiced their aspirations for a new reign of righteousness, and brought out the contrast between the virtuous rule of the Messiah for whose Advent all were longing, and the hideous iniquity and vileness of the successive leaders and tyrants they had known. Some of these Psalms are of remarkable elevation and purity, and in their delineation of the characteristics of the coming Messiah they go back for their models to the finest portions of the Old Testament, and promise to the distracted nation that the long-deferred reign of justice will speedily dawn. It is of deep interest to us to reflect that the aged Simeon who was *looking for the consolation of Israel,*[2] and the prophetess Anna, who with others was *looking for the redemption of Jerusalem,*[3] must have been eyewitnesses of the horrors of the siege by Pompey, and of the ensuing tragedies and humiliations. No wonder that their souls were ardent with longing and hope for the incoming of a better era!

In B.C. 57 the new governor of Syria was Gabinius. He had to put down an insurrection headed by Alexander, son of the captive King Aristobulus,[4] and when this was accomplished, the chains of Roman servitude were riveted still more securely on Judæa. Soon another revolt broke out, this time under the leadership of Aristobulus and another of his sons—Antigonus—both of whom had contrived to escape from Rome (B.C. 56).[5] There were some tremendous struggles against the Roman soldiery, but the war ended in the recapture of Aristobulus, and in his being again sent to Rome to tenant a dismal dungeon.[6]

It was at this juncture that the exiled Ptolemy Auletes made another attempt to regain his throne. He persuaded his patron Pompey to order Gabinius, as governor of Syria, to restore him to Egypt. The proconsul agreed, and turned back from an expedition which he was leading across the Euphrates.[7] The only stipulation made by Gabinius was that he should receive 6,000 talents for the work.[8] The wily Antipater of Idumæa, always keen to be on the side of the Romans, supplied the Roman army with corn and money, and also secured the co-operation of the Jews in Egypt. The latter kept open the passes at Pelusium for Gabinius and Ptolemy, and when the Roman troops had crossed the desert from Palestine, they found it an easy task to force their way through the Delta. Two battles on land, and one at sea, evidenced the superiority of Roman discipline and valour.[9] The Alexandrian troops were hopelessly beaten: Archelaus was slain: and Ptolemy XIII was restored to his throne (B.C. 55). His first act was to execute his daughter Berenice IV for her occupancy of his royal seat, and with her perished scores of the wealthiest citizens of Alexandria, whose riches he utilized to pay the enormous sum due to Gabinius.[10]

The reinstated Auletes survived his return to power till B.C. 51, but he has handed down his name to history as one of the worst and most contemptible of the Ptolemies.[11] Drunken, immoral, savage and faithless, liable to furious passion, his skill on the flute merely accentuated his vile qualities, and rendered him one of the most odious of sovereigns.

[1] See Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah* (1886), p. 77: Schürer, *Hist. Jewish People*, ii. iii. 17. J. E. H. Thomson, *Books which influenced our Lord and His apostles*: Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, 1891: Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 1909: G. B. Gray in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudep. of the O.T.*, ii. 625. [2] Luke 2.[25] [3] Luke 2.[36-38] [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 5. 2. 4. [5] *Ib.*, xiv. 6. 1. [6] *Ib.* [7] *Ib.*, xiv. 6. 2. [8] Plutarch (*Antony* 3) gives the figure as 10,000. [9] Dion Cassius, xxxix. 57. [10] *Ibid.*, xxxix. 58. [11] Strabo, xvii. i. 11.

Alexandria indeed had sunk to a depth of shame and ignominy. Its populace was a fickle, idle rabble, addicted to boundless superstition, and readily yielding to wild bursts of wrath and revenge. The well-known story of the murder of a Roman on its streets because he had accidentally killed a cat, as authenticated by Diodorus an eyewitness,[1] is a symptom of the wild savagery of the mob of this city of culture when swayed by passion: and the historian's statement that sometimes 100 talents would be spent on the funeral of a single sacred animal,[2] is another illustration of the silly fanaticism of a decadent race. Egypt was like an over-ripe fruit, hastening to decay, and ready to fall into the hands of the first comer who advanced to pluck it.

A similar process of disintegration was at work in Palestine. When Gabinius returned from Egypt after reinstating Ptolemy Auletes, he had to put down another rebellion fomented by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, in which 10,000 Jewish patriots perished at the battle of Mount Tabor.[3] Then came the proconsulship of Crassus, who robbed the Temple at Jerusalem of 10,000 talents[4] before he went off to be overwhelmed by the Parthians in the crushing defeat at Carrhæ (B.C. 53). He was followed in the governorship of Palestine by Cassius Longinus, who drenched Galilee with blood,[5] and then for a brief period the land enjoyed quiet. But in B.C. 49 the great Civil War broke out, which ended in the transformation of the Republic into the Roman Empire. Julius Cæsar and Pompey were now contending for the mastery of the world. Both parties attempted to use Palestine as a factor in that grim game, and in the struggle both Aristobulus and Alexander, the representatives of Jewish Nationalism, perished by poison and beheading respectively.[6] Pompey was hopelessly crushed by Cæsar at Pharsalia, and fled at once to Egypt, hotly pursued by the Dictator.

In Egypt matters were in the last throes of dissolution. Ptolemy Auletes, now deceased, by his will had bequeathed his Kingdom to the elder of his two sons and the elder of his daughters.[7] Therefore at the age of ten, PTOLEMY XIV married his sister CLEOPATRA VII (B.C. 51–30) aged seventeen; but while they were nominally joint-sovereigns, the strong-willed sister acted as if she were sole monarch.[8] In the third year of this co-regency, a quarrel broke out between them, and Cleopatra fled to Syria. Here, with the abundance of funds of which the Ptolemaic queens and princesses seem always to have had command, she raised an army. At its head she marched through Palestine to the frontier of Egypt to regain her throne. Her brother went out to oppose her, and waited for his sister-wife's attack near Mount Casius beyond Pelusium. His army was largely made up of the Roman soldiers left behind in Alexandria by Gabinius when that general had restored his father. At this juncture, the great Pompey, fleeing from the battle of Pharsalia, arrived off Pelusium with 2,000 men.[9] He sent a message to the Egyptian King asking a refuge in Alexandria. The base and ungrateful Ptolemy, to curry favour with Cæsar, while replying

[1] Diodorus, i. 84. On the fanaticism of Cat-Worship, see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 363. [2] *Ib.*, i. 85. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 6. 2. 3. [4] *Ibid.*, xiv. 7. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, xiv. 7. 3. [6] *Ibid.*, xiv. 7. 4. [7] Cæsar, *De Bell. Civ.*, iii. 109. [8] Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, viii. 116) thinks that Cleopatra's mother had Semitic blood in her veins, and that Cleopatra's passionate nature, her linguistic facility, her ready wit, her love of splendid pageants, and her physiognomy all point to her having a connection with the race of which the Jews formed a part. A. E. P. B. Weigall in his monograph on Cleopatra (*The Life and Times of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt*, 1914) tries in every way to extenuate her crimes, and to show how much her character has been maligned. To this Mahaffy replies in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, ii. Pt. i. 1. (1915). [9] Appian, *Bell Civ.*, ii. 83: Plutarch, *Pompey*, 76.

with ostensible words of welcome, treacherously caused Pompey to be stabbed to death as he was stepping ashore from a boat (B.C. 48).[1]

Cæsar, in his pursuit of his rival, landed at Alexandria with a small body of 3,200 men. There were fierce street fightings and much bloodshed. His position was most precarious, and on several occasions he had the narrowest escape from being killed.[2] Fires broke out in various parts of the city, a fleet of 72 ships in the harbour was burned, part of the Library was consumed by the flames, and enormous damage was done.[3] Cæsar, smitten with Cleopatra's charms, espoused her cause against her brother.[4] For nine months there were plots and counterplots, assassinations and treacheries,[5] skirmishes and pitched battles, and still Cæsar waited for the help that was so long in coming.

If we are to believe Josephus,[6] the Dictator was saved from his critical predicament by timely assistance from Palestine. Mithridates of Pergamum was bringing auxiliary forces, but was detained at Ascalon, unable to force his way past Pelusium. Antipater of Idumæa saw his opportunity of winning Cæsar's gratitude. Collecting a band of 3,000 Jews, and numerous Arabs and Syrians, he joined Mithridates in an attack on Pelusium, and before his valour the frontier fortress of Egypt was captured.[7] He then induced the Egyptian Jews of the Delta to throw in their lot with Cæsar. In a pitched battle near a spot called the "Jewish Camp,"[8] an initial rout of Mithridates was turned into a victory by the vigour of Antipater's rally, and the Jewish troops were able to push through to Alexandria, to effect a junction with Cæsar, and to extricate him from his peril. Ptolemy XIV, defeated in battle, was drowned in the Nile. Cæsar became master of Alexandria. He re-seated Cleopatra VII on her throne, and made a journey up the Nile with her, accompanied by 400 ships, to view the great monuments.[9] Then he made her enter into a nominal marriage with her second brother, PTOLEMY XV, and finally quitted Egypt, carrying off Arsinoë, Cleopatra's half-sister, as a prisoner to grace his triumph in Rome (B.C. 46).[10] Passing through Palestine on his way home, Cæsar settled the affairs of that country,[11] and liberally rewarded Antipater and the Jews for their timely succour. The former was made Procurator of an enlarged Judæa: while to the day of his death Cæsar remained the warm friend of the Hebrew race. Cleopatra soon followed the Dictator to Rome, along with their son Cæsarion,[12] who in formal inscriptions was styled PTOLEMY XVI PHILOPATOR PHILOMETOR. Cleopatra lived with

[1] Dion Cassius, xlii. 4. One of the *Psalms of Solomon* celebrates the ignoble overthrow of this "man of the strange land," who had entered the Holy of Holies, and violated the sanctity of the Temple. His body was left unburied on the seashore (ii. 31; *cf.* Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 19). [2] Appian, *op. cit.*, ii. 90: Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 64. [3] Cæsar, *De Bello Civile*, iii. 107, 112: Dion Cassius, xlii. 38: Plutarch, *Cæsar*, 49: but Mahaffy (*Emp. of the Ptolemies*, p. 454) doubts the story and thinks that merely some old bookstore was burned. [4] There is no authentic information as to the issue of the battle of Mount Casius. Mahaffy (*op. cit.*, p. 452) believes that Cleopatra was defeated, that her mercenaries went over to the winning side: and therefore that when she entered Egypt she came alone as a claimant *minus* an army. [5] *e.g.*, Arsinoë, Cleopatra's younger sister, allied herself with Achillas, the leader of the Egyptian insurgents who were attacking Cæsar. [6] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 8. 1. [7] Possibly Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, was with them (Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 8. 3: xiv. 10. 2.) [8] Probably Leontopolis = Tell-el-Yahudiyah, Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 8. 2. [9] Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 51. [10] As already hinted, amid the disturbances of the time, Arsinoë had allowed herself to be made queen by the Alexandrians, an insult which her proud half-sister Cleopatra never forgave. Cleopatra later induced Antony to put Arsinoë to death after she had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Magnesia (Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, v. 9: Dion Cassius, xlviii. 24). [11] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 8. 3. [12] Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 52.

Cæsar in his palace, and even tried to persuade him to change the seat of Empire from Rome to Troy or Alexandria.[1] On the murder of Cæsar (B.C. 44) Cleopatra quitted Rome, having there, it was believed, murdered her boy-husband, Ptolemy XV, who had accompanied her to the capital, and returned to Egypt.

Cæsar's death created confusion again in Palestine. Cassius, the new governor, made the country groan under his exactions,[2] though Antipater and his son Herod wrought zealously on his behalf, having transferred their allegiance from Cæsar's person to Cæsar's murderer. But in B.C. 42 the battle of Philippi put an end to Cassius' career, and left the empire in the hands of Antony. Meanwhile there was great scarcity in Egypt, and Cleopatra took steps to relieve the distress, though she refused to allow the Jews in Alexandria to participate in the distribution of corn.[3]

In B.C. 41 Antony sent for the Egyptian Queen to answer for her conduct in the recent Civil War. She made her famous voyage up the Cydnus to Tarsus in a magnificent vessel, with the luxury and wantonness that have become proverbial.[4] Antony surrendered to her irresistible beauty and charm. Abandoning all, he arranged to spend a season with her in Egypt. On his way thither he confirmed Herod in his jurisdiction as tetrarch, after the murder of his father Antipater : and at Tyre, influenced by Herod's flattery and bribery, he slew a great number of Jews who came to his tribunal bringing charges against the Idumæan upstart.[5] In Egypt, Antony spent months in idle dalliance and absurd extravagance,[6] until at length he tore himself away from Cleopatra and returned to Rome (B.C. 38). During his absence Cleopatra devoted herself to the building of temples, and the magnificent edifice at Dendera, bearing her name and that of her son Cæsarion, testifies to her architectural zeal.

Meanwhile in Palestine the Jews were enduring fresh calamities. No sooner had Antony quitted Canaan than the Parthians swarmed in in an irresistible stream.[7] Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, sought their aid to establish himself on the throne of his Maccabæan forefathers. Jerusalem fell into their hands and was plundered.[8] Hyrcanus the high priest was mutilated and sent into exile beyond the Euphrates. Phasaël, Herod's brother, was betrayed to death and committed suicide in prison.[9] Herod had to flee with his wives and children to Masada on the Dead Sea.[10] Then leaving his harem to the care of his brother Joseph, he made haste to escape to Egypt. After several adventures he reached Alexandria, and resisting Cleopatra's inducements to remain there,[11] he set sail for Rome. He had a perilous and stormy voyage in which his ship nearly foundered, but at last he arrived safely and laid his case before the sympathetic ears of Antony. In seven days Herod quitted Rome, having more than gained his case.[12] He returned to Palestine as King of Judæa, supported by a decree of the Senate, and with the powerful protection of both Antony and Octavian. Landing at Ptolemais, with the help of the Roman legions he established his authority over the land, though at a terrible cost in blood.[13] The Parthians were driven out of Syria. In B.C. 37 Herod and his Roman allies under Sosius besieged, attacked, and stormed Jerusalem, with a

[1] Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 79. [2] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 11. 12. [3] Jos., *c. Apion*, ii. 5. [4] Plutarch, *Antony*, 26. [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 13. 2. [6] See Pliny's (*N.H.*, ix. 58) famous story of the pearl worth £76,000 which Cleopatra dissolved. [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 13. 3. [8] *Ib.*, xiv. 13. 9. [9] *Ib.*, xiv. 13. 10. [10] *Ib.*, xiv. 13. 8. [11] *Ib.*, xiv. 14. 2 : *Wars*, i. 14. 2. Cleopatra wished to make him commander of her troops. [12] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 14. 5. [13] *Ib.*, xiv. 15. 1. 12 : *Wars*, i. 15. 6 : i. 17. 6.

frightful massacre of its populace.[1] After its capture, Antigonus—the last of the Maccabee princes—was beheaded.[2] Herod ruled as King from B.C. 37 to B.C. 4.

Now for the last time an attempt was made by Egypt to regain her ancient possession of Canaan ; yet not by military force, but through the wiles and sophistries of an unscrupulous and abandoned queen. Herod sent to Hyrcania for the aged exiled high priest Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his wife Mariamne.[3] At first the venerable high priest received all honour, but as his mutilation debarred him from the execution of his duties, Herod installed in his place a certain unknown Ananel.[4] This indignity infuriated Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and the mother-in-law of Herod. She wrote to Cleopatra asking her to get Antony to appoint to the high priesthood her son Aristobulus.[5] Cleopatra used her endeavours, and though Herod at first put off Antony with excuses, he afterwards did depose Ananel, and installed in the post his young brother-in-law Aristobulus.[6] But Herod's suspicions had been aroused. He set a watch on Alexandra, until that proud princess wrote again to Cleopatra, complaining of her lot, and asking assistance. Cleopatra in reply advised her to escape at once with her son to Egypt.[7] Alexandra accordingly planned a flight from Jerusalem by night inside two coffins, one for herself, and one for Aristobulus. Their route was to be to the seaside, where a ship was to be in readiness to convey them to Egypt. But the plot was betrayed. Herod got wind of the escape, and allowed the two of them to be caught in the very act of flight. He was forced, however, ostensibly to pardon them, for fear of exciting the wrathful vengeance of Cleopatra. But a little later, the hapless Aristobulus was drowned at Jericho, nominally accidentally, but really by the orders of Herod. Alexandra, nursing her revenge, communicated the whole story of the tragedy to Cleopatra.[8]

Cleopatra was righteously indignant with Herod, and tried to persuade Antony to depose him.[9] Antony summoned Herod to Laodicea to answer for the murder of the high priest. In fear, Herod was forced to obey the summons, but lavish presents on his part restored him to Antony's favour.[10] Nevertheless, Cleopatra, when she had joined Antony in the Parthian War, kept on egging the latter to give her a slice off Herod's dominions. Her lover, who was completely in her toils, at last consented. Antony bestowed on the Egyptian Queen the cities south of the river Eleutherus as far as Egypt, except Tyre and Sidon, and also the region round Jericho and across the Jordan where the balsam and palm trees yielded a great revenue.[11] Thus for the last time a large portion of Palestine passed under the sway of Egypt, and for a year or two owed fealty to the Nile Valley.[12] Cleopatra even came to Jericho, and attempted to seduce Herod as she had done Antony. A strange moment in the history of the Holy Land ! Herod the Great solicited by the famous Cleopatra in order to win another triumph ! Who can say what the result would have been had the Jewish King given in to her blandishments ? [13] But Herod was too wary.

[1] *Jos., Antiq.*, xiv. 16. 2. A very admirable summing up of Herod's career, and an adequate estimate of his character, will be found in Sir G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 469 f. [2] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 16. 4 : xv. 1. 2. [3] *Ib.*, xv. 2. 2. [4] *Ib.*, xv. 2. 4. [5] *Ib.*, xv. 2. 5. [6] *Ib.*, xv. 2. 7. [7] *Ib.*, xv. 3. 2. [8] *Ib.*, xv. 3. 3. [9] *Ib.*, xv. 3. 5. [10] *Ib.*, xv. 3. 8. [11] *Ib.*, xv. 4. 1. 2. : *Wars*, i. 18. 5 : Plutarch, *Antony* 36. [12] There are extant small bronze coins and tetradrachms minted at Ascalon which bear the portrait of Cleopatra VII (Head, *Hist. Numorum*, 1911, p. 804). [13] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 4. 2. Josephus says that Herod discussed the question with his intimates whether he should not kill Cleopatra, and thus get rid of a wicked woman. Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, viii. 100) ridicules Josephus for the statement.

He paid court to Cleopatra, made her presents, conducted her on her way to Egypt, and hired from her at a yearly rent of 200 talents [1] the sovereignty of those provinces of which she had robbed him.[2]

One more winter Antony and Cleopatra spent together in Alexandria in every extreme of luxury and folly.[3] So notorious was their career that Octavian [4] persuaded the Senate to declare war Herod offered a Jewish army to help Antony. Cleopatra asked Herod instead to engage in war with the King of the Nabatæans who had withheld his tribute.[5] She was in hopes that Herod and the Arab King would mutually destroy each other, and that then her general Athenion, commander of the Egyptian troops in Palestine, would fall upon the weakened survivors and thus win all Palestine for her.[6] Athenion did not wait long. No sooner had Herod vanquished the Arabs than he was suddenly attacked by the Egyptian army, and a great slaughter of the Jews took place. It was the last time that such a deed was perpetrated by any Egyptian army. Herod rallied his followers, and after a successful engagement, returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Meanwhile the war between Octavian and Antony had ended in the crushing defeat of the latter at Actium (B.C. 31), by which Octavian obtained the undisputed sovereignty of the Roman world Cleopatra and her lover fled back to Egypt.[7] They indulged for a brief spell in a wild scheme to drag their fleet across the Isthmus of Suez, and to found a new Kingdom far down the Red Sea.[8] They renewed their banquetings and carousals while Octavian steadily drew nearer. At the first news of the issue of Actium, Herod had transferred his allegiance to the winning side. He now hastened to Rhodes to meet Augustus, who confirmed him in his sovereignty of Judæa.[9] When Augustus marched through Palestine to enter Egypt, Herod entertained him at Ptolemais with royal magnificence, bestowing presents on the Roman army and loading them with provisions.[10] As the Emperor passed on to the south, Herod provided wine and water for the desert journey, and assisted the Romans with a gift of 800 talents and every other kind of help. Pelusium might have stayed Augustus's advance, but by Cleopatra's orders the fort was betrayed by its governor, though Cleopatra cruelly put his wife and children to death. The Egyptian Queen imagined that the Jews had brought about her ruin. She said she wished she could kill every Jew with her own hand.[11] Meanwhile Augustus passed on to Alexandria in triumph.

What ensued is known to everyone—Cleopatra's betrayal of Antony: Antony's suicide, followed by that of Cleopatra: [12] the execution by the conqueror of Antony's son by his first wife Fulvia, and of Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Cæsar.[13] The ancient dynasty of the Ptolemies thus

[1] Jos., *Wars*, i. 18. 5. [2] Antony, on his return to Egypt, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Cœle-Syria as well as of Egypt. Cleopatra's coins bear the legend "Cleopatra, *the young goddess!*" She called herself the "New Isis," and made Antony dress as Osiris and Dionysus. [3] One of the most famous architectural features of Alexandria was the Cæsareum, begun by Cleopatra as a monument to Antony, and finished and dedicated by Augustus. It suffered from sackings and burnings at the hands of Christians, pagans, and Moslems: was then turned into a Patriarchal Church, and was finally destroyed in A.D. 912. [4] *i.e.*, Augustus. [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 5. 1. [6] Jos., *Wars*, i. 19. 1. [7] Cleopatra's flight from the sea-fight, in which she was followed by Antony, was the cause of the loss of the battle (Plutarch, *Antony*, 66). [8] Plutarch, *Antony*, 72. [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 6. 6.: *Wars*, i. 20. 1. [10] *Jos., Antiq.*, xv. 6. 7.: *Wars*, i. 20. 3. [11] Jos., *c. Apion*, ii. 5. [12] Shakespeare in his *Antony and Cleopatra*, borrowed all his scenery of the tragedy from Plutarch's narrative. [13] Plut., *Antony*, 81.

finally disappeared in blood.[1] Egypt was absorbed within the newly created Roman Empire,[2] and became part of the private patrimony of AUGUSTUS [3] (B.C. 31—A.D. 14) As for Herod, in Egypt he enjoyed the greatest freedom with the Emperor. Cleopatra's bodyguard of 400 Galatians was handed over as a present to him, and Augustus also restored all the territory which had been taken from him by Cleopatra.[4] To this he added also Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower. A little later he gave to Herod the regions called Trachonitis,[5] Batanæa,[6] and Auranitis.[7] Thus passed away the last trace of the Egyptian domination of Palestine. As Augustus journeyed homeward from Egypt, Herod accompanied him as far as Antioch, and displayed the same politic munificence towards the Roman army as on the outward route.[8] Augustus carried with him to Rome the enormous treasure of the Ptolemies,[9] along with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The populace of Rome, as they watched his triumph, gazed on the two children of Antony and Cleopatra —Alexander Helios (the "Sun") and Cleopatra Selene (the "Moon") —as they were led in chains, and admired also an effigy of the last Egyptian Queen, who by her suicide had saved herself from this dismal fate.[10]

The new Emperor signalized the inauguration of Roman rule in Egypt by ordering the demolition of the fifty statues of Antony which adorned various public buildings.[11] He also began to inflict on the Alexandrians a severe punishment. Four miles from the eastern gate of the city he commenced to build a new capital of Egypt.[12] Several large temples were begun, and the priests of Alexandria were instructed to offer sacrifices there. It was to be called Nicopolis inasmuch as it marked the site of his victory over Antony. But the scheme was impracticable and was soon abandoned. The site of Alexandria had been chosen by a master-eye, and its advantages were such that Augustus soon realized that his intended insult would merely impoverish himself.[13]

Egypt was placed under a Prefect, who acted as a viceroy under the immediate supervision of the Emperor.[14] So jealous was the latter of any senatorial interference with Egypt, that he ordered that no senator should set foot in Egypt without leave from himself.[15] *Cornelius Gallus*, the

[1] Nevertheless, Augustus allowed Juba, King of Mauretania, who had accompanied him into Egypt, to marry Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra. With her went also to North Africa her two brothers, Ptolemy and Alexander, also sons of Cleopatra VII. [2] It would seem that Augustus attempted to make his capture of Alexandria the starting point for the reckoning of a new era. The era was to be 1st August, B.C. 30. There are traces of this dating till the early years of Tiberius, but the scheme soon lapsed. See Wilcken, "Eine alexandrinische Æra Octavians" in *Hermes* xxx. (1895), p. 151 f. [3] It was in Egypt that Augustus instituted the change in the calendar which made the year consist of 365¼ days, instead of 365. It was called the Julian year (after Julius Cæsar) and lasted for 16 centuries (Dion Cassius, li. 6). [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 7. 3.: *Wars*, i. 20. 3. [5] *Cf.* Luke 3.[1] [6] *Cf.* Jno. 1[28] R.V. *Bethany beyond Jordan.* [7] The Hauran, Ezek. 47.[18] [8] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 6. 7: xv. 7. 4. [9] He also carried off two obelisks, one of which (erected by Thothmes IV) now stands in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome, the other (of Psammetichus) is on Monte Citorio. [10] Dion Cassius, li. 7. [11] Plutarch, *Antony*. [12] Dion Cassius, li. 18. [13] An interesting human touch from this period is afforded by a tombstone recently discovered at Tell-el-Yahudiyeh (the site of Oneion) by Seymour de Ricci with the inscription "Elazaros, the good, beloved of all, aged 30 years, the 2nd year of Cæsar." This shows the presence of Greek-speaking Jews at the spot. [14] For the judicial reorganization of Egypt under Rome see J. G. Milne, *A Hist. of Egypt under Roman Rule*, ch. i., and especially Hohlwein, *L'Égypte Romaine* (Brussels), 1912, p. 8 f. [15] Just before this law was promulgated, the poet Tibullus paid a visit to Memphis, and was present when the city went into grief over the death of an Apis Bull (Tibullus, i. 7). Augustus refused to go to pay his respects to this animal. Sharpe (*Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 75) says of the three conquerors of Egypt, that Cambyses stabbed the sacred beast, Alexander sacrificed to it, Augustus would not even go to see it.

first of the Prefects, was a man of such overweening vanity, that when he had put down an insurrection in the Thebaid, in fifteen days had fought two pitched battles, and had penetrated as far as Syene,[1] he acted as if he was King of Egypt. He caused statues to be erected in his honour, and carved inscriptions of his deeds upon the pyramids.[2] When Augustus heard of his conduct, he recalled him; but fearing punishment Gallus committed suicide [3] (B.C. 28).

He was succeeded by *C. Petronius*, who had to put down a rising of the Alexandrians.[4] This accomplished, he employed the Roman legions in clearing out the irrigation canals which during these turbulent years had been neglected and become silted up. The result was so satisfactory that in a year of low Nile the inadequate inundation was more than compensated for by the extra supply of available water.[5] Simultaneously with the shortage of flood in Egypt there occurred in Palestine a period of drought and famine, just as had been the case centuries earlier in the times of the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob. Deep was the misery of Judæa, for pestilence followed famine. Herod saved his people and earned their gratitude by selling his own palace furniture, and with the money purchasing supplies of grain from Petronius. Egypt's vast stores of corn were poured into Palestine to relieve the distress and anguish of the people, and thus once again the Jews felt the value of their proximity to a land of plenty.[6]

The third Prefect was *Ælius Gallus*, during whose term of office Egypt was visited by the celebrated Greek traveller Strabo. The Nile Valley with its marvels—the Sphinx, the Pyramids, the "Colossi of Memnon," and other features—already drew tourists from all lands. Strabo's description of Egypt is of value in revealing both the progress and the decadence of the land since Herodotus wrote his account of what he saw. There had been a marked increase in the size and magnificence of Alexandria.[7] Strabo describes with interest its two harbours, which held more ships than were to be seen in any other port in the world: its vast trade: its docks: its magazines: its ship canal: its lighthouse: its palaces, temples, and public buildings: its gardens and its cemeteries.[8] From the summit of the temple of Pan, an artificial mound of the shape of a fir-cone resembling a pile of rock, which towered aloft from the heart of the city, and was reached by a spiral path, he surveyed the whole capital spread out like a map beneath him, with its curved shore line, its Mareotic lake fringed with vineyards, and its white-sailed boats skimming over the blue waters.[9]

From Alexandria, Strabo passed to Heliopolis, by this time deserted and utterly fallen from its ancient dignity as the home of priestly erudition.[10] He mentions that the Egyptians used the asphalt of the Dead Sea in Palestine for embalming the dead,[11] thus witnessing to a form of commercial intercourse between the neighbouring lands to which Diodorus also makes reference.[12] At Memphis he saw what evidenced a great increase in the

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1. 53. At Syene, Gallus held a conference with ambassadors from the Nubian Kingdom to the south. As the Upper Nile was a *terra incognita* to the Romans, Gallus did not venture to penetrate further. [2] Lyons and Borchardt, *Sitz. d. Kais. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896, p. 469. [3] Dion Cassius, liii. 23. [4] Strabo, xvii., 1. 35. [5] Strabo, *ib.*, and Suetonius, *Augustus*, 18. [6] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 9. 2. [7] Strabo, xvii. 1.6.—10.13. [8] *Ib.*, xvii. 1. 9. 10. [9] Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 80. [10] Strabo, xvii. 1. 27. 28. [11] *Ib.*, xvi. 2. 45. [12] What Diodorus says (xix. 98) regarding the bitumen of the Dead Sea is: "This source of wealth the barbarians possess, and they take it into Egypt, and there sell it for embalming the dead, for unless bitumen is mixed with the other spices, the bodies will not remain long undecayed."

fanaticism of the populace for animal worship.[1] The Apis and his mother lived in small chapels with windows opening on a courtyard, and tourists could look in through the window at the holy beasts.[2] Wealthy visitors could even buy the privilege of seeing the ox led up and down outside his cell.[3] At Arsinoë or Crocodilopolis he saw the sacred crocodile fed with bread, meat, and wine.[4] Strabo's host carried with him from the dinner table a cake, dressed meat, and a small jug with a drink of honey and milk for the loathsome saurian! A priest opened the mouth of the crocodile, which lay on the shore of the lake, and another pushed the food and drink within its jaws. It was the time when the gravestone of a poisonous serpent was adorned with a most touching poetical inscription,[5] and when the populace of two adjoining provinces kept up a sanguinary feud because one worshipped a fish and the other a dog.[6] Strabo [7] tells us that the people of Cynopolis worshipped dogs: those of Oxyrhynchus a sturgeon; [8] the inhabitants of Sais and of Thebes, a sheep: the dwellers in Latopolis, the fish "latus": the residents in Lycopolis, a wolf: the people of Hermopolis, the cynocephalus: those of Babylon near Memphis, a cephus with the face of a satyr, a cross between a dog and a bear. At Thebes an eagle also was revered: at Leontopolis, a lion: at Mendes, a goat: at Athribis, a shrew-mouse: at Bubastis, a cat: at Hierakonpolis, and Philæ, a hawk: while elsewhere an ox and an ibis received adoration.[9] Egypt had truly descended to that pit of contemptible and imbecile theriolatry so faithfully described by Paul—*Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools: and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.*[9] When Strabo [10] describes Palestine he makes the remarkable statement that the districts of Joppa, Jerusalem, Galilee, the plain of Jericho, and the territories of Philadelphia and Samaria, were inhabited by mixed tribes of Egyptians, Arabs and Phœnicians. On what evidence he bases this remark we are not informed: it is, however, an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the view current in Strabo's time about the Jewish ethnological relations, for he affirms that the Egyptians were the ancestors of the present Jews.

In B.C. 25 Ælius Gallus attempted with disastrous results the subjugation of Arabia Felix. He set out with 10,000 Roman troops, 1,000 Nabatæans, and 500 picked men whom Herod the Great sent from his bodyguard in Jerusalem.[11] The expedition sailed down the Red Sea, landed on the eastern shore, and slowly penetrated inland They had dreamed that the spices and the costly products of the East, which entered Egypt from India, were stored up in cities which they could capture. They found no cities, and worse still, no water. By the time they reached Mariaba, the Sabæan capital, thousands had perished, and Gallus was obliged to retreat without having achieved anything.[12] On reaching Egypt, he was relieved of his command, and Petronius was again installed as Prefect. Whether the Jewish contingent survived the perils of waterless

[1] Strabo, xvii. 1. 31. [2] *Cf.* Mariette, *Mémoire sur la Mère d'Apis*, Paris, 1856. [3] Strabo, xvii. 1. 13. [4] *Ib.*, xvii. 1. 38. [5] *Ausführ. Verz.*, p. 339. [6] Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.*, 72. The dog hypogeum at Abydos has lately been excavated. Layers of dogs, 8–10 feet deep, amounting in the aggregate to tens of thousands, have been discovered. Most of them were badly mummified. They date from the first pre-Christian century to the fourth century A.D. (Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, ii. (1914) 101). [7] xvii. 1. 40. [8] "Oxyrhynchus," = a name for the sturgeon. [9] Rom. 1.[22 23] [10] Strabo, xvi. ii. 34 and xiii. ii. 5. [11] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 9. 3. [12] Strabo, xvi. 4. 22–24: Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 290.

Arabia we do not know, but Josephus states that they were "of great service."

During this foolishly-planned and futile expedition, the Nubians had broken the treaty they had made with Cornelius Gallus, and 30,000 of them had swarmed down the Nile possessing themselves of Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ, and driving out the three Roman cohorts stationed there (B.C. 24). They were led by generals of Candace,[1] Queen of Meroe, "a woman of masculine spirit,[2] who had lost an eye."[3] But their raw, undisciplined valour was no match for the trained legions of Rome. Petronius marched up the Nile with 10,000 infantry, and 800 cavalry. Driving the Ethiopians before him, he stormed their cities of Pselkis,[4] Premis,[5] and their metropolis Napata, and established Roman authority a thousand miles south of Alexandria Next year the Nubians again revolted, and again Petronius went up the Nile. This time Candace sued for peace, which was granted; and having fortified Premis,[6] the Romans retired, leaving the Nubian territory in possession of the warlike Queen The boundary was fixed about 70 miles south of Assuan.[7] Two great stelæ discovered at Meroe in 1913 in Meroitic are believed by Sayce to be the Ethiopian version of this war.[8]

Meanwhile in Palestine, Herod the Great pursued his infamously splendid career The bloodstained horrors of his reign need not be repeated here. His relations with Egypt continued to be intimate. One of his wives was a Cleopatra,[9] who, though said to have been of Jerusalem, in all likelihood had some Egyptian connection. She became the mother of a son named Herod, and of Philip the future tetrarch. The poison box, also, which Antiphilus intended for the King's assassination, was procured out of Egypt from an Alexandrian doctor,[10] and a treasonable correspondence which was discovered was found to have been concocted in Egypt by the same Antiphilus.[11]

Much of the architecture of the period which we call "Herodian" betrays the impress of Egyptian canons of taste. When Herod rebuilt the Temple in Jerusalem, though the style was largely Greco-Roman, it had affinities with Egyptian structures. The great golden vine[12] over the front of the Temple—which Jesus a little later used as a text and as an illustration of Himself, saying *I am the true Vine*,[13] as He passed it on His way down to the Garden of Gethsemane—was more Egyptian than Classical. In the construction of the numerous tombs round about Jerusalem it is noteworthy that the stone-cutters employed, not Roman, but mainly Egyptian and Phœnician measures, the ordinary

[1] On the female rule in Nubia, see Crowfoot, *The Island of Meroë* (1911), p. 33, and Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, i. 55: ii. (1912) 39. [2] Candace by her portrait on the monuments discovered in the Karanog Expedition (1910) seems to have had the same obese figure which is seen in the queen of Punt as described in the visits of Pepi II and Hatshepset. The excessive protuberance of the broad lips and the buttocks reminds us of the negroid ideal of female beauty current amongst certain savage African tribes to-day (see Woolley and Maciver, *Karanog, The Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, 1910, p. 61). [3] Strabo, xvii. 1. 54. [4] Dakkeh. [5] Kasr Ibrim: Strabo (xvii. 1. 54) calls it "Premnis"; Pliny (*H.N.*, vi. 181) "Primis"; Olympiodorus (*Excerpta* (ed. Bekker), p. 13 A) "Prima," as being the first town in the Thebaid at which one arrived coming from the heart of the barbarian lands in the south. [6] The remains of these fortifications by Petronius at Kasr Ibrim have been explored and described by Woolley and Maciver, *Karanog* (1910), p. 2, 86 f. [7] Strabo, xvii. 1: Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 181: Dion Cassius, liii. 29. Augustus abandoned the fort in a year or two and recalled the garrison. [8] See Griffith in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, iv. (1917) 159: Sayce in *Liverpool Ann. of Arch. and Anthrop.*, vii. (1914) 23: (1916), p. 67. [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii. 1. 3: *Wars*, i. 28. 4. [10] *Ib.*, *Antiq.*, xvii. 4. 2: *Wars*, i. 30. 5. 7. [11] *Ib.*, *Antiq.*, xvii. 5. 7. [12] Jos., *Antiq.*, xv. 11. 3: *Wars*, v. 5. 4: Mishna, *Middoth*, iii. 8. [13] Jno. 15.[1]

Egyptian cubit, varying from 20.5 to 20.7 inches, being in general use.[1] It may also be that the remarkable sarcophagus found at Gaza in 1910, with a mummy of "a queen," which was destroyed by the greed and fanaticism of the discoverers before any scientific study of it could be made, belonged also to this period. The head, fillet, and nose of the mummy suggested a Roman origin, but the shoes, as carved on the lid, were Egyptian.[2] Palestine, though conscious of its own revived temporal fortunes, and though subject to strong Roman influences, nevertheless still looked to the Nile Valley for its architectural inspirations.

The proximity of Egypt indeed, with all that that implied of the inflow into Canaan of Nilotic conceptions, affected current Jewish conceptions very materially. The Jews in Egypt[3] were in the presence of an elaborate theological system, very imposing to the imagination, however grossly degenerate in type. They could not but be influenced in some degree by the religious beliefs of those among whom they traded and carried on business, for every Oriental is a born missionary of his creed, and the Egyptians made no secret of their fanatical devotion to the ancient cults prevalent in their land. Insensibly the Jews imbibed some of these Egyptian conceptions, and in course of time passed them on to their brethren in Palestine, till we find even the Rabbis of the Herodian period reproducing in their theology ideas which owed their birth to the rank perverted imagination of the decadent Nilotes. Thus, for example, some Rabbinical explanations of Gehenna are seen to be really based on Egyptian mythological conceptions. According to the Rabbis, Gehenna was a vast receptacle for the damned, and its vastness was calculated by comparison, not with Palestine, but with Egypt. Egypt, they said, is 400 parasangs[4] long, and 400 parasangs wide ;[5] Nubia is 60 times as large as Egypt : the world is 60 times as large as Nubia, and it would require 500 years to travel across either its length or its breadth: Gehenna is 60 times as large as the world, and it will take a man 2,100 years to reach it.[6] Gehenna has seven palaces, in which the punishment varies in intensity. Each palace is under the command of an angel who is again subordinate to Dumah, the prince of Gehenna. This "Dumah" is of Egyptian origin, for the Rabbinical interpretation was that at the time when Moses said *Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment*,[7] Dumah, the prince of Egypt, went 400 miles, and God said to him "This decree is decreed by me, even as it is written *The Lord shall punish the host of the high ones on high*.[8] In that hour sovereignty was taken away from him, and he was appointed prince over Gehenna.[9] Thus we find the strange phenomenon that in the synagogues of Palestine the Rabbis, in their absurd exegesis, reproduced the fantastic mythology of Egyptian folktale-mongers !

Amid this universal decay of nations, and religions, and morals, the entire world was weary and was crying out for a Deliverer. And now at last (B.C. 8–7) there appeared in Judæa the long-expected Messiah. It would seem that even for the fact that Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem we are indebted to Egypt. There was for long a grave accusation made against the historic accuracy of the third Gospel, inasmuch as Luke had

[1] Petrie in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, p. 30. [2] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1910, p. 294. [3] A pathetic illustration of their presence is seen in the steles found at Tel-el-Yahudiyeh, one of which has on it "In the year 7 (=B.C. 23) the 7th of Phamenoth, Sabbataios, son of Somoëlus, died, too early, age about 25 years" (Dussaud, *Les Monum. Palestiniens et Judaiques*, 1916). [4] A parasang=30 stadia=202 yards×30=6,060 yards. [5] That is, about 1,200 miles long and 1,200 miles wide. [6] Eisenmenger, *Entdektes Judenthum*, ii. 328. [7] Ex. 12.[12] [8] Isa. 24.[21] [9] Wallis Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 273 f.

dated the birth of Christ as taking place under Quirinius. *It came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria: and all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city.*[1] The charges that were levelled were these: that there was no other evidence for this universal enrolment: that even if the enrolment had been ordered, Herod enjoyed too much independent authority to permit such an innovation within his dominions: that if the enrolment had been carried out in the Roman manner there was no necessity for Joseph and Mary to quit their ordinary place of abode: that there was no opportunity for Quirinius to be in command in Palestine at the time alleged: and finally that as Josephus mentions a census of Judæa carried on by Quirinius in A.D. 6, it is likely that Luke made a mistake, confounding this later enrolment with one which he alleged to have taken place during the lifetime of Herod.[2] Such in brief are the arguments of the late Professor Schürer.[3]

Yet practically simultaneously it was discovered by three scholars[4] that Egypt afforded some light on the problem. They found that papyrus fragments revealed the fact that periodic enrolments were made in Egypt under the Roman Empire every fourteen years.[5] Professor Ramsay[6] at once seized on these discoveries, and with convincing logic worked out evidences to show that the enrolment system as practised in Egypt commenced in B.C. 23, when Augustus began formally to reign: that the system was not confined to the Nile Valley, but extended to other parts of the Empire, especially to Palestine: that Herod's jurisdiction was in no sense independent of Rome, and that he was bound to obey his superior if asked to take a census: that to meet as far as possible the violent prejudices of the Jews he conducted the enrolment according to the Hebrew national custom instead of adopting the Roman method: that this plan avoided the disorders and armed resistance that characterized the census of A.D. 6 which was carried out according to the Roman system: and finally, that Quirinius, at the time of Christ's birth, held an extraordinary command as Legate, alongside of the acting governor Quinctilius Varus. Egypt thus has made her own distinct contribution to the verification of the external date of Christ's human life, and once again the intimate connection subsisting between the Nile Valley and Palestine has been strangely brought out.

But more. Egypt was destined to be the refuge and the home of Christ at a most critical era in His life. Herod purposed to slay the newly born King of the Jews. But *an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying "Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I tell thee."*[7] Joseph obeyed: *He arose and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying "Out of Egypt did I call my son."*[8] How many a fugitive had taken that same road in past centuries! Egypt was the recognized asylum for all the distressed and persecuted in Canaan: and Jesus, in being carried thither and sharing its hospitality was identifying Himself with the lot of tens of thousands of His Jewish compatriots.

[1] Luke 2.[1-3] [2] Summarized thus by Prof. Sanday in art. JESUS CHRIST in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 646. [3] *Hist. of the Jewish People* i. ii. 105–143 (1900). [4] Kenyon, *Classical Review*, 1893, p. 110: Wilcken in *Hermes*, 1893, p. 203: Viereck in *Philologus*, 1893, pp. 219, 563, and for an early Egyptian census under Tiberius, see Von Eitrem of Christiania, *Philologus*, 1915, 21, vi. [5] For a specimen of these census papers with discussion, see Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, 1910, p. 44. [6] Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898) [7] Matt. 2.[13] [8] v.[14, 15]

Early Christian tradition has located the residence of Mary and her Child at Matariyeh near Heliopolis. If the tradition be sound, it is interesting to think of Christ viewing those ancient obelisks erected by Senusert I (one of which is standing to this day) in honour of the Sun-god Ra.[1] Various legends associated with Jesus still cling to the spot.[2] A fountain was long pointed out, of which it was asserted that the Infant Saviour had made the water fresh.[3] A venerable sycamore-figtree is shown, under whose branches the Holy Family are traditionally reported to have rested.[4] Jesus is stated to have proceeded to Memphis and to have seen Pharaoh![5] The wildest and most fantastic legends regarding the wonders wrought by Christ are to be found in the apocryphal *Gospel of the Infancy*, a heretical work of the middle of the second century, the *Childhood Gospel of Thomas* (3rd century), the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (4th century), and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (5th century).[6] The strong probability is that all are utterly unhistorical. Budge[7] even says that the meat and drink provided by the tree of Nut for the departed, which grew at Heliopolis, may have served as the archetype of the sycamore under which the Virgin rested during her flight into Egypt. There seems to be little doubt that many of the details of the wanderings of the Holy Family in the Delta, as recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels, are borrowed from the old mythology of Egypt.

It is, further, of interest to note that it has been suggested[8] that Jesus' habit of quoting from the LXX instead of from the Hebrew version of the Old Testament, was due to the residence in Egypt. Mary may there have obtained a Greek copy of the Scriptures, and her Son was thus early taught to look on the LXX as of equal value with the Hebrew original. The sojourn in Egypt thus influenced His whole future life, as His Bible, which He loved, was a Græco-Egyptian translation.

[1] See p. 79.] [2] For legends of Jesus' residence in Egypt, see Wallis Budge, *Hist. of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, translated from the Syriac, i. 45. [3] A variant of the legend asserted that it was the bathing in it of the Virgin which turned the water from brackishness to sweetness. [4] See Greville J. Chester in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1880, p. 134. [5] *Gospel of the Infancy* 8.[12] [6] See Tasker, art. APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 431: Findlay, art. GOSPELS (APOCRYPHAL) in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 681: Geden, art. EGYPT, *ibid.*, i. 508. [7] Budge, *Book of the Dead*, ch. lix.: *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 107. [8] See Prof. Magoun in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, lxxiv. (1917), p. 565.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Egypt and Palestine in the First Christian Century

While the political independence of Egypt was dissolving, and the Ptolemaic Dynasty was drawing to an end, there were at work in the Delta intellectual and religious movements which were destined to exercise a profound influence on the minds of men for many centuries. Reference has already been made to the enormous number of Jews resident in Egypt At the beginning of the Christian era, it has been reckoned that there were a million of them in the land,[1] and of these fully half may be reckoned as dwelling in Alexandria. The Alexandrian Hebrews enjoyed full citizen rights,[2] and being under the rule of their own "Arabarch"[3] (or "Alabarch") they continued their national and domestic customs, often in the face of contumely and riot.[4] Besides many other smaller places of worship scattered throughout the city,[5] the wealthy Alexandrian Jews prided themselves most of all on their magnificent Central Synagogue. It was built in the form of a basilica, with a double colonnade.[6] It was so vast that signals were required to enable worshippers in the rear to know the proper moment for the responses. "The different trade-guilds sat there together, so that a stranger would at once know where to find Jewish employees or fellow-workmen. In the choir of this Jewish Cathedral stood seventy chairs of state, encrusted with precious stones, for the seventy elders who constituted the eldership of Alexandria on the model of the Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem."[7]

Among this abounding Jewish population there was remarkable literary productiveness, and the flotsam which has survived the ravages of time merely shows us the magnitude of our losses. Much of the literary effort on the part of the Alexandrian Jews took the line of extolling Mosaism in the face of heathendom, and of magnifying the excellence of the religion of Jehovah over the rampant idolatry of the Græco-Egyptians. Thus, for example, at the beginning of the Christian era, there appeared in Egypt various *Additions to the Book of Esther* which were inserted into the

[1] Philo, *In Flaccum*, 6. [2] See especially Lumbroso, *Ricerche Alessandrine*, 1871. [3] On this office see Schürer (*Zeit. f. Wiss. Theol.* (1875), pp. 13–40). It may mean chief collector of customs on the *Arabian* side of the Nile, though Lesquier denies this. See Offord, in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1918, p. 136. It must not be confounded with the "ethnarch" of whom Josephus says (*Antiq.*, xiv. 7. 2) "There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs their nation, and dispenses justice, and sees to their contracts and laws, as if he were the ruler of a free republic." Josephus quotes this from Strabo. [4] See also Schürer in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 91–109, art. Diaspora, and *H.J.P.*, ii. ii. 219–237. [5] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 20. [6] Tos., *Sukka*, iv. 1980 Jerus., *Sukka* 55 a: Bab., *Sukka*, 51 a. [7] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 61.

Septuagint-Version, and which were the work of pious Jews in Alexandria.[1] These men, living in a city where foreign notions were infecting orthodox Hebrew circles, were driven more and more to the study of their sacred books. Their present condition of subjection to heathen authority made them prone to dwell with envious imagination in the glorious times of the past when the heathen were subject to Jewish dominance.[2] Hence these *Additions*, which were written with the purpose of comforting the Hebrew community in Egypt. Though they exhibit a slight Egyptian flavour,[3] they are free from all taint of Alexandrian theology. They rather inculcate simple faith in God, and teach hatred of the heathen and nourish the thirst for revenge.[4]

But a much more famous product of Jewish-Alexandrian life is *The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon*. This celebrated work is clearly divisible into three sections: (1) Chapters i–vi 8 make up a book of neo-Jewish eschatology, in which the respective destinies of the godly and of the wicked in the world to come are clearly laid down. The section exhibits an extraordinary revolt from current Jewish conceptions, inasmuch as it emphatically teaches the fact of immortality after death, denies that suffering presupposes sin on the part of parents,[5] refuses to admit that early death is always a calamity, or that childlessness is invariably a mark of God's displeasure.[6] (2) The section embraced from Chapter vi. 9–xi. 1, is a panegyric on Wisdom in the best style of the Hebrew Hochma literature. It magnifies and extols the exercise of Divine Wisdom, and in passing shows acquaintance with the literature and philosophy of pagan Greece.[7] (3) The third section (Chap. xi. 2–xix.) is a *Midrash* glorifying the Jews in the face of their heathen detractors. It shows how the Jews had always risen triumphant over their pagan foes; and the unknown author pours scorn on the miserable ignorance and the silly idolatry of the people among whom the Hebrews dwelt. The book is probably of composite origin, and Holmes dates the earlier part from B.C. 50–30, and the latter portion from B.C. 30–A.D. 10.[8]

But what gives special interest to this product of Græco-Jewish thought is the influence which *Wisdom* exercised on the writers of the New Testament. Traces of its teaching have been discovered in the epistles of Paul, of John, of James, in that to the Hebrews, and in the Revelation. Opinion will always vary as to the exact amount of indebtedness shown by these writers, yet to any unprejudiced mind it is evident that the leading thoughts, and many of the salient turns of speech, of *Wisdom* must have been familiar to the later authors.[9] Petrie[10] has drawn out an elaborate table in

[1] See Gregg in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudep. of the O.T.*, i. 665. The *Additions* are not translations, but Greek is their original language. [2] They were composed in Egypt where veneration for the canonical "Esther" was not so high as in Palestine: see Jacob, *Z.A.T.W.*, x. (1890) 274–290. [3] *e.g.*, the use of ἀδελφος for husband: φιλοι as "Friends" of the King: "Macedonians," etc. [4] It is curious that a certain Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, of Jerusalem, is named in the subscription to these *Additions* (11 [1]) as the translator into Greek of the Canonical Esther. [5] *Cf.* Jno. 9 [2]: *His disciples asked him, saying, "Rabbi, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?"* [6] See Holmes in Charles, *op. cit.*, i. 518. [7] This is denied by Margoliouth (*J.R.A.S.*, 1890), who says that "the writer shows no acquaintance with Egypt beyond what he might have got from the Bible." Yet the facts, I think, are adverse to this opinion. Holmes shows that the first part of *Wisdom* was written to oppose the despairing philosophy of Eccles. 7.[15] Parallel passages between *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiastes* are shown in detail in Grimm, *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zu den Apokrypha*, 1860, p. 30. [8] Siegfried in Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 931, places *Wisdom* between B.C. 100 and B.C. 50. The Egyptian references in the book he emphasizes strongly. [9] See especially Grafe, *Das Verhältniss der Paulinischen Schriften zur Sapientia Solomonis*, 1892, pp. 253–286. [10] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 119 f.

parallel columns showing the mutual dependencies: and it is extremely probable that this great treatise emanating from Alexandria was in God's Providence one of those early formative influences on the minds of the New Testament writers which paved the way for the acceptance of the new ideas of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.[1]

But while thus Pharisaic intolerance claimed for Judaism everything that was good, and looked with abhorrence on all Gentile philosophies and modes of life, another school of Græco-Jews in Alexandria adopted an entirely different attitude. They launched out into an elaborate proof that the deeper and purer elements in paganism were so far from being antagonistic to Mosaism that they were actually identical with the fundamental doctrines of Moses. While with Hebrew Puritanism they gave the cold shoulder to one Greek school—that of Epicurus—they welcomed the teachings of other two philosophies—Stoicism and Platonism—and by a curious eclecticism they made Hebrew doctrines be clothed in the terminology and the garments of Greek thinkers. The so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, so long erroneously attributed to Josephus, is really a Jewish Stoical treatise on the favourite theme of Zeno—the supremacy of Reason. The proposition that "pious reason (*i.e.*, religious principle) bears absolute sway over the passions" is exemplified in the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother and her seven sons.[2] It was the work of an Alexandrian Jew, somewhere between B.C. 63 and A.D. 38,[3] probably immediately before the birth of Christ. The history it unfolds is, of course, merely legend, worked up until the imagination of the reader is stirred by the gruesome description of the tortures of the Hebrew patriots which reveal their marvellous Stoical powers of endurance. It is not a sermon, but a homily with a purpose, a tradition of ancient heroism elaborated with the intention of inciting the readers to emulate the example of these Maccabean martyrs. In one passage the book represents the horror of the Egyptian Jews as they learned of the tragedies that had befallen their Palestinian compatriots:[4] and in other respects the flavour of Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy stamps it as the product of that prolific school of writers who from Egypt tried to magnify Judaism in the eyes of pagan mankind.[5]

Yet some of the more ardent of the Jews in Egypt were not satisfied with a half-way house such as this. They must prove that the Holy Scriptures and Greek philosophy were absolutely at one. We can discern the beginnings of this process in *Aristobulus*,[6] a Hellenist Jew of Alexandria about B.C. 160, but his early attempts were carried to their highest perfection, and formed into a built-up system, by the celebrated *Philo of Alexandria*, born about B.C. 20.[7] The links uniting these two are numerous, and are to be discovered in many of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works of the intervening period.

[1] Some of the more important correspondences are as follows:—Wis. 5^{17}=Eph. 6^{11}, Wis. 9^{15}=2 Cor. 5^{1-5}, Wis. 12^{12}=Rom. 9^{19-21}, Wis. 13^{6}=Gal. 4^{3}, Wis. 13^{1}=Rom. 1^{20}, Wis. 15^{3}=Jno. 17^{3}, Wis. 15^{7}=Rom. $9.^{21}$ See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* (Int. Crit. Comm.), p. 51, and Gibson in *Expos.*, 2nd Ser. iv. 209. [2] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 32. [3] So Townshend in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, ii. 654. [4] 4 Macc. $14.^{9}$ [5] See Fairweather in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 195. [6] The fragments of Aristobulus' works which survive consist of a commentary on the Pentateuch dedicated to Ptolemy VII Philometor (*cf.* 2 Macc. $1\ ^{10}$), preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius (*Præpar. Evangel.*, vii. 14. 1: viii. 10. 1–17: xiii. 12). Clement says his aim was "to bring the Peripatetic philosophy out of the law of Moses and out of the other prophets." See p. 609. [7] See for a complete account of Philo's works Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 321–381: W. R. Inge in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 309.

The attempt to amalgamate and harmonize the Jewish Scriptures with Greek philosophy followed out two lines. The first method was to assert that everything beautiful, pure and noble in heathen writers was stolen from the Hebrew Bible. The Jew could not deny that much that was excellent was to be found in the literature of those Greek conquerors of Egypt who were their political masters during the Ptolemaic *régime.* Yet how could he explain their existence? Undoubtedly Pythagoras, Plato, and even Homer, must have borrowed their wisdom from the Old Testament. These heathen authors were entirely destitute of originality: for all their beautiful sentiments they had gone to the Hebrew Scriptures: Plato had borrowed from David, and Aristotle had sat at the feet of Moses. This line of argument, whose absurdity is now patent to all, was followed subsequently by many of the Christian Fathers. It survived through the Middle Ages, and only by a hard struggle has modern criticism strangled it, and given it its death grip.

But the other plan followed was that of allegory. As the nobler Greeks, by means of allegory, had freed beautiful spiritual and moral truths from the popular sensual and grotesque mythology, so now the Alexandrian Jews, by the same facile process, attempted to discover in their matter-of-fact Scriptures the sublimest of meanings In the hands of Philo this method reached its climax as a system of hermeneutics: and though the results were often simply ludicrous, such was the distinct plan adopted that the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture might almost be said to have been placed on a scientific basis. According to Philo, in exegesis the letter is nothing, the inner spirit is everything. "The patriarchs really represent states of the soul. Whatever the story may profess to tell, the real thing to be remembered is that Joseph represents one given to the fleshly whom his brethren rightly hated: Simeon, the soul aiming after the higher: the killing by Moses of the Egyptian, the subjugation of passion." [1] Similarly, the directions about cloven hoofs in the list of clean and unclean beasts in Leviticus points to the need of making separation, that is, between good and evil, and that about chewing the cud to the need of remembering, namely, God and the soul.[2] By means of such allegorizing Philo evaded the plain meaning of Scripture, and drew from the words of the text any doctrine he desired. The system he thus developed was followed by the scribes of Palestine, but only to a limited degree.[3] Nevertheless, the influence of the Alexandrian mode of interpretation was prevalent in the schools of Canaan, and thus once again Palestine was involved in those movements, intellectual and theological, that emanated from the Nile Valley.

In Philo, again, we discover the *fons et origo* of many of the various elements of Gnostic speculations, which in their mature form were so formidable a foe to the simplicity of the Gospel. In his writings the world became acquainted in a definite form with those crude theories which were floating in the air at the commencement of the Christian era. The Stoic doctrine of the Divine Immanence, very little distinguishable from simple Pantheism, is developed in his works. God's separation from matter which is essentially evil is again and again affirmed, alongside of the assertion that God created merely the soul (not the body), and that only of the good. In Philo we find described those intermediate beings—the

[1] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i. 41. [2] For further illustrations of this allegorizing process run mad, see Massie in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 65, art. ALLEGORY.
[3] Edersheim, *op. cit.*, i. 43.

Sephiroth—those "Potencies" (δυνάμεις), "Words" (λόγοι) which were echoes of Plato's "archetypal ideas," and which incipient Gnosticism afterwards seized on and developed into the "principalities," "powers," "archetypes," "æons," "thrones," "dominions," interposed between God, the infinite and unapproachable One, and matter, the created substance which was inherently corrupt.[1] Philo is thus the father of all such as interpose between God and His world a series of imaginary intermediate beings—those conceptions which Paul brushed aside with a magnificent sweep when he declared with enthusiasm, *In Christ were all things created in the heavens, and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things have been created through Him and unto Him, and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist.*[2]

But perhaps what has invested the speculations of Philo with greatest importance is the fact that this Alexandrian philosopher placed such stress on his doctrine of the Logos.[3] The question has been keenly debated how far the New Testament writers, especially John and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, were indebted to Philo for their conception of Christ as the Logos, the "Word" of God. Perhaps we are now in a position to sum up the controversy by affirming that though there are distinct traces of agreement, nevertheless the differences between the Alexandrian Jew and the New Testament writers are decisive and indeed fundamental Philo's Logos is radically an utterly different Being from that spoken of in the Johannine writings and in Hebrews. Philo may speak of him[4] as the "Eldest Angel," the "many-named Archangel," the "image (εἰκών) of God," the "interpreter" (ἑρμηνεὺς καὶ προφήτης) to man of the will and mind of God, the "Paraclete," the "High Priest," the "Sun" whose rays enlighten man, the "Manna" or support of spiritual life, the "Melchizedek" the King of righteousness (βασιλεὺς δίκαιος) and "King of Salem" (βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης) who brings righteousness and peace to the soul,[5] yet when we read these expressions what we marvel at is that one should come so near the truth, and yet remain separated from the truth by a great gulf impassable at least in this direction.

For the Logos of the New Testament is utterly different. The expression in the Fourth Gospel—*The Logos became flesh and dwelt among us*[6]—would have been intolerable to Philo, inasmuch as on the one hand it ran counter to his conviction that matter was incurably corrupt, and on the other hand it contravened his belief as to the unapproachable aloofness of the Divine Being. But the "Logos" conception was in the air, so to speak, and was a current topic in the philosophic dialectic of the day. Philo developed the idea in one direction: the New Testament writers were directed to turn the conception into a wholly different and a far more fruitful channel, revealing how the Logos became incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ. Thus after all, the immense labour and the endless toil

[1] Pressensé (*Heresy and Christian Doctrine*, p. 14) says "The great precursor of Gnosticism was Philo, who, himself the adherent of a monotheistic religion—the very religion which had prepared the way for Christianity—was obliged to submit his creed, as a Jew, to the same process of elaboration which was necessary for translating the Gospel into an Oriental theosophy." See also Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 321–381. [2] Col. 1.[16, 17] For points of contact between Philo and Paul, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 141 f.: Klöpper, *Colossians ad loc.*, and Jowett's essay on "St. Paul and Philo" in his *Epistles of St. Paul*. [3] See Dorner, *Person of Christ* (Introd.): Danson in *Expos.*, 4th Ser. vi. 65 f.: Edersheim, art. PHILO in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iv. 379: Drummond, *Philo-Judæus*, 2 vols. and in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 205, art. PHILO, and Purves, *ib.*, iii. 132 f., art. LOGOS. [4] See Edersheim, *op. cit.*, i. 49. [5] Philo, *De Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 25, 26. [6] Jno. 1.[14]

of this Alexandrian scholar ended in little practical result. He worked on a false basis, and his method led him ever further away from the truth.[1]

In this period, somewhere between A.D. 7 and A.D. 30,[2] there appeared in Palestine another book which exercised a remarkable influence. The *Testament of Moses* and the *Assumption of Moses*—originally independent works—were put together in one volume in the early part of the first century. The book is a protest on the part of a genuinely pious Pharisee against the ungodliness and worldliness of his fellow Pharisees. He laments and rebukes their secular spirit, their forsaking of the old pure faith of Israel, their departure from the moral and religious fervour of the heroic Eleazar and his seven sons, and their political entanglements. He foresees the coming ruin of his nation, and implores his countrymen to walk again in the old paths. The book was issued contemporaneously with the ministry of Jesus, and many of its teachings our Lord could warmly have approved of. The author was neither a Sadducee, nor a Zealot, nor an Essene, but a Pharisee of the best type, who deplored the falling away of his brethren from the noble ideals of the past. As the party to which he nominally belonged was keenly expecting a martial and princely Messiah who was to give earthly glory to Israel, it is noteworthy that the author of the book entirely ignores the coming of the Messiah. Nevertheless, we find Jude making two quotations, and introducing material in his epistle, from this non-canonical tractate [3]

But practically simultaneously with the *Assumption of Moses*, or a little later (*i.e.*, between A.D 30–70), there appeared in Alexandria another work—*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*—whose widespread influence has been most remarkable. The book was lost for 1200 years, and was discovered at the close of the nineteenth century only in a Slavonic translation.[4] Nevertheless, it was much used by both Christians and heretics in the early centuries, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.[5] The book reveals close acquaintance with Egypt, and is evidently of the same school as that of Philo There is no doctrine taught of the resurrection of the body, nor is there any Messianic teaching. On the other hand, the typical Jewish-Egyptian philosophizing is present, and there are references to Deltaic mythological conceptions, such as the Phœnix and Chalkydri "with feet and tails in the form of a lion and a crocodile's head." [6] The author was an orthodox Hellenistic Jew living in Alexandria, who believed in the value of sacrifices, in immortality, and in a future reign of the saints of God. But as regards his philosophy, he is an utter syncretist, laying his hands with bold impartiality now on Platonic

[1] Prof. A. B. Bruce (*Apologetics*, p. 295) summed up his career in these final words: "Philo was a gifted and cultured Jew spoiled by being transformed into a second-rate Greek philosopher. As a thinker he was a Jew in form and a Greek in spirit. He was a cross between Moses and Plato. He took his texts from Moses, and delivered on them sermons full of Platonic ideas and un-Platonic rhetoric. For what we find in his writings is Plato at second-hand, and very degenerate. Between his turgid discourses and Plato's exquisitely graceful dialogues there is as great a difference as between Jewish apocalyptic and Hebrew prophecy. There is no true originality and inspiration in him. He is a brilliant yet barren writer, who will found no school, and communicate enthusiasm to no susceptible reader. . . . One has only to peruse a few pages of his voluminous writings to be satisfied that whoever was destined to put the crown on Israel's religious development it was not Philo. No deliverance was to come to the Jews or to the world from that quarter." [2] Burkitt (in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 448) dates the work from soon after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. [3] Jude [16] is from the *Testament of Moses*: Jude [9] is from the *Assumption of Moses*. Other possible borrowings and parallels are to be found detailed in Charles, *The Assumption of Moses*, 1897, p. lxiv. f. [4] See Charles and Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 1896. [5] Charles, *The Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, ii. 425. [6] Ch. 12 [1] 15.[3]

doctrines, now on Egyptian theologoumena, and again on Zend theories.[1] He is in himself an epitome of the time wherein the old was passing away, and the new was taking its place, while the ferment of the new only made the intellectual confusion worse It is in this book that we find fully developed the notion of the " seven heavens," [2] and the idea that " as the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years ; and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a peace of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more.[3]

To return to the history of the period During the remainder of the reign of Augustus, Egypt remained quiet.[4] Her cult of Isis and Serapis became so fashionable at Rome that the Emperor had to pass a law that Egyptian modes of worship must be banished from the capital.[5] Palestine, however, was convulsed with disorders subsequent to the death of Herod the Great in B.C. 4. So profound was the hatred aroused against his son and successor, *Archelaus* [6] (B.C. 4–A.D. 6), by his violent and tyrannical conduct, that on the petition of his subjects he was deposed by Augustus and banished to Vienne in Gaul.[7] Thereafter, Judæa was placed directly under Roman rule, being attached to the province of Syria. The ensuing census under Quirinius, the new legate, being conducted in the Roman manner, provoked a rebellion under Judas of Gamala,[8] which, though for the time suppressed in blood, gave birth to the party of fanatical patriots, the Zealots, whose furious antagonism to Rome eventually brought on the great national catastrophe of A.D. 70. The procurators of Judæa until the death of Augustus in A.D. 14 were Coponius [9] (A.D. 6–9) ; Marcus Ambivius [10] (A.D. 9–12), and Annius Rufus [11] (A.D. 12–15)

During the whole reign of TIBERIUS (A.D 14–37), Egypt still remained tranquil. Following Augustus' example, who caused hieroglyphic inscriptions to be cut on temples at Philæ in which he bore the titles of the ancient Pharaohs, " Son of the Sun," " Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt," etc., Tiberius claimed the sovereignty of the Nile Valley, and accepted divine honours. Alexandria erected to his worship the beautiful temple called the " Sebaste," which was built near the harbour and surrounded with a sacred grove. Its porticoes were filled with statuary, pictures, and books, and it towered conspicuously over all other edifices in the city.[12] In front there were erected two obelisks stolen from far-off Thebes,[13] one of which—" Cleopatra's Needle "—now adorns the Thames Embankment.[14] Many

[1] Charles, *l.c.*, ii. 429. [2] 2 Enoch 30[23] ; *cf.* 2 Cor. 12[2], Heb. 4.[14] [3] 2 Enoch 32[2]–33[2] : Charles, *l.c.*, ii. 430. [4] For the temples to Isis and other divinities erected by Augustus at Dendera, see Mariette, *Denderah*, Paris, 1880, p. 29 f., and Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, Leipzig, 1865, who gives a description of the zodiacal ceiling of the structure. [5] Dion Cassius, lii. A century later Jupiter was identified with Serapis. A Latin inscription found by Bliss at Neby Daud is a dedication to Jupiter Optumus Maximus Sarapis (A.D. 117). See Canon Dalton's article in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1896, p. 133 f. For the rapid spread of the cult of Isis, and other Egyptian divinities, throughout the Roman world, see Laurentius Pignorius, *Mensa Isiaca*, Amsterdam, 1670 : Juvenal, xii. 28, xiii. 92 : Tibullus, i. 3. 23 : Ovid, *Metamph*, ix. 693 : Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 832 : *C.I.L.*, ii. 3386 : Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des dieux d'Alexandrie*, p. 173 f. : Apuleius, *Metamorph.*, xi. 8–17 : *De Deo Socratis*, xiv.: Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, ii. 8, who states " the whole world now swears by Serapis." Altars and inscriptions to Isis are to be found in Delos, Athens, North Africa, Spain, France, England, Germany, and the Danube lands (Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 253). [6] *Cf.* Matt. 2[22] *When he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go further.* [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii. 13. 2 : *Wars*, ii. 7. 3 : Dion Cassius, lv. 27. [8] Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 1. 1. [9] *Ib.*, xviii. 2. 1. [10] *Ib.* [11] *Ib.* [12] Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 87. [13] Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxvi. 14. [14] See King, *Cleopatra's Needle, a history of the London obelisk.*

repairs of temples were effected over the entire Nile Valley from Parembola in Nubia to the Delta; and though Tiberius never visited Egypt, and never saw these structures, his royal cartouche is found on them.

In A.D. 19 Germanicus paid an archæological visit to Egypt, technically transgressing the rule laid down by Augustus excluding senators from setting foot in the Delta, and arousing thereby the wrath of the jealous Emperor Starting from Canopus, he explored the pyramids, "rising up," as Tacitus [1] tells us, "like mountains amid almost impassable wastes of shifting sand, raised by the emulation and vast wealth of Kings": the Fayum Lake, the enormous ruins of ancient Thebes, and the "Colossi of Memnon," until at Syene he turned and descended the river. During this tour Egypt was experiencing a period of scarcity. To meet this, Germanicus opened the public granaries, and permitted the stored-up hoards of wheat to be sold, with the result that the price of grain was lowered. But when even these measures were not adequate to meet the wants of the famishing populace, Germanicus, in spite of his humanity of spirit, ordered that the numerous Jews in Egypt should have no share in the public distribution of corn, in order that there might be more for the native heathen inhabitants.[2]

It was during the reign of Tiberius that Jesus Christ exercised His three years' ministry in Palestine. There are several points in the Gospels which evidence links of connection with Egypt. Thus, one of His disciples, Bartholomew, bore a name derived from the Nile Valley. "Bartholomew" is an Aramaic corruption of "Bar-Ptolemaios," "son ot Ptolemy." The Deltaic name "Ptolemy" was of some frequency in Palestine about this period, for Josephus and other authors refer to not a few individuals who bore it. Thus we have references to Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, ruler of Chalcis; [3] Ptolemy, brother of Nicolas of Damascus, a favourite of Herod the Great; [4] Ptolemy, the head of the finance department under Herod the Great; [5] Ptolemy of Ascalon, the grammarian; [6] Ptolemy, the father of Lysimachus who translated Esther into Greek; [7] Ptolemy, the friend of Archelaus; [8] and Ptolemy, the procurator of Herod Agrippa.[9] The frequency of the name in Palestine betokens the close connection that subsisted between Canaan and Egypt.

Another reference to the conceptions current in the Nile Valley has been discovered in the fact that Jesus, at the grave of Lazarus, *cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!"* [10] Why the loud cry? It has been suggested [11] that it was for the purpose of letting the bystanders know that the soul of Lazarus, and consequently of all other dead persons, was far away from the dead body, and not inside the grave with it. The Egyptians were accustomed to think of the *Ka*, the principal part of the

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 59–61. At Memphis he consulted the Apis as to his future, and the answer given was not propitious. The Bull turned away his head when the young prince offered him a handful of corn. The bad omen was remembered when his death by poison took place shortly after (Pliny, *H.N.*, viii. 71). Dr. F. Zucker ("Zwei Edikte des Germanicus auf einem Papyrus des Berliner Museums" in *Sitzber. d. Königl. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1911, No. xxxviii.) has shown from two papyri that Germanicus made every effort to render his tour innocent and inoffensive. He forbade the requisition of beasts of burden for his reception, and deprecated the ascription to himself of divine titles of honour which belonged only to his (adoptive) father Tiberius and his grandmother Livia. A fine head of Germanicus (or of Augustus?) was discovered at Meroe by Garstang. An ostrakon dated 25th January, A.D. 19, refers to the collection of corn in view of his visit to Thebes (Wilcken, *Chrestom.*, i. 2. No. 413) [2] Plutarch, *De Iside.* [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xiv. 12. 1: *Wars*, i. 12. 2–3. [4] Jos. *Antiq.*, xvii. 9. 4: *Wars*, ii. 23. [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xvii. 8. 2: *Wars*, i. 33. 8. [6] Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, i. 521. [7] *Additions to Esther*, 11.[1] [8] Jos., *Wars*, ii. 2. 1. [9] Jos., *Life*, § 26 [10] John 11.[43] [11] By Mrs. Gibson in *Expos. Times*, xxi. 328.

soul, as tenanting the tomb It was a superstition doubtless prevalent amongst all peoples that had come under Egyptian influence, and none had been so long subject to that influence as Palestine.

Once again, an indication of Christ's special familiarity with Egyptian history is shown in His reference to the honorary titles by which the Greek Kings of Egypt were styled. At the supper table in the Upper Room, where *there arose a contention among them which of them should be accounted to be greatest,* Jesus said to them *" The Kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them: and they that have authority over them are called 'Benefactors.'"* [1] The title " Benefactor "—*Euergetes*—was the official designation of Antiochus VII of Syria, but more especially of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and of Ptolemy IX Euergetes II. The name as applied to the third Ptolemy may perhaps have been deserved, but it was the grossest flattery to bestow it on the vile Physcon, one of the most odious and despicable of tyrants.[2] Jesus pointed out the discrepancy, and showed that while in this evil world bad men may reign in consequence of possessing superior power over their fellow creatures, in the new holy society which He was inaugurating *he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger: and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.*[3]

In A.D. 29 the trial and crucifixion of Jesus took place. When we read of the insult offered to our Lord by the Roman soldiers, as they blindfolded Him, and then beat Him on the face, blasphemously calling out *"Prophesy, who is he that struck thee?"* [4] do we realize that there is a strong probability that they were repeating an Egyptian custom? The Egyptians had a game in which an individual covered his eyes, was made to kneel down on the ground, and then guessed the identity of the players as they successively struck him on the back.[5] The Roman soldiers stationed in Jerusalem at this period were in all likelihood drafted up recently from Egypt, for the legions were continually being shifted from place to place, and again and again it happened that garrisons in the Delta were transferred to the soil of Palestine. Doubtless these rude soldiers had learned this game in Egypt, and now in their heartless horseplay, they forced the Redeemer to submit to their coarse humour.

Still more: just as at His birth the Saviour was indebted to Egypt for a place of refuge, so at the time of His death He was once again linked with North Africa. It was *a man of Cyrene, Simon by name,*[6] who was impressed by the Roman soldiers to carry Jesus' cross on the way to Calvary. For some three centuries Cyrenaica had been a part of Egypt, having come under the rule of the first Ptolemy, who settled large numbers of Jews there.[7] Strabo refers to their civic importance in the city of Cyrene and its neighbourhood,[8] and there are not a few references to Jews of Cyrene taking their share in the troubled chronicles of the period.[9] Simon, in all likelihood, was not a dark-skinned African, but a Jew of the Diaspora, who had come up to Jerusalem to the Passover. It is interesting thus to find Palestine and Egyptian territory linked together, both at the beginning and at the close of Christ's earthly life.

It would even seem that the form of death which our Lord suffered was not originally a Roman mode of execution, but borrowed from Phœnicia.[10] Nevertheless crucifixion was not unknown in Egypt, and the

[1] Luke 22.[24 25] [2] See p. 461. [3] Luke 22.[26] [4] Luke 22.[64] [5] The game is depicted from the monuments in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians,* ii. 59. [6] Matt. 27[32], Mk. 15[21], Luke 23.[26] [7] Jos., *c. Apion,* ii. 4. [8] Jos., *Antiq.,* xiv. 7. 2. [9] See 1 Macc. 15[23], Jos., *Antiq.,* xvi. 6. 1. 5. Also the inscription of Berenice, *C.I.G.,* No. 5361. [10] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah,* ii. 582.

practice may have been introduced into other countries from the Nile Valley. Both Thucydides [1] and Justin [2] speak of crucifixion as a mode of punishment current in Egypt.

After the Ascension the connection between Canaan and Egypt in relation to the Gospel continued to be maintained. At Pentecost, among other nations represented, were *dwellers in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene*, who heard the apostles *speaking in their tongues the mighty works of God*.[3] In Jerusalem there was even *a synagogue called the synagogue of the Libertines*,[4] *and of the Cyrenians and of the Alexandrians*, whose members actively disputed with Stephen.[5] It is likely that the rulers of this synagogue were strongly imbued with the philosophical system of Philo, and therefore they keenly resented the plain and un-allegorical method of handling the Scriptures followed by the heroic leader of the Seven. When the martyrdom of Stephen had taken place, and the first persecution broke out, it was *men of Cyprus* [6] *and Cyrene who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus: and the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord* [7] Never was there a more blessed invasion of Syria by inhabitants of North Africa, than when these *men of Cyrene* preached Christ in the capital of that land which for centuries had been their national foe. Egypt repaid the old Seleucid Kingdom for centuries of wrong in the truest Christian spirit, when she sent these messengers of peace to her ancient enemy and rival, and brought to Antioch news of the salvation which was meant for Africa and Asia alike And a bright foretaste of the reconciling effects of the Gospel is seen in the fact that in the brilliant metropolis of the hereditary foe of Egypt there were now seen Egyptian missionaries at work, for *there were at Antioch, in the Church that was there, prophets and teachers, Barnabas and Symeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene*.[8]

An equally interesting connection between Egypt and Canaan in the matter of the Gospel is discovered in the incident of the Ethiopian treasurer We have already seen how, in B.C. 24, the Nubians had scattered death and destruction throughout the Nile Valley under the instigation of their Queen who bore the dynastic title of Candace, and how Petronius, after a savage chastisement, had left the upper regions of Ethiopia under the charge of this warlike Amazon.[9] There now sat on the throne of Meroe another queen of the same name.[10] One of her high officers, *a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure*,[11] came to Jerusalem to worship. He seems not to have been a Jew, but possibly a " proselyte of the gate," one who had come to know the beauty and simplicity of the Hebrew faith through the reading of the Septuagint.[12] His conversion, and baptism by Philip, form one of the most delightful stories in the annals of the Early Church,

[1] Thucydides, ii. 110. [2] Justin, I. 30. 2. But perhaps the Egyptian " crucifixion " was really *impaling*. [3] Acts 2.[10 11] [4] On the question of who these *Libertini* were, and as to whether there was but one, or three, synagogues, see Patrick in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 110. [5] Acts 6.[9] [6] As Cyprus for centuries was an appanage of Egypt, and only recently had been incorporated in the all-devouring Republic (B.C. 58), it affords another parallel illustration of Egypt giving back to Syria the best of revenges when Cyprus—an erstwhile province of Egypt—imparted the Gospel to Antioch. Jews settled in Cyprus in large numbers. Herod the Great farmed the Cypriote copper mines (Jos., *Antiq.*, xvi. 4. 5 : xix. 26. 28). There was more than one synagogue in Salamis (Ac. 13[5]). [7] Acts 11.[20 21] [8] Acts 13.[1] [9] See Margoliouth in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 790, art. ETHIOPIA, for a summary of what is known of the history of the Meroitic Kingdom at this time. [10] Pliny (*H.N.*, vi. 29) says the name was dynastic. See further Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. 30 n. : Strabo, *Geog.*, xvii. 1. 54. [11] Acts 8.[27] [12] Acts 8.[28]

and the connection thus set up between Palestine and Nubia, now linked together in the new Gospel of love, shows a most striking change from the days of war between Judæa and the swarthy swarms of Ethiopia.[1]

Tiberius died in A.D. 37, and with the accession of CALIGULA (A.D. 37–41) Egypt was again convulsed with strife, the Jews and the native Egyptians getting into deathgrips with each other. The immediate cause of the outbreak was a visit to Egypt of the Jewish King Herod Agrippa I. This grandson of Herod the Great[2] had had an extraordinary career. Living the life of a reckless adventurer, he had been brought up at Rome where he soon ran through all his resources. He returned to Palestine,[3] and his affairs were so involved that he meditated suicide. But his wife wrote to his sister, the infamous Herodias, who had married Herod Antipas,[4] and the latter was induced to give his brother-in-law some financial aid. But his folly soon landed him again in dire want. He resolved to return to Rome *via* Egypt. Reaching Alexandria, he borrowed 200,000 drachmæ from Alexander the Alabarch on the credit of his wife, and sailing thence he eventually reached Rome. Tiberius made him guardian of his grandson; but Agrippa's extravagance and chronic debt, coupled with his intimacy with Caligula, aroused the jealous anger of the aged tyrant. He was put in fetters and imprisoned for six months until the death of Tiberius opened his dungeon door. As soon as Caligula was made Emperor, he hastened to reward his friend by appointing him King of what had been the tetrarchy of Philip, along with that also of Lysanias (A.D. 38).[5]

It was when Agrippa was on his way back to Palestine to his newly acquired Kingdom that he put in at Alexandria. The ribald populace, which had already got an inkling of the state of Caligula's mind towards the Jews, treated the Jewish King with insult and offensive scurrility. They dressed up a lunatic in royal apparel, and indulged in mocking homage, styling him "*Marin*," Lord.[6] By this time Caligula's mad belief in his personal divinity had become known. The mob insisted on erecting statues of the Emperor in the Jewish synagogues, to the horror of the Hebrew community. Flaccus, the governor of Alexandria, did not in any way seek to restrain the *Judenhetze*.[7] By public announcement he cancelled the ancient privilege which the Jews had enjoyed since the time of Alexander the Great, of equal citizenship with the Egyptians, and finally permitted a systematic *pogrom*.[8] Houses and factories were rifled.[9] Jews were hunted down, tortured, slaughtered, burned alive, dragged through the streets of the city till they were corpses.[10] Synagogues were razed to the ground. In others, statues of Caligula were set up as those of a god.[11] Thirty-eight members of the Jewish *Gerousia* were scourged in the theatre before their foes, and from this cruel treatment some never recovered.[12] Hebrew women were forced to eat swine's flesh.[13] It was a period of frightful suffering for members of the Jewish faith.

Yet vengeance speedily fell on Flaccus. Agrippa sent to Caligula an account of the atrocities. A centurion, with a cohort of soldiers, was despatched from Rome to seize the governor. In the dead of night

[1] See Budge, *The Egyptian Soudan*, for details of recent excavations which reveal traces of Candace. [2] His father was Aristobulus, and his mother Berenice, a daughter of Salome and Costobar (Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 5. 4). [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 6. 1. [4] *Ib.*, xviii. 6. 2. Matt. 14.[3] Mark 6.[17] Luke 3.[19 20] [5] Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 6. 10. [6] Philo, *In Flaccum*, 5–6. [7] Till the accession of Caligula, Flaccus had governed Alexandria irreproachably (A.D. 32–37). But his desire to curry favour with the Jew-hating Caligula led him into this gross dereliction of duty. [8] Philo, *In Flaccum*, 6–8. [9] *Ib.*, 8: *Legat. ad Caium*, 18. [10] *In Flaccum*, 9: *Leg.* 19. [11] *Leg.* 20. [12] *In Flaccum*, 10. [13] *Ib.*, 11.

Flaccus found himself a prisoner on board the ship which had brought the summons of deposition. He was taken to Rome, tried, condemned, banished to Andros, and subsequently put to death.[1] Yet the persecution went on, and the Jews were continued under their disabilities. In A.D. 40, both the heathen and the Hebrew parties in Alexandria resolved to appeal to Caligula himself. The heathen party was headed by Apion, the Jewish deputation by the great Philo himself. It was in vain. Caligula was inflated with the notion of his divinity which the Jews could not acknowledge, and the suit of the Jews for redress was refused.[2]

Similar troubles were meanwhile on foot in Palestine. The mad Emperor insisted on setting up his divine statue in the Temple at Jerusalem,[3] and the whole country seethed with fury at the contemplated sacrilege. Petronius, the governor of Syria, did all he could to turn Caligula from his purpose, knowing that a universal rebellion would break out.[4] But the madman would not be persuaded. It was only at the personal entreaty of his friend Agrippa that the project was finally countermanded.[5] Yet even then the danger was not over. Caligula resolved to discard the statue of himself which had been prepared at Sidon, and to sail to Alexandria with another one made in Rome. This one he would land on the coast of Palestine and get it carried up to Jerusalem.[6] But in the midst of these projects the "divine" fool was murdered,[7] and the Jews over all the world once more breathed freely (A.D. 41).

[1] *Ib.*, 12–21. [2] Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 8. 1: see Wilcken, *Hermes*, xxx. p. 481. [3] Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 30. [4] Jos., *Antiq.*, xviii. 8. 2. 3. [5] *Ib.*, xviii. 8. 7. 8. [6] Philo, *Legat*, 42–43. [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xix. 1. 14: Suetonius, *Caligula*, 58.

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Closing Phases till the Fall of Jerusalem

The new Emperor, Claudius (A.D. 41–54), at once reversed the policy of his predecessor. He made over to Agrippa all the territory once ruled by his grandfather Herod the Great, and added other districts as well.[1] He revoked the decree of Flaccus as to the status of the Alexandrian Jews, and sent Agrippa to Egypt to read aloud to the populace the terms of the new edict granting the Jews unrestricted freedom to practise their religion according to the Law. Meanwhile the Jews of Alexandria, as soon as they heard of the death of Caligula, had taken vengeance on their enemies, and bloody reprisals had ensued. The favourable terms of Clauldius' rescript in some measure now calmed down the excited public feeing, and the freeing from prison of the Alabarch, Alexander Lysimachus,[2] a victim of Caligula's fury, helped to soothe the Hebrew community.[3]

Herod Agrippa's desire to be popular with the Pharisaic party in Palestine led him to become a persecutor of the young Christian brotherhood. *Herod the King put forth his hands to afflict certain of the church. And he killed James, the brother of John, with the sword. And when he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also.*[4] But Peter escaped by a miracle. The Pharisaic King continued his reign of ostensible piety and hollow corruption,[5] till in the theatre at Cæsarea he came to his awful end. *The angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.*[6] Claudius refused to hand over the Kingdom of Judæa to his son, the younger Agrippa, and the whole of Palestine passed into the hands of a series of infamous Roman procurators (A.D. 44).

The *great famine over all the world which came to pass in the days of Claudius,*[7] probably in A.D 47,[8] was instrumental in again linking together Palestine and Egypt One of the most notable recent cases of Jewish proselytism had been that of Helena, queen of Adiabene,[9] and her son Izates.[10] Both of them embraced Judaism with the utmost fervour. The pious queen made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and arrived at the Holy

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xix. 5. 1.: *Wars*, ii. 11. 5. [2] Alexander the Alabarch's son had married Berenice, Agrippa's daughter, who afterwards figures in connection with Paul. This marriage of an Egyptian and a Palestinian reminds us of the ancient dynastic weddings of the houses of Ptolemy and of Antioch. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xix. 5. 1. [4] Acts 12.[1-3] [5] Agrippa patronized Greek heathenism with a liberal hand. He adorned Berytus with a theatre, amphitheatre, baths, and colonnades. At the opening of the amphitheatre he ordered a gladiatorial combat wherein 1400 malefactors slaughtered each other (Jos., *Antiq.*, xix. 7. 3. 5.). [6] Acts 12.[21-23] Josephus' details are very striking (*Antiq.*, xix. 8. 2). [7] Acts 11.[28] [8] For the date, see Turner in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 417, art. Chronology of the N.T [9] A district bordering Parthia near the mouth of the Tigris. [10] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 2. 3.

City just when the famine was at its height and many were dying. Helena at once sent some of her servants to Alexandria with a great quantity of money to buy corn, and her timely distribution of food earned for her the deep gratitude of the Jews.[1] Monobazus, who succeeded Izates as King of Adiabene, built for his mother and brother a magnificent tomb near Jerusalem,[2] which most archæologists [3] believe is recognizable to-day in the large and handsome excavation to the north of the city known as "The Tombs of the Kings."[4] Robinson, who was one of the first thoroughly to explore the great cavern, says "this splendid sepulchre, with its sunken court, reminded me of some of the tombs of the Egyptian Thebes, which also it resembles in its workmanship, but not in the extent of its excavations."[5]

Meanwhile Christianity was spreading out from Palestine into Asia Minor and Europe. The edict of Claudius in A.D. 50, wherein he *commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome*,[6] had the effect of scattering Christianity still further. Aquila and Priscilla came to Corinth, and there they were led to accept of Christ through the preaching of Paul. They crossed with the latter to Ephesus,[7] and while Paul was paying his fourth visit to Jerusalem since his conversion they were instrumental in leading a fervent Egyptian in that city into better knowledge of the truth. This was *a Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, mighty in the Scriptures*.[8] His imperfect acquaintance with Christian doctrine may have been due to his Alexandrian upbringing, for doubtless the Philonic tradition of interpretation lingered in the Rabbinic schools of that city.[9] We have, however, no direct evidence that he was a disciple of Philo. But as a result of his being instructed *more carefully* as regards *the way of God*, Apollos was soon *powerfully confuting the Jews and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ*.[10]

Egypt's contribution to the evangelization of the world through that Gospel which began to be preached in Palestine was by no means small. There is no proof that Paul ever visited Alexandria. He seems to have refrained from going thither because the Gospel had already reached that city [11] No territory enjoyed closer relations with Palestine than Egypt, and it is certain that the tidings of the new Faith which was sweeping through Syria was fully communicated to the thronging millions of Jews in the Nile Valley. Eusebius [12] gives to John Mark the credit of introducing Christianity to the city of the Ptolemies, but this is extremely improbable.[13] It is much more likely that the news of Christ reached

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 2. 5 : xx. 5. 2. [2] *Ib.* xx. 4. 3 : *Wars*, v. 2. 2. [3] See Ritter, *Compar. Geog. of Palestine*, iv. 177 : De Saulcy, *Journey round the Dead Sea*, ii. 134 : Thrupp, *Jerusalem*, p. 246 : *P. E. F. Mem.* "*Jerusalem*," p. 405 f. [4] For a description of these well-known rock sepulchral caverns with their fine carvings, see Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, i. 356 f. Bartlett, *Walks about the City and environs of Jerusalem*, p. 127 f. [5] Robinson, *op. cit.*, i. 360. On the other hand, P. J. O. Minos (*P.S.B.A.*, xxxiii. (1911) p. 19) disputes the identification of the "Tombs of the Kings" with the tomb of Helena. He points out that Josephus (*Antiq.*, xx. 4. 3) says that she and her son were buried in pyramids, three in number, at a distance of three stadia from Jerusalem. The "Tombs" are not pyramids, but mastaba-like excavations. He concludes that they are the work of an Asmonæan King. [6] Acts 18[2] ; *cf.* Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25. [7] Acts 18.[18] [8] Acts 18.[24] [9] See Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 8 : Farrar, *St. Paul*, p. 361. [10] Acts 18.[28] [11] Paul's rule was *making it my aim so to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation* (Ro. 15 [20]). [12] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 16. [13] It is ominous that neither Clement of Alexandria nor Origen makes any reference to Mark's sojourn in Alexandria. It is only after Eusebius that later writers speak of Mark's labours there, *e.g.*, Epiphanius, *Hær.*, li. 6 : Chrysostom vii. 7 B : *Constit. Apost.*, vii. 46 : Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* 8. Eusebius mentions Ammianus as the first bishop of Alexandria. The name is probably = Hananiah, and suggests that he was a Christian Jew (*H.E.*, ii. 24).

Egypt by the innumerable family connections binding the Jews of the Delta to their brethren in Canaan, and through the annual pilgrimages of Egyptian Jews to the great feasts at Jerusalem. Nevertheless, though Paul never visited Alexandria, his epistles written at this period show signs of Alexandrian influence. In his application of the method of Philo to the command as to *oxen threshing the corn*,[1] to the *rock that followed*[2] the Israelites, and to the *veil of Moses*,[3] Paul shows how he was adopting Alexandrian canons in thus disregarding the original drift of the passages, and treating their natural meaning as nothing in comparison with the typico-allegorical interpretation.[4] In the allegory of Hagar and Sarah, Ishmael and Isaac, he openly follows the Alexandrian method, frankly stating, *which things contain an allegory*.[5]

At this period Egypt was extraordinarily rich, and some of the Jews resident in it were amongst the wealthiest of the population The Nile Valley was the *El Dorado* of the mercantile world and the mystery land of the Roman and Greek tourist. Crowds every year visited the Delta, and liners sailed regularly from Italy to Alexandria, and *vice versa*. The ships employed in trade and in carrying passengers were of great size, and their Egyptian steersmen were highly valued and famous for their skill in navigation.[6] The vessels in which the Cæsars and their relatives sailed were sometimes like floating palaces.[7] The *Acatus*, the ship which in the reign of Augustus conveyed from Egypt the obelisk now in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome, carried 200 of a crew, 1,200 passengers, and a cargo of paper, nitre, glass, pepper, linen, and 400,000 (Roman) bushels of corn.[8] That which Caligula ordered to transport the obelisk which now stands in the Piazza di San Pietro carried, besides the monument and four huge blocks to serve as the pedestal, 118,750 bushels of Egyptian lentils : its mainmast required four men to encircle it : its length took up almost the whole of the left side of the harbour of Ostia.[9] The corn-ships which sailed between Alexandria and Puteoli with cargoes of grain for the swarming population of Rome, were upwards of 1,600 tons, and brought to their owners an annual profit of about £3,000.[10] It was in a *corn-ship of Alexandria*[11] with 276 persons on board that Paul sailed in his voyage from Myra to Melita ; and again it was in an Alexandria-owned vessel, *The Twin Brothers*,[12] that he sailed from Melita to Puteoli.[13]

As Egypt stood at the juncture of Asia and Africa, and as Europe had enormous commerce with both, the trade of the world at this era passed through Alexandria.[14] After Rome it was the second city in the Empire. It was the gateway to India and the Far East. Pliny[15] calculated the amount of gold and silver despatched every year from Egypt to the East at £400,000 ; while in exchange for this goods were imported to Alexandria which were sold in Rome for one hundred times that sum. The great

[1] 1 Cor. 9.[9] [2] 1 Cor. 10.[4] [3] 2 Cor. 3.[13] [4] Massie in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 65. [5] Gal. 4.[21] [6] Nevertheless shipwrecks did take place occasionally. A fragment of a letter from one Eutychides to his mother, written at this period, has been preserved. It speaks of a shipwreck at Ptolemais, which possibly may be the seaport on the coast of Palestine. Line 6 says ὡς ἐναυάγησεν κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἦλθε μοι γυμνὸς κεκινδυνευκώς, εὐθέως ἠγόρασα αὐτῶι στολήν. A μαχαιροφόρος is mentioned apparently as the bearer of the letter (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv., § 839). [7] Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, i. 351. [8] Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 256. [9] Friedländer, *ibid.*, i. 352. [10] Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, pp. 140–202. [11] Acts 27.[6] [12] Acts 28.[11] [13] Mommsen, *op. cit.*, ii. 239 (1909), states that the Romans drew from Egypt annually the third part of the corn necessary for the consumption of Rome, viz., 20,000,000 Roman bushels = 1,740,000 hectolitres. [14] For an elaborate account of Alexandria in this period, see Varges, *De Statu Ægypti Provinciæ Romanæ primo et secundo post Christum natum sæculis*, Göttingen, 1842. [15] Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 26.

trade-route was up the Nile to Coptos, thence through the desert for 260 miles to Berenice on the Red Sea, journeying only by night to avoid the great heat. From Berenice fleets of ships sailed to Canes in Somaliland, or to Ocetis in South Africa. Then, as the regularity of the trade wind had lately been discovered by a pilot named Hippalus, they boldly launched out across the trackless Indian Ocean, and reached Hindostan near the mouth of the Indus. Loading their ships with silk, diamonds, precious stones, ginger, spices, scents, and other Eastern products, they once more set sail, and after a round voyage of rather less than a year, arrived in Alexandria again.[1]

From other regions to the south and east wealth poured into Egypt. Pearls from the Persian Gulf, medicinal herbs and delicious perfumes from Arabia, tortoise shell, gold dust, ivory, rhinoceros teeth, hippopotamus skins, apes, monkeys, and negro slaves were imported up the Red Sea from Southern Africa,[2] and distributed by the rich merchants of the Delta far and wide over the Roman world. Egypt herself provided an enormous contribution to the needs of the Empire The *cushions of tapestry with striped cloths of the yarn of Egypt*,[3] which were famous centuries before, still maintained their reputation. The mummy linen, the flax and cotton products, the glass bric-a-brac, the papyrus of various thicknesses and fineness of which (and the city wherein each was manufactured) Pliny[4] gives an elaborate description, were all exported in immense quantities. Brilliant chemical dyes, naphtha, anthracite, obsidian, "Augustan" and "Tiberian" marble, porphyry, basalt, and other rocky material were carried over the seas to Italy.[5] The wines of Egypt were celebrated, especially those made from the vines which clustered round the Mareotic Lake.[6] Alexandria might not only have answered to the Apocalyptic description[7] of Rome for the multiplicity and variety of her commerce, but for the immorality and worldliness of her populace which made her a veritable Vanity Fair. Her cosmopolitanism tempted the *colluvies omnium gentium* to make the city their home; and the gay streets, the broad piazzas, the splendid theatres, the crowded docks, the tree-lined canals, the blue lake, the luxurious inns, the shady suburbs, the very Necropolis itself, were filled with a seething population whose levity, haughtiness, irresponsible folly, drunkenness, and inflammability of temper were notorious throughout the earth.[8]

Amid this vast market of human activities and sins, the Jews, as we have seen, flourished amazingly. Some of them became millionaires, and like the Rothschilds of to-day traded on equal terms with Kings. We have already observed how Agrippa I borrowed a trifle of £7,000 from the Alabarch Alexander, while in want of money on his way to Rome.[9] This great banking firm of Alexander and Son was so influential that its head was entrusted with the factorship of the estate of Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius and mother of Claudius.[10] Two of his sons married daughters of King Agrippa, while a third, abandoning his ancestral faith, entered Government service, and after spending some time as Procurator of Palestine, came to Egypt to be its Governor.[11] Alexander himself, as a pious Jew, devoted some of his vast wealth to the service of the Temple in Jerusalem. Nine of the gates leading into the national sanctuary were

[1] Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 105. [2] Pliny, *H.N.*, vi. 34. [3] Prov. 7.[16] [4] *H.N.*, xiii. 22. [5] *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 11. 67. [6] Strabo, xvii: Athenæus, i.: Horace, *Carmina*, i. 37. 14: Lucan, x. 161. [7] Revel. 18.[12 13] [8] Mommsen, *Prov. of the Roman Empire*, ii. 263. [9] See p. 499. [10] Jos. *Antiq.*, xix. 5. 1. [11] Jos., *ib.*, xix. 5. 1: xx. 5. 3.

covered over with plates of gold and silver, through the liberality of this Jewish-Egyptian millionaire banker, while the doorposts and their lintels were similarly made resplendent.[1] The Alexandrian Hebrew could never forget that Canaan was his religious home.

For the most splendid of all the gates, however, the Temple was indebted to another Egyptian Jew. The Gate of Nicanor, which led from the Court of the Women to that of the Israelites, was approached by a flight of 15 steps.[2] In size and magnificence the gate overshadowed all the other porticoes. Fifty cubits high, and 40 wide, the gates were of Corinthian brass, covered with thick plates of gold and silver, beautifully chased.[3] The strength of 20 men was needed to turn the massive doors on their hinges. Such was their splendour that the Talmud[4] has woven a legend that when Nicanor at his own expense had had these two gates made in Alexandria, he set sail with them for Palestine. A tempest arose, and to lighten the ship, one of the gates was cast overboard. The ship continuing to labour, the sailors were preparing to jettison the other, when Nicanor implored them to cast him in also. The storm at once abated: Nicanor disembarked at Acre: a huge fish vomited out the missing gate, and the pious Jew was thus enabled to erect this immense trophy to his devotion inside the Temple! It is interesting to learn that in 1903, Miss Gladys Dickson, daughter of the British Consul in Jerusalem, discovered on the slope of Siloam an ossuary with a bilingual Greek and Hebrew inscription to the effect, "The bones of the sons of Nicanor, the Alexandrian, who made the doors: Nicanor Aleksa."[5] The discovery was followed by the investigation of a group of tombs, which revealed a sarcophagus, seven ossuaries, some pottery, and a few lamps.[6]

But meanwhile the political state of Palestine was rapidly growing worse. We have seen that, after the death of Agrippa I, the Romans took over the whole of Palestine, and ruled the land through procurators. The first of these was *Cuspius Fadus* (A.D. 44–46), who managed to offend the Jews bitterly by his demand for the custody of the splendid sacred robe of the high priest, an order which, at the request of Agrippa II, the Emperor was pleased to cancel.[7] His successor in office was *Tiberius Alexander*[8] (A.D. 46–48), already mentioned[9] as the son of the famous millionaire Alabarch of Alexandria. While the father was eminent for his piety as much as for his wealth, the son abandoned his ancestral faith, in order to advance his worldly prospects. It was a novelty to see an Alexandrian ex-Jew procurator of Palestine!

Under the third procurator, *Ventidius Cumanus* (A.D. 48–52), the first rebellion broke out on the part of the Jews against their Roman oppressors. An insult at the Passover feast on the part of a Roman soldier excited the populace so furiously that 20,000 men lost their lives in the streets of Jerusalem before the riot was quelled.[10] The climax of Cumanus' misrule was reached when he accepted bribes from the Samaritans to hush up their massacring of the Jews who passed through their territory on their way to the feast in the capital. The end of his villainy was the execution of

[1] Jos., *Wars*, v. 5. 3. [2] It was at Nicanor's Gate that the bitter waters were given to wives suspected of unfaithfulness (Num. 5 [18]). Here also the purification of women after childbirth was accomplished (Stapfer, *Palestine in the time of Christ*, p. 416). [3] Jos., *Wars*, v. 5. 3. He does not name the gate, but it is evidently Nicanor's that he means. [4] Mishna, *Yoma*, iii. 10: Munk, *Palestine*, p. 552. [5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1903, p. 93: Clermont-Ganneau, *ib.*, p. 125. [6] Miss Dickson, *ib.*, p. 326: Macalister, *ib.*, 1905, p. 253. [7] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 1. 1. [8] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 5. 2. [9] See p. 501 *n.* [10] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 5. 3.

the Samaritan ringleaders, and his own banishment as a punishment from Claudius.[1]

Cumanus was followed by *Felix* (A.D. 52–60), brother of Pallas, the Emperor's favourite. This freedman is accurately described in Tacitus' stinging words[2] " With all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave." His abominable injustices and unrestrained enormities goaded the Jews into rebellion. The Zealots came more and more to the front as the embodiment of Hebrew hatred of Roman misgovernment, and the country was in chronic bloodshed and revolt. Vast multitudes of misguided patriots were crucified, and Palestine was a sea of devilry and horrible revenges. The " Sicarii " or " dagger-men " made everyone's life unsafe, and false Christs arose sporadically

One of the most remarkable of the latter emerged from the Nile Valley and embroiled Judæa in a wild passion. An Egyptian Jew announced himself as a prophet, and summoned the multitude to accompany him to the Mount of Olives, promising that, as they stood there, at his command the walls of Jerusalem across the Kedron Valley would fall down. Thereafter they would enter in and take possession of the government.[3] Felix did not wait for the miracle to take place. He dashed out of Jerusalem with cavalry and infantry, slew 400 of the crowd, and took 200 alive. But in the *mêlée* the Egyptian escaped, and was never seen again, though the people, and the Romans too, eagerly anticipated his return.[4] It came about, therefore, that when Paul was assaulted in the Temple courts, and rescued by the Roman soldiers, he was mistaken by the Roman chiliarch for this Nilotic fanatic.[5] *" Dost thou know Greek? Art thou not the Egyptian which before these days stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men*[6] *of the Assassins?"*[7] Saved from the violence of the Jewish mob, Paul was sent to Cæsarea, where he appeared before Felix and his infamous wife Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa I,[8] whom Felix had stolen from her husband Azizus, King of Emesa,[9] and to these reprobates the apostle *spoke of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come.*[10] Drusilla's sister Mariamne meanwhile divorced her husband Archelaus, and married Demetrius, who was the leading man among the Alexandrian Jews, both for his wealth and his aristocratic family connections.[11] Thus another Egyptian Alabarch became brother-in-law to the procurator of Judæa.

The death of Claudius in A.D. 54 had brought NERO (A.D. 54–68) to the Imperial throne, and with his accession fresh tumults had broken out in Alexandria. They were the sequel to the abortive attempt of the Egyptian-Jewish impostor to free Judæa from the Romans. The pseudo-Messiah had led out from Egypt 30,000 fanatics like himself, and when the enterprise miserably failed the disappointed Jews in Alexandria attacked the amphitheatre in that city. They attempted to burn it down, crammed as it was with heathen " Macedonians."[12] By this time, however, Tiberius Alexander, the ex-procurator of Judæa, had been appointed prefect of Egypt. As an ex-Jew he knew the evil consequences that invariably followed an

[1] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 6. 1–3: *Wars*, ii. 12. 3–7. [2] " Per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit," *Hist.* v. 9. [3] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 7. 1. [4] *Ib.*, xx. 8. 6: *Wars*, ii. 13. 5. [5] Moulton (*Expos. Times*, xxi. 284) has an excellent suggestion that the chiliarch had a published description in his possession of this Egyptian Mahdi, giving details of his appearance. Paul bore on his body so many στιγματα (Gal. 6 [17]) of Jesus in the form of marks from stonings and scourgings, that he was mistaken for the battered Egyptian. [6] Josephus says 30,000: Luke 4,000: see also Eusebius, *H.E.*, ii. 21. [7] τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαριών Acts 21.[38] [8] Acts 23 [33–24.27] [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 7. 2. [10] Acts 24.[25] [11] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 7. 3. [12] Jos., *Wars*, ii. 18. 7.

outbreak of Semitic fanaticism, and his persuasions for the time pacified the anger of the Jews. But soon their rage broke forth afresh. This time the prefect let loose upon them two Roman legions and 5,000 other soldiers from Libya. There was a fearful carnage in the Jewish quarter. Infants and the aged were involved in the common massacre, till every place overflowed with blood, and the streets were heaped with 50,000 corpses. The remnant were spared by casting themselves on the mercy of the prefect. Yet even then, such was the fury of the populace that with difficulty was the *pogrom* stopped.[1] Next year, in consequence of this riot, Tiberius Alexander was recalled, and C. Balbillus was despatched from Rome by Nero to occupy his place (A.D. 56).[2]

Meanwhile events in Palestine were converging towards the final catastrophe. Felix was recalled in A.D. 60 to answer at Rome for his many crimes, *and desiring to gain favour with the Jews, Felix left Paul in bonds.*[3] His successor was *Porcius Festus*[4] (A.D. 60–62), who, though intending to rule evenly, found it impossible to straighten out the consequences of the foul deeds of his predecessor. When to his palace in Cæsarea, Agrippa II and his sister Berenice paid a State visit,[5] Paul made his memorable defence of his life and conduct in their presence, an oration which ended with the famous and noble answer of the apostle[6] to the sneering question of the Jewish King. The prisoner appealed to Nero, and sailed for Rome in a ship of Adramyttium[7] as far as Myra, thereafter prosecuting the next portion of his disastrous voyage in a *ship of Alexandria sailing for Italy.*[8]

The troubled *régime* of Festus ended with his death, but ushered in the worse terrors of the rule of *Albinus* (A.D. 62–64).[9] He surpassed all that went before in shameless wickedness and unscrupulous greed. His iniquities at last reached such a height that the nation insisted on his recall, but in his place, as the last of the procurators, appeared the vilest and most horrible of them all, *Gessius Florus* (A.D. 64–66), who had to wife one Cleopatra—possibly of Egyptian origin—a friend of the Empress Poppæa. "This Florus," says Josephus,[10] "was so bad and violent in the exercise of his authority that the Jews cried up Albinus as their benefactor, so excessive were the evils that Florus brought upon them. For Albinus had concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered by anybody: but Gessius Florus, as though he had been despatched to Judæa on purpose to display his crimes, ostentatiously showed his lawlessness to our nation, never omitting any rapine or unjust punishment: for he was not to be moved by pity, and was never satisfied with any amount of gain, nor did he pay any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but went shares even with the robbers." The unspeakable atrocities of Gessius' rule were the match that set all Palestine in a blaze.

When the Great War broke out in A.D. 66, Agrippa II was in Alexandria.[11] He had gone there to congratulate Alexander on his having obtained from Nero the government of Egypt. With all speed he hastened back to Palestine, and tried to avert the tremendous storm. All was in vain, for Florus was bent on war At first the Jews were successful, and Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, was driven away from Jerusalem with heavy loss.[12] Nero entrusted the task of quelling the formidable rebellion to the capable hands of Vespasian. The latter at once sent his son Titus to

[1] Jos., *Wars*, ii. 18. 8. [2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 22. Pliny (*H.N.*, xix. 1) says he sailed from Messina to Alexandria in six days—the quickest voyage known. [3] Acts 24.[27] [4] Acts 24.[27] [5] Acts 25.[13] [6] Acts 26.[28 29] [7] Acts 27.[2] [8] v.[6] [9] Jos., *Antiq.*, xx. 9. 1. [10] Jos., *Wars*, ii. 14. 2. [11] *Ibid.*, ii. 15. 1: ii. 16. 1. [12] *Ib.*, ii. 19. 7–9.

Alexandria to fetch from thence the fifteenth legion.[1] Thus for the final reduction of Palestine it strangely came about that Egyptian troops were employed. Titus marched from the Delta across the desert, and passing quickly through the Judæan Shephelah, joined his father at Ptolemais. At Joppa a large number of pirate ships had been built, which ravaged the coasts of Egypt and Phœnicia, and made the seas unnavigable. Vespasian attacked the city, and a storm dashed the pirate ships to pieces insomuch that 4,200 bodies were cast ashore.[2] Galilee was subjugated in A.D. 67 with appalling bloodshed.

While Vespasian was preparing for the siege of Jerusalem, news reached him that Nero was dead. The latter had been planning a vast invasion of Ethiopia, and shortly before his death had sent to Egypt some of the German legions.[3] When intelligence reached him that Galba had been elected Emperor by the troops, it was to Egypt that his guilty conscience urged him to fly.[4] But ere he could quit Italy, vengeance overtook him, and Nero perished ignominiously.

When GALBA (A.D. 68–69) gained the Imperial throne, the legions sent by Nero for the conquest of Ethiopia were withdrawn.[5] Vespasian despatched his son Titus to Rome to convey his salutations to the new Emperor, and awaited further instructions with reference to the prosecution of the Jewish War. At Corinth, Titus learned of the murder of Galba and of the accession of OTHO (A.D. 69), and straightway returned to Palestine. Still his father waited. News at length came of the death of Otho after a three months' reign, and of the election by the troops in Germany of VITELLIUS (A.D. 69). The Eastern legions could no longer restrain themselves. The troops in Cæsarea proclaimed Vespasian Emperor[6] and in a few days the legions in Egypt joined enthusiastically in the election. For no sooner had Vespasian agreed to the soldiers' demand than he sent to Alexandria, and informed Tiberius Alexander, the prefect, of his new rank. Alexander at once ordered the Egyptian legions and the populace to take the oath of allegiance to Vespasian,[7] and prepared for the arrival of the new Emperor. As Egypt was the key of Rome, inasmuch as Italy was dependent on Egyptian corn for its very subsistence, Vespasian soon quitted Palestine and marched his troops to Alexandria.[8] Here he learned of the murder of Vitellius, and of his own unanimous acceptance by the Senate and people of Rome.[9] All the world now flocked to Alexandria to congratulate the new Emperor. VESPASIAN (A.D. 69–79) was met by the philosophers of the Museum, as well as by the magistrates of the city, and cordially welcomed. Among the former were the rhetorician Dion, the Platonist Euphrates who afterwards wedded the daughter of the prefect of Palestine,[10] and the famous thaumaturgist Apollonius of Tyana,[11] who claimed to know all the secrets of the occult world to be learned from Indian Gymnosophists or Persian Magi. Apollonius shadowed the new Cæsar, and led him to attempt miracles of healing which the gaping credulity of the populace readily swallowed.[12]

[1] Jos., *Wars*, iii. 1. 2–3 : iii. 4. 2. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 9. 2. 3. [3] Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 31. [4] Suetonius, *Nero*, 47. [5] Tacitus, *ib.* [6] Jos., *Wars*, iv. 10. 4. 5. [7] *Ib.*, iv. 10. 6. Both Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii. 79–81) and Suetonius (*Vespasian* 6) state that it was in Egypt that Vespasian was first proclaimed Emperor; Josephus gives Cæsarea as the locality. [8] Jos., *Wars*, iv. 10. 5. [9] *Ib.*, iv. 11. 5. [10] Eunapius, *Proœr.* : Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 10. [11] Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.* [12] Suetonius, *Vespasian* 7. It was said that a blind man received sight from his spittle, a lame man was cured by being trampled on by the Imperial foot ! In the temple of Serapis Vespasian saw Basilides, a well-known Alexandrian, though at that moment Basilides was dying 80 miles away ! (Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv. 81 : Dion Cassius, lxvi. 8).

From Alexandria, Vespasian despatched Titus to Palestine to finish the siege of Jerusalem. Titus marched to Nicopolis,[1] where he embarked his troops and sailed up the Nile to Thmuis near Mendes. Here he disembarked and marched to Tanis. The ancient city of Rameses II had fallen on evil times, and Titus encamped amid the ruins of former palaces and temples. The next night's bivouac was at Heracleopolis, the third at Pelusium, where, after two days' rest, he crossed the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. Following the coast route, he halted next night at Mount Casius with its old temple to Jupiter. The following evening found him at waterless Ostracine;[2] next day at Rhinocoloura, and the succeeding stage brought him into Palestine at Raphia. Soon he reached Gaza, then Ascalon, then Jamnia, then Joppa, then Cæsarea:[3] and gathering there all his resources, he marched up to Jerusalem to execute the divine vengeance on that *great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also the Lord was crucified.*[4]

While the Jewish state was thus menaced with utter destruction, there appeared (A.D. 69) another work bearing strongly the marks of Alexandrian influence. The *Epistle to the Hebrews* was written, in all probability, exactly forty years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in A.D. 29.[5] The hour of vengeance for that murder of God's Son was approaching: the Christian Jews could for themselves see *the day drawing nigh.*[6] The author of the book was a man trained in the Alexandrian methods of interpretation, one to whom the hermeneutical and allegorical principles of Philo were entirely familiar.[7] He delighted in drawing distinctions between the visible[8] and the invisible,[9] the perishable[10] and the imperishable,[11] the imperfect copy[12] and the perfect archetypal world,[13] the shadow on earth and the heavenly substance and reality above.[14] His treatment of Melchizedek[15] whereby he uses the very silences of Scripture to evolve his spiritual lesson reminds us forcibly of Philo's treatment of Melchizedek as an allegory of the impersonal Logos. His opening words—ΠΟΛΥΜΕΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΩΣ—in their majesty and sonorous roll, remind us of two gigantic pylons standing in front of some Egyptian temple of truth.[16] "Draw nigh through this gateway," they seem to say, "and beyond thou shalt discover a new revelation of God in Christ."

Whatever be the actual date of the *Epistle of James*, whether it appeared about this juncture or later in the history of the Church, it would appear that it incorporates a strange and curious reference to current Egyptian beliefs. Immediately after the hexameter line, which seems to have been borrowed from some Alexandrian poet, otherwise unknown:—

πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθή καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον

we have the striking words, *Every good gift and every perfect boon is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, with whom can be no variation, neither shadow that is cast by turning.*[17] It would seem that the imagery is derived from the ancient Sun rites of Egypt. The obelisks of Heliopolis

The Alexandrians, however, were much disappointed with Vespasian. They discovered him to be greedy, and gave him the nickname of "Kybiosaktes," "the pickled-fish-monger."

[1] The site of Augustus' abortive new capital. [2] Between El-Katieh (Mount Casius) and Wady-el-Arish. [3] Jos., *Wars*, iv. 11. 5. [4] Rev. 11.[8] [5] Heb. 3[13, 17] This is well brought out by Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 142. [6] Heb. 10.[25] [7] Yet see on the other side Bruce in Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 335. [8] Heb. 11.[3] [9] Heb. 11.[1] [10] Heb. 12.[27] [11] Heb. 8[5], 9[23], 12.[28] [12] Heb. 9[2, 3], 8[5], 11.[3] [13] Heb. 8.[2] [14] Heb. 8[5], 10.[1] [15] Heb. 7.[3] [16] Bruce, *Ep. to the Heb.*, p. 26. [17] Jas. 1.[17]

had their pointed summits gilded to reflect the sun's rays, and upon the days when the Sun-god Ra was at its zenith, almost directly above Heliopolis so that for a few minutes even the loftiest obelisk cast scarcely a shadow, there were great festivals.[1] It was a season of rejoicing over the goodness of their heavenly deity, who on that day showed no shadow on the ground. The conception of rejoicing on the day of this regularly recurring phenomenon was carried over into the Christian Church, and the *Father of lights* was thanked for his unvarying goodness and grace.

It is a strange and suggestive fact that it was the Roman troops from Egypt—the 3rd Cyrenaica and the 22nd Deiotariana—which Titus counted on to storm the capital of Palestine.[2] It was also the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander, who was put in command of these troops, and whose advice was eagerly accepted by Titus during the siege.[3] Strange that thus Egypt should be the instrument for the final reduction of Palestine, as many times before Nilotic troops had trampled the soil of the Holy Land! The Jewish patriot, Josephus, who had so heroically defended Jotapata in the early days of the rebellion,[4] and whose life had been spared by Vespasian, had gone to Alexandria with all the rest of the world.[5] Now he returned from Egypt in the army, and in the service, of Titus, and he was a witness of the fanatical defence made by his countrymen, and of their insensate internecine fury amongst themselves.

The siege ended in A.D. 70 in the awful destruction of Jerusalem, and in the unspeakable horrors and carnage of that sack and burning which Jesus had predicted: *then shall there be great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be.*[6] Eleven hundred thousand perished by famine and the sword. Of the survivors, 90,000 under seventeen years of age were sold as slaves.[7] Those above seventeen were sent into Egypt to labour in the mines. Multitudes of others who scorned to acknowledge Vespasian as Emperor fled to Egypt, the ancient and time-honoured refuge of the oppressed in Israel, and sought to hide themselves up the Nile as far as Thebes. But no asylum was open to them. Their own Jewish countrymen denounced them as Sicarii, and arrested them. They were dragged out of their places of concealment, tortured, and murdered.[8] Titus, after a triumphal march through Syria, returned to the Delta by the toilsome road he had traversed the previous year.[9] On his way to Alexandria he wore a diadem at the consecration of a new Apis Bull at Memphis.[10] From Alexandria he sailed to Italy to enjoy his magnificent triumph at Rome.[11]

But Palestine was not yet subdued. The fortresses of Herodium, Machærus, and Masada still held out. Lucilius Bassus, the governor of Palestine, had arduous work in storming these strongholds. It was a native Egyptian soldier, named Rufus, in the service of Rome who forced the surrender of Machærus. He personally captured Eleazar, the fiery defender of the castle, and Bassus, by pretending to crucify the Jewish leader, forced the garrison to capitulate.[12] Masada held out to the last, and when the Romans eventually broke in, they found that every one of the 960 Jewish fanatics had perished by mutual slaughter at the

[1] Offord in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1919, p. 125. [2] Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 1. [3] Jos., *Wars*, v. 1. 6. [4] Jos., *Wars*, iii. 7. [5] Jos., *Life*, 75. [6] Matt. 24.21 [7] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 7. [8] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 10. 1. More than 60,000 of them thus perished; *ibid.*, vii. 8. 7. [9] *Ib.*, vii. 5. 3. [10] Suetonius, *Titus*, 5. [11] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 5. 3–7: Dion Cassius, lxvi. 7. Representations of the Jewish spoils carried in the procession are still to be seen on the Arch of Titus at Rome. [12] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 6. 4.

hands of one another, after putting to death their wives and children (A.D. 73).[1]

It was appropriate that the closing scene of the revolt should take place on Egyptian soil. The attempt of the Sicarii to stir up revolt in Egypt, and the resulting extermination of these misguided patriots, was reported to Vespasian by Lupus, the new governor of Alexandria. Orders came from Rome for the destruction of the famous temple of Leontopolis erected by Onias. Lupus accordingly went to the temple, carried out some of its votive offerings and closed it. His successor in the prefecture, Paulinus, cleared out all of value from the structure, shut the gates, and made it so entirely inaccessible that there remained no longer any trace of divine worship having been celebrated on the spot.[2]

It is significant that this awful destruction of the Jewish Temple and State gave rise to another book whose probable birthplace was Alexandria. The book in the Apocrypha known as *Baruch* seems most suitably to be dated from about A.D. 78 or a little later.[3] Under the pseudonym of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar we must read Vespasian and Titus. It was written by some pious Jew in Egypt to console the remanent Jews in Palestine over the terrible downfall of their hopes, and to encourage them to continue steadfast, even under the rigours of the Roman yoke, and amid the ashes of Jerusalem and its Holy House.

But on the other hand, while this catastrophe in the case of some led to a more fervent cleaving to the Jehovah of their fathers, in others a different tendency was manifested. As centralized Judaism passed away in blood and flames, many whose faith in their nation's God had been shaken thought they saw in Egyptian religion a resting-place and a spiritual home. Judaism had proved to them a delusion and a snare: Christianity they refused to accept, and they took no heed of the silent yet mighty revolution which the coming of Christ into the world was effecting. To their eyes the cult of Isis seemed the religion that was likely some day to cover the earth. A recently discovered papyrus of the end of the 1st century, *The Panegyric of Isis*, extols the all-conquering might of the goddess by enumerating all her shrines and temples in Egypt and in other parts of the world, identifying Isis with various Græco-Roman and Asiatic divinities. It is interesting to observe the localities in Palestine of which mention is made in the papyrus as being seats of the worship of Isis. Petra, Rhinocoloura (El-Arish), Raphia, Gaza, Ascalon, Dor, Ptolemais, and Beirut are all mentioned as cities where her cult was in vogue, though strangely Byblos, associated so intimately with the myth of Isis and Osiris,[4] is not included.[5]

At this point I must bring to a close this long review of the historical connections between Egypt and Canaan. It is beyond the scope that I have set myself to deal with the fearful recrudescence of Jewish fanaticism under Trajan which involved Egypt and Cyrene in torrents of blood. In Cyrene the Jews were accused of murdering, torturing, and *eating* the flesh of 220,000 Gentiles! (A.D. 116).[6] Nor can I do more than refer to the final outburst under Hadrian (A.D. 132–135) when once more Egypt and Palestine were drenched with blood until Bar-Cochba and his fellow patriots were exterminated.[7]

[1] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 8. 1–7: vii. 9. 1. 2. For a recent description of this gloomy site see Masterman in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1908, p. 238. [2] Jos., *Wars*, vii. 10. 2–4. [3] Whitehouse in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the O.T.*, i. 569. [4] See p. 326. [5] Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. xi. (1915). [6] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 32: Orosius, vii. 12. [7] Dion Cassius, lxix. 12–14: Eusebius, *H.E.*, iv. 6: *Chron.*, ii. 166–169.

But meanwhile the influence of Egypt upon Canaan and upon all the world is seen in many directions. Attempts have been made [1] to show that to Egypt much of the imagery of the *Apocalypse of John* is indebted. The parallels in thought and expression are certainly curious and interesting, yet it is still unproved that the author of the Book of the Revelation actually adopted Nilotic religious conceptions. It will require much further and more serious investigation before the theory can be regarded with favour. Some have also emphasized the direct connection between 2 *Peter* and the Egyptian *Story of Ahikar* as shown in the statement *It has happened unto them according to the true proverb: The dog turning to its own vomit again, and the sow that had washed to wallowing in the mire.* For in *Ahikar* we read "My son, thou hast behaved like the swine which went to the bath with people of quality, and when he came out saw a stinking drain, and went and rolled himself in it." [2] 2 *Peter* is strongly tinged with Alexandrian modes of thought. Similar attempts have been made to link the Christian *Agapae* or Love-Feasts to an Egyptian analogue. Petrie points out that it was a pagan custom in Egypt to feast in the temples, and on this he founds the origin of the Christian institution.[3] But the assumption is much too hasty, and the origin of the feast must be looked for elsewhere.[4]

Of deeper interest are the *Agrapha* of Jesus, the *Logia* attributed to Christ, some of which have been known for centuries, and others have only very recently come to light. The so-called apocryphal *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, a compilation of the 2nd century, which was current in native Christian circles in Egypt, ascribes to Jesus the following saying: "The Lord Himself, having been asked by some one when His Kingdom should come, said 'When the two shall be one, and the outer as the inner, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.'" [5] The *Oxyrhynchus Logia*, discovered in 1903, present us with eight sayings of Jesus full of interest, some of which are in a high degree probably genuine.[6] The buried mounds of the city of Crocodilopolis have yielded abundant papyri, and there is no saying what surprises may yet be in store for us in the recovery of early Christian documents.

Another line of influence attributable to Egypt is seen in the Christian community known as the *Therapeutæ*. If we could believe that this sect of Egyptian monks, who, according to a work attributed to Philo, lived in a religious congregation not far from Alexandria, were really in existence in Philo's day, we might see in them the spiritual ancestors of later Christian monasticism. But the probability is that the Philo treatise is spurious, and that the Therapeutæ were Christian monks.[7] Nevertheless, that the origins of monasticism are to be found in Egypt is evident from the fact that, centuries before Pachomius (A.D. 322) the accredited father of the monastic system, we find in the Nile Valley religious ascetic communities. As early as B.C. 340 the desert behind the Fayum could furnish an ascetic

[1] *E.g.*, by Alice Grenfell (*The Monist*, xvi. (1906), p. 178 f.). She contends that Egyptian mythology produces parallels to the following:—Rev. 1^{8}, Alpha and Omega: 1^{13}, the golden girdle: 1^{14}, the wool-white hair: 2^{11}, the second death: 4^{6}, the sea of glass: 4^{6}, the four living creatures full of eyes: 7^{1}, the four angels at the four corners: 7^{17}, the tears wiped away: 9^{10}, the locusts with scorpion tails: 9^{19}, the lion-headed horses with serpent-headed tails: 19^{12}, many crowns: $20^{1\ 2\ 3}$, chaining the dragon: $20^{10\ 11\ 12}$, the lake of fire: 21^{18}, the wall of jasper. [2] J. Rendel Harris, *The Story of Ahikar*, p. lxv. [3] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 132. [4] See A. J. Maclean in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, i. 175, art. AGAPE. [5] Clem. Rom., xii. 2: see Findlay in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 677. [6] J. H. Ropes, art. AGRAPHA in Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 347: they are probably from the period a little before A.D. 150. [7] Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa*: for the spuriousness of this treatise, see Schürer, *H.J.P.*, ii. iii. 358.

association. By B.C. 170 there were recluses of the Serapeum at Memphis. Both of these may be due to the infiltration of Buddhistic ideals. But in any case Egypt was the channel by which monasticism was introduced into the Christian system. [1]

The renown and spiritual supremacy of Egypt increased rather than diminished as the centuries slipped past. In the second and third centuries Alexandria was the intellectual capital of Christendom.[2] The Alexandrian Catechetical School was made illustrious by the names of Pantænus, Clement, and especially Origen, who, while continuing the allegorical tradition associated with the Philonic method, strove to show how Christian doctrine enshrined and realized the dreams and yearnings of Greek philosophy.

But the influence of Egypt is traceable also in the spread of heretical doctrine. The Alexandrian heretics, Basilides and Valentinian, mingled Christian truth with pagan mysticism and magic. For in Egypt there was in process a curious syncretism. As Christianity spread over the world, there arose in Egyptian paganism conceptions and mythological representations which parodied Christian facts. No god was so dear to the heart of the Egyptians of the second and third centuries as Harpocrates represented as a child : and as he carried a cornucopia or jar, it formed a simulacrum of the infant Jesus with blessings for all mankind. The figure of his mother Isis hugging her infant son gave birth to the conception of the Madonna and Child, and the gross Mariolatry of later centuries can easily be traced to Egypt's nominally Christianized population which took over into Christianity an ancient pagan view current in the Nile Valley.[3] Similarly the Mithraistic and Gnostic sects introduced into Egypt many a distorted religious conception, and Egypt welcomed and assimilated all such.[4] The figure even of the Good Shepherd has been found at Ehnas among surrounding heathen symbols. In some magical texts Osiris is mentioned in the same breath with Sabaoth the archangel and the Greek gods. A sorcerer appeals to " Moses, to whom Thou didst manifest Thyself upon the mountain," and at the same time promises that " he will glorify him in Abydos and in heaven before Ra." [5]

Nevertheless more and more Alexandria became the stronghold of the Christian faith. Here Athanasius defended *contra mundum* the true Divinity of Christ during the Nicene controversy : and though the struggles between the warring factions often made its streets red with blood, [6] the city's influence on Christian theology, and on the world generally, has been profound. And thus, through its stand for those truths which were announced to mankind through the life, and teaching, and death of Him whose earthly years were spent in Canaan, Egypt was again linked to Palestine in a holy alliance, and in some degree the old prophecy of Isaiah was fulfilled : *In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria : and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria : and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians : in that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth : for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying " Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."* [7]

[1] Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, p. 134. [2] Gibb in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 63. [3] Abundantly proved by P. D. Scott Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, ch. v. vi, and Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 220 (1904). The very title, Θεοτοκος, " mother of God," was transferred from Isis to Mary. [4] Scott-Moncrieff, *op. cit.*, p. 148 f. [5] Griffith and Thomson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 47. [6] *Cf.* Kingsley's brilliant sketch in *Hypatia* of Alexandrian life, and of the fight between the pagan and the Christian elements in the populace. [7] Isa. 19.[23-25]

ADDENDA

ADDITIONAL NOTES

PAGE 24.—In connection with the practice of mutilation and cannibalism revealed in the excavations at Gezer, it is remarkable that in many pre-dynastic graves at El-Gerzeh, seemingly of the same age as the Palestine tombs, there are similar instances of mutilation of the dead. Various bones are missing from certain skeletons dug up; in particular the bodies of some very young children show that the skull and the small finger-bones have been removed. This was due either to cannibalism, or deliberate infanticide and mutilation. That there was a direct connection between Canaan and Egypt at this remote period is proved by the fact that the pottery employed in these pre-dynastic interments is made of a clay which is non-Egyptian in provenance, and which must have come from some part of the Philistine plain in which Gezer is situated. "Thus, once more we find connections between pre-dynastic Egypt and South Palestine, corroborating those already postulated by the occurrence of wavy-handed pottery in the two countries" (Wainwright, Petrie, and Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, 1912, p. 10).

PAGE 87.—For further excavations on the site of Hawara, and deductions as to the nature and extent of Amenemhat's Labyrinth, see Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

PAGE 99.—On the significance of Khenzer and Khandy as "Easterners entering Egypt, and taking over rule, probably by peaceful means, before the harsh confusion of the Hyksos triumph," see Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 1917, p. 23.

PAGE 114.—The finding of these three donkey's heads, and subsequently their bodies, is described by Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, 1914, p. 6. The skeletons are now in the Cairo Museum, and in that of South Kensington.

PAGE 130.—Further discussion on the identity of "Arioch of Ellasar," etc., is contributed by Sayce, *P.S.B.A.*, xl. (1918) 92.

PAGE 159.—On the devotion of the Egyptians to the use of scarabs with their religious symbolism, see Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 1917, p. 4.

PAGE 167.—In connection with these Sinaitic proto-scripts, see further Petrie, *The Formation of the Alphabet*, 1912.

PAGES 187 and 384.—This Egyptian method of cutting off the *tops* of the ears of corn by sickles is described by Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 1917, p. 46. He maintains also that the scolloped axe was a non-Egyptian tool, and was imported into the Nile Valley from Syria during the XIIth Dynasty (*ibid.*, p. 64).

PAGE 245.—Another variant theory relative to the Conquest of Palestine is given by Theophile J. Meek, Meadville, Penn. (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, xxiv. (1920) 209), who maintains that there were two invasions of Canaan by the Hebrews: (1) under Joshua, with the Khabiri, (2) under Moses with the other tribes in Merenptah's time. The most elaborate recent discussion, reaching, however, a conclusion which seems to me quite inadmissible, is given by C. F. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan, the Biblical Tradition, and its historical background* (Schweich Lectures), 1918.

PAGE 371.—For further details of the road between Egypt and Canaan, see Archduke Ludwig Salvator, *The Caravan Route between Egypt and Syria*, Lond., 1881, and A. H. Gardiner in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, 1920, p. 99.

APPENDIX I

Biblical Chronology from Abraham to Solomon

B.C.

The starting-point of calculation is the foundation of Solomon's temple, a date which is given in the Bible with great fullness and explicitness, as if marking an important and epoch-making era, *In the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Ziv, which is the second month, he began to build the house of the Lord* (1 Ki. 6 [1]). To find the date of Abraham's birth, start from this founding of the Temple in B.C. 965 (a date ascertained by the synchronisms between the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel—see Curtis in Hastings' *D.B.*, i. 401, art. Chronology of the O.T.). From B.C. 965 back to the Exodus was 480 years (1 Ki. 6 [1]): add the sojourn in Egypt of 430 years (Ex. 12[40]): add the years from Abraham's migration from Haran to Jacob's arrival in Egypt, viz., 215 years, made up thus:—

Till the birth of Isaac (Gen. 12[4],21[5]) .	25 years
Till the birth of Jacob (Gen. 25[26]) . .	60 ,,
Till Jacob's settling in Egypt (Gen. 47[9])	130 ,,
	215 ,,

This gives a total of 480+430+215=1125 years. Add this to B.C. 965, and we have B.C. 2090 as the date of Abraham's departure from Haran. But Abraham was then 75 years old (Gen. 12 [4]), so that we reach the year of the birth of Abraham as . 2165

As Abraham's age at the departure from Haran was 75 (Gen. 12 [4]) we find the date of **Abraham's departure from Haran** was . . . 2090

[This closely corresponds with the date for Hammurabi (=Amraphel, Gen. 14 [1]), which according to Kugler's recent researches is probably B.C. 2123–2081.]

From the departure from Haran to the birth of Ishmael was 11 years, for Abraham was 86 when Ishmael was born (Gen. 16 [16]): this therefore gives the date of **Ishmael's birth** as 2079

Ishmael was circumcised when 13 years of age (Gen. 17 [25]), giving the date of **Ishmael's circumcision** as 2066

Isaac was born the following year (Gen. 17 [24], 21 [5]), giving the date of **Isaac's birth** as 2065

Sarah died aged 127 (Gen. 23 [1]): she was 90 years of age when Isaac was born (Gen. 17 [17]): so that 37 years must have elapsed between the birth of Isaac and **Sarah's death**, which therefore took place in . 2028

If Isaac was 37 at his mother's death, 3 years must have passed till he married Rebekah, for he was 40 when he married (Gen. 25 [20]), giving the date of **Isaac's marriage** as 2025

Jacob was born when Isaac was 60 years of age (Gen. 25 [26]), giving the date of **Jacob's birth** as 2005

B.C.

Abraham died aged 175 (Gen. 25 [7]). Born (as above) in B.C. 2165, he must have survived the birth of Jacob for 15 years (i.e., B.C. 2165 – 175=B.C. 1990: and B.C. 2005 – 1990=15), giving the date of **Abraham's death as** 1990

Ishmael died aged 137 (Gen. 25 [17]). Born in B.C. 2079 (as above) he must have lived for 48 years after the death of Abraham: thus B.C. 2079 – 137=B.C. 1942: and B.C. 1990 – 1942=48: giving the date of **Ishmael's death as** 1942

Isaac died aged 180 (Gen. 35 [28]): Jacob was born when Isaac was 60 (Gen. 25 [6]): therefore Jacob at Isaac's death was aged 120. But when presented to Pharaoh, Jacob was 130 (Gen. 47 [9]). From this 130 deduct 39 years, made up as follows:—

2 years of famine (Gen. 45 [6, 11])
7 ,, ,, plenty (Gen. 41 [53])
30 ,, ,, life of Joseph (Gen. 41 [46])
—
39

Therefore 130 – 39=91 is the age of Jacob when Joseph was born. But if Jacob was born (as above) in B.C. 2005, we have B.C. 2005 – 91=B.C. 1914 as the date of **Joseph's birth** 1914

But when Joseph was 17 (Gen. 37 [2]) he was sold into Egypt, which gives the date of **Joseph's arrival in Egypt** as 1914 – 17=B.C. 1897 . . 1897

[It will be noted that this falls precisely within the period when the Hyksos Dynasties were in power.]

As Isaac was born in B.C. 2065, and died aged 180 (Gen. 35 [28]), he must have survived the selling of Joseph for 12 years, and the date of the **death of Isaac** is B.C. 2065 – 180=B.C. 1885 1885

As Joseph was 17 when sold into Egypt (Gen. 37 [2]) in B.C. 1897, and he was 30 when he stood before Pharaoh (Gen. 41 [46]), he had 30 – 17=13 years of servitude in Egypt. This gives B.C. 1897 – 13 =B.C. 1884 as the date of the **elevation of Joseph** to high rank . 1884

As seven years of plenty (Gen. 41 [53]) and 2 years of dearth (Gen. 45 [6]) passed before Jacob descended into Egypt, making in all 9 years, the date of the **descent of Jacob and his sons into Egypt** must be B.C. 1884 – 9=B.C. 1875. This is an exceedingly important date, one to which many references were made in later times. It is emphasized by the definite promise given by God at the time *God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night . . . and said "Fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation; I will go down with thee into Egypt: and I will also surely bring thee up again"* (Gen. 46 [2-4]). The importance of the date will be seen in connection with the date of the Exodus.

As Jacob lived in Egypt 17 years after the Descent (Gen. 47 [28]) and died aged 147 (Gen. 47 [28]), we have B.C. 1875 – 17=B.C. 1858 as the date of Jacob's death. It is remarkable that the same result is arrived at by subtracting the alleged number of the years of his life from the year of his birth (i.e., B.C. 2005 – 147=B.C. 1858). The agreement of the details, and of the aggregate, constitute a strong proof of the authenticity of the narrative. **Jacob's death** therefore occurred in 1858

Joseph died aged 110 (Gen. 50 [22]). Therefore by subtracting these years from his birth year (i.e., B.C. 1914 – 110=B.C. 1804) we get the date of **Joseph's death as** 1804

[N.B.—This date is still within the period when the Hyksos were in power.]

B.C.

As the date of the Exodus is 480 years previous to the founding of the Temple of Solomon (1 Ki. 6 [1]), i.e., B.C. 965+480 years=B.C. 1445, and as Aaron was 83 at the time of the Exodus (Ex. 7 [7]), the date of Aaron's birth must have been B.C. 1445+83=B.C. 1528. This gives an interval of 276 years from the death of Joseph in B.C. 1804 till the date of the **birth of Aaron** in 1528

But Moses was 3 years younger than his brother (Ex. 7 [7]), so that the date for the **birth of Moses** is 1525

[It will be observed that this date exactly harmonizes with the period when Hatshepset was a princess, but not yet full queen of Egypt; see p. 137.]

It was when Moses was 40 (Acts 7 [23]) that he incurred Pharaoh's anger: the date of **Moses' flight to Midian** is therefore B.C. 1525−40= B.C. 1485 1485

Caleb was 40 at the sending out of the spies from Kadesh-Barnea (Jos. 14 [7]): this was in B.C. 1443 (see later), so that the **birth of Caleb** took place in 1483

It was when Moses was 80 that he stood before Pharaoh (Ex. 7 [7]: Acts 7 [30]). The Exodus, which took place the same year, therefore occurred in B.C. 1445, i.e., B.C. 1485−40=B.C. 1445 (or B.C. 1525−80=B.C. 1445). It is most remarkable that this date is checked by the fact that the Exodus is said to have occurred 430 years after the Descent into Egypt (Ex. 12 [40 41]). The Descent occurred, as we have seen, in B.C. 1875, so that B.C. 1875 −430=B.C. 1445. It is still a third time checked by Paul's statement in Gal. 3 [17] that the Law came 430 years after the covenanted promise of God. This promise was made to Jacob at the time of the Descent (Gen. 46 [3]), and that Descent took place in B.C. 1875. It is checked finally by a fourth enumeration, for if the Temple of Solomon was founded in B.C. 965, and if the date of that founding was 480 years after the Exodus (1 Ki. 6 [1]), then we have B.C. 965+480=B.C. 1445. Thus, by four different methods of calculation, we reach the same year for the date of the **Exodus from Egypt**, viz. 1445

[It will be observed that by these calculations it is absolutely out of the question that the Exodus could have taken place under Merenptah, who reigned from B.C. 1258–1238. The whole evidence of Scripture, both in the aggregate and in detail, bears out that the Exodus occurred under Amenhotep II, whose reign extended from B.C. 1461–1436.]

The spies were sent out from Kadesh-Barnea two years after the Exodus, i.e., in B.C. 1445−2=B.C. 1443. The **sending of the spies** therefore occurred in 1443

The death of Aaron took place 40 years after the Exodus, when Aaron was 123 (Num. 33 [38 39]). As the Exodus occurred in B.C. 1445, Aaron's death must have taken place in B.C. 1405. This date is checked by another calculation. As Aaron was born in B.C. 1528 and died aged 123, we have B.C. 1528−123=B.C. 1405, as the date of **Aaron's death** 1405

In the same year also Moses died, aged 120 (Deut. 34 [7], 31 [2]), so that the date of **Moses' death** is 1405

In the same year, Moab and Ammon having previously been conquered by the Israelites under Moses, the Hebrews crossed the Jordan into Canaan: it was 40 years since the Exodus (Deut. 1 [3]), so that B.C. 1445−40=B.C. 1405. Thus by two independent calculations, we reach the same year for the **entrance into Canaan of the Israelites**, viz. 1405

B.C.

Caleb was 40 years old when he went out as a spy from Kadesh-Barnea (Jos. 14 [7]). The spies were sent out 2 years after the Exodus, i.e., B.C. 1445−2=B.C. 1443. But 45 years later, Caleb took possession of Hebron (Jos. 14 [10]), so the date of the capture of Hebron is B.C. 1443−45=B.C. 1398 1398

[It will be noted how accurately this date coincides with the confusion caused in Canaan by the invasion of the Khabiri in the end of the reign of Amenhotep III (B.C. 1427–1392) and the beginning of that of Amenhotep IV (B.C. 1392–1376). The seven years from B.C. 1405 to B.C. 1398 during which Joshua was engaged in driving out the Canaanite population correspond precisely to the period of distress testified to by the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.]

To find the length of the period between the beginning of Joshua's commandership and the death of the last elder who survived Joshua, requires some careful calculation. Thus we must add together :—

The oppression of Cushan-Rishathaim (Jud. 3 [8])	8	years
The rule of Othniel, which lasted (Jud. 3 [11]) for	40	,,
The oppression of Eglon (Jud. 3 [14]) for	18	,,
The judgeship of Ehud (Jud. 3 [30]) for	80	,,
The oppression of Jabin (Jud. 4 [3]) for	20	,,
The judgeship of Deborah (Jud. 5 [31]) for	40	,,
The oppression of Midian (Jud. 6 [1]) for	7	,,
The judgeship of Gideon (Jud. 8 [28]) for	40	,,
	253	,,

But Jephthah said that Israel had dwelt peaceably in Ammon for 300 years (Judg. 11 [26]), i.e., reckoning from the conquest of Ammon by Moses in B.C. 1405, till the death of Gideon when the Ammonitish oppression began (B.C. 1405−300=1105). If we then subtract the total of 253 years from the 300 years (300−253=47) we obtain 47 years as the length of the period between the death of Moses and the death of the last elder who survived Joshua. But as Moses died in B.C. 1405, and Joshua succeeded him the same year, the date of the death of the last elder (Judg. 2 [7]) is B.C. 1405−47=B.C. 1358 1358

But the death of the last elder is also the date of the beginning of the Oppression of Cushan-Rishathaim (Judg. 3 [8]), which therefore began in 1358

The Oppression of Cushan-Rishathaim lasted for 8 years, until Othniel put an end to it. The date of the deliverance achieved by Othniel is therefore B.C. 1358−8=B.C. 1350 (Jud. 3 [10]) 1350

The land had rest 40 years (Judg. 3 [11]) : giving the date of Othniel's death as B.C. 1350−40=B.C. 1310 1310

On Othniel's death there followed the Oppression of Eglon for 18 years (Jud. 3 [14]), which lasted till Ehud delivered Israel : the date of the beginning of Ehud's judgeship is therefore B.C. 1310−18= B.C. 1292 1292

The land then had rest for the next 80 years (Jud. 3 [30]) till Jabin rose. The beginning of the Oppression of Jabin is thus B.C. 1292−80= B.C. 1212 1212

Jabin oppressed Israel for 20 years (Jud. 4 [3]) until Barak and Deborah delivered Israel : the date of this deliverance by Barak is thus B.C. 1212−20=B.C. 1192 1192

The land had rest another 40 years (Jud. 5 [31]) until the Midianite Oppression began. The date of this Midianite Oppression is thus B.C. 1192−40=B.C. 1152 1152

B.C.

The Midianite Oppression lasted 7 years (Jud. 6 [1]), and it ended when Gideon became judge. The **beginning of Gideon's judgeship** is therefore B.C. 1152 − 7 = B.C. 1145 1145

Gideon gave the land rest for 40 years (Jud. 8 [28]) till his death: **Gideon's death** therefore must have taken place in B.C. 1145 − 40 = B.C. 1105 1105

The conspiracy of Abimelech followed and ended after 3 years, so that **the death of Abimelech** must be dated B.C. 1105 − 3 = B.C. 1102 . 1102

There followed (on the West of Jordan) the judgeship of Tola, which lasted 23 years (Jud. 10 [2]): **Tola's death** therefore must be dated B.C. 1102 − 23 = B.C. 1079 1079

The death of Tola was followed on the West of Jordan by the Philistine Oppression, which lasted for 40 years (Jud. 10 [9] = 13 [1]), i.e., from B.C. 1079 − 40 = B.C. 1039. This period of 40 years includes the judgeship of Samson, which lasted 20 years (Jud. 16 [31]), and the simultaneous judgeship of Eli for 40 years (1 Sam. 4 [18]). But the Philistine tyranny was broken by Saul in the second year of his reign (1 Sam. 13 [1 2]), so that the Philistine tyranny which lasted till B.C. 1039 was preceded by **the elevation of Saul to the Kingship**, and this event must have taken place the year before, viz., B.C. 1040 1040

The destruction of the Philistine Oppression was accomplished by Saul and Jonathan at **the battle of Michmash** (1 Sam. 13 [1 2]), which must therefore have taken place in Saul's second year, i.e., B.C. 1040 − 1 = B.C. 1039 1039

As the Temple was begun in B.C. 965, i.e., 4 years after the death of David (1 Ki. 6 [1]), and as David reigned 40 years (1 Ki. 2 [11]), and began to reign when he was 30 (2 Sam. 5 [4]), we have 40 + 30 = 70 years to reckon with to find David's birth year. Therefore B.C. 965 + 4 = B.C. 969, the date of David's death and also of Solomon's accession. Add the 70 years of his life, and we have B.C. 969 + 70 = B.C. 1039 as **the date of David's birth** . 1039

But David was 30 when he acceded (2 Sam. 5 [4]), so that **the date of David's accession in Hebron** is B.C. 1039 − 30 = B.C. 1009 . . 1009

Saul's dynasty lasted "by the space of 40 years" (Acts 13 [21]), i.e. B.C. 1040 − 40 = B.C. 1000. This includes therefore the two years of Ishbosheth's rule in Hebron (2 Sam 2 [10]) and the moiety of the period during which Israel had no King and David ruled over Judah only in Hebron, i.e., $7\frac{1}{2} + 2 = 9\frac{1}{2}$ years (2 Sam. 2 [11 9]). So that while Saul himself died in B.C. 1009, **his dynasty was not extinguished** till B.C. 1000 1000

David reigned in all 40 years (2 Sam. 5 [4]), so that **David's death** is to be dated B.C. 1009 − 40 = B.C. 969 969

In the same year Solomon acceded: date of **Solomon's accession** is therefore 969

The Temple was begun 4 years later (1 Kings 6 [1]), i.e., B.C. 969 − 4 = B.C. 965: **the date of the founding of the Temple** is thus . . 965

APPENDIX II

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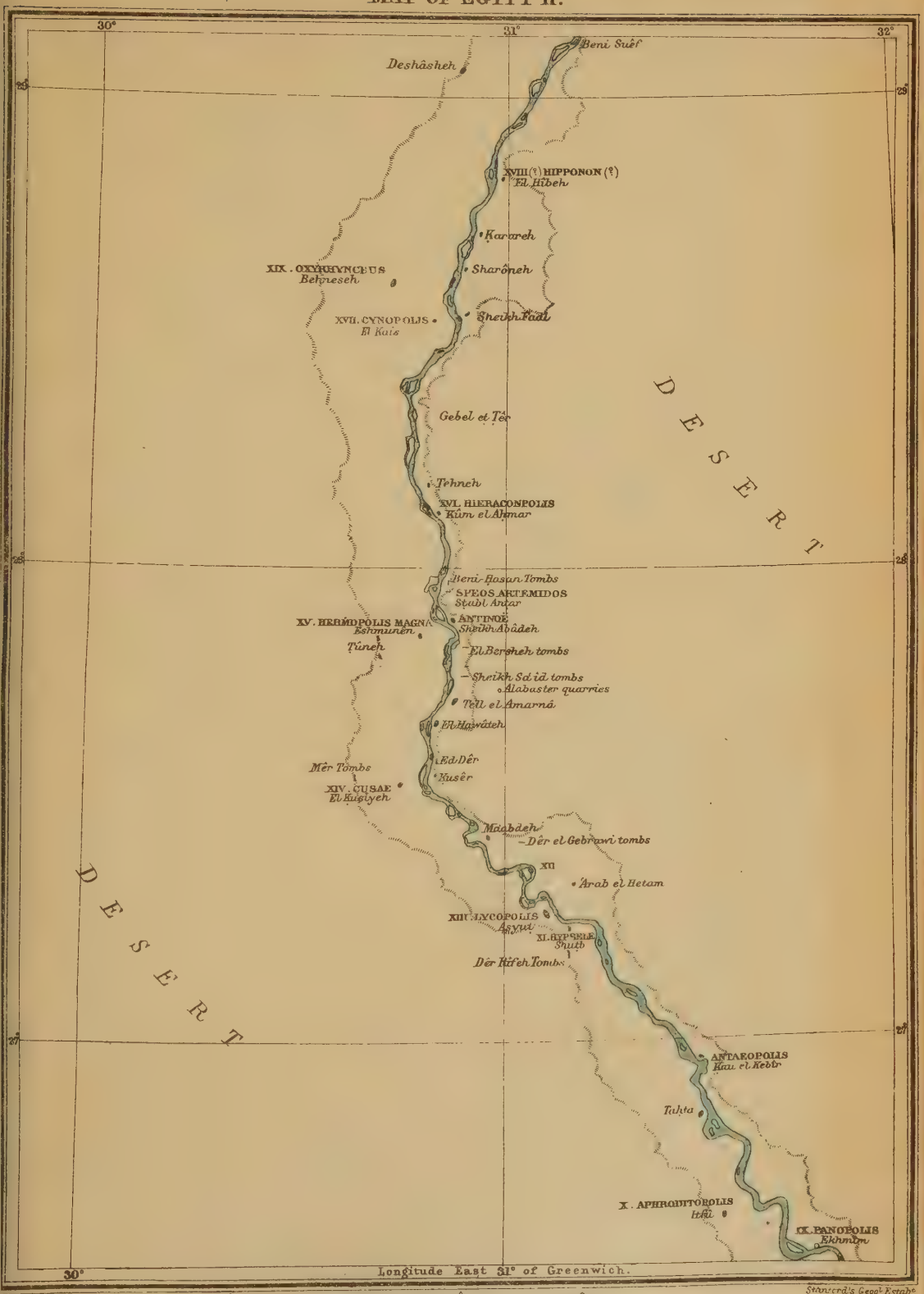

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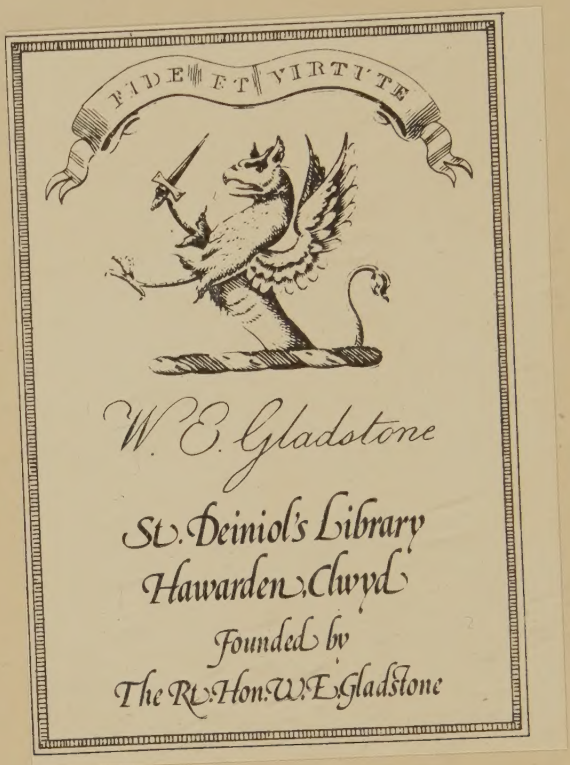
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